



Dr. B. C. LAW

# B. C. LAW VOLUME

## PART I

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HIS FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS  
IS PRESENTED  
TO  
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M.A , B.L., Ph.D., D. Litt , F.R.A.S.B.

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## PREFACE

In 1943 it was proposed to present a Volume of Studies in Indology to Dr B C Law, M A , B L , Ph D , D Litt , on the completion of his 55th year on the 25th October 1946 . It is needless to recount the services of Dr Law to Ancient Indian History and Culture in general and Buddhist studies in particular . His persevering researches in Buddhist and allied subjects during the last quarter of a century have borne abundant fruit in the form of a series of original studies replete with erudition and scholarship . His valuable editions of Buddhist texts and translations have clarified our understanding of Buddhist philosophy and religion . It is therefore in the fitness of things that a volume of studies in Indology should be presented to him as a mark of appreciation of his dynamic selfless and scholarly work and as a partial redemption of the debt of gratitude we owe to him . God has fulfilled our desire and we express our gratitude to all those who have extended their hearty co operation and to the Indian Research Institute for undertaking to publish the Volume . At the same time we express our deep sorrow for some among the contributors who could not live to see the book in print .

It is now for the public to judge how far we have succeeded in completing the Volume for presentation to a scholar of Dr Law's eminence .

12 12-44

D R BHANDARKAR  
B M BARUA  
K A NILAKANTA SASTRI  
B K GHOSH  
P K GODE

# BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

## I

### INTRODUCTORY

This Volume has been projected from a sense of duty which his many friends and admirers feel that they owe to Dr Bimala Churn Law in recording in a permanent form their deep appreciation of the manifold services rendered by him to the cause of his country in general and to that of learning and scholarship in particular

Dr Law is a unique personality both as a philanthropist and as a man of letters. He is a favourite child of the two goddesses of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī who, forgetting their mutual jealousy, have combined to confer upon him their choicest blessings. He is at once a patron and a devotee of learning

Born in Calcutta on the 26th October 1891, he is a scion of the ancient Law family of Calcutta. He is the youngest son of the late Mr Ambica Churn Law, and the youngest grandson of the late Mr Jaygobind Law, C I E

As a man of letters he is already the author of more than 40 learned works on a variety of subjects connected with Ancient Indian History, Ethnology, Geography, Archaeology, Buddhism Jainism and the like. He is an acknowledged international authority on Buddhism and Jainism. He is also a sound student of Law. His book entitled '*The Law of Gift in British India*' is the only authoritative book on the subject

## II

### ACADEMIC AND OTHER DISTINCTIONS

He has to his credit a rare record of varied academic distinctions conferred upon him by the Universities and other public bodies

He received his education at the Calcutta Presidency College and the Calcutta University

In 1914 he graduated with Honours in Pali. In 1916 he passed the M.A. Examination standing First in the First Class in Pali including Buddhist Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Palaeography. He also graduated in Law. In 1924 he obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient Indian History and Culture. In the same year, he was awarded the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal by the University of Calcutta for his original researches. He is also a D Litt in History and a Bonarjee Research Prize

man of the Lucknow University and a Griffith Prizeman of the Calcutta University

The Vidyalamkāra Piriveṇa has conferred upon him the special title of *Buddhagama Śrōman* in recognition of the conspicuous services rendered by him to the cause of Buddhism and Buddhist studies a rare distinction with which few Indians have been honoured by the Buddhists of Ceylon

He is associated with the following learned bodies and public institutions in different capacities

He is an Honorary Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Honorary Member of the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute Allahabad Honorary Life-Member of the Calcutta Geographical Society, Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India, President of the Calcutta Geographical Society, President of the Prācyavāṇī Mandir (School of Oriental Learning), Calcutta, Vice President, Vāṅgiya Sahitya Parishat (1343 BS = 1936 37) Calcutta, Vice President, Buddha Society Bombay, Vice President Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science Calcutta, Vice President Indian Science News Association Vice President Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, Vice-President, Iran Society Calcutta, Life Member of the Bengal Educational Society, Life-Member of Nariśikshā Samiti (Council of Education for Women), Life-Member of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Calcutta Life Member of the Visvabharatī Śānti niketan, Life Member of the Numismatic Society of India Bombay, a Trustee of the Vidyasagar Institute Calcutta, Historical and Archaeological Secretary Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal 1944 45, Fellow Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society Bombay Branch, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society London Corporate Member of the American Oriental Society (1937 40) Vice President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art Vice President British Indian Association for 1942 43 Member of the Executive Committee of the B I Association (1943 44 1944-45), Vice-President City Athletic Club Calcutta Life Member of the Automobile Association of Bengal Calcutta Member of the General Committee of the Calcutta War Committee (Appointed in August 1940) Member of the Editorial Board of the Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology instituted by Bombay Historical Society Vice President of the National Defence and Savings Week Committee (1941), Member of the General Committee of the Silver Jubilee Fund of late King George V (1935), Member of the General Committee of the Red Cross Society and St John Ambulance Association, Member of the Executive Committee of the Medical College Centenary (1934), Member of the All Bengal Central Flood Relief Committee (1943)

Dr Law is a big Zemindar of Bengal and Landholder of Calcutta, an advocate of the Calcutta High Court, a Justice of the Peace and a Presi

dency Magistrate of Calcutta. He is a Partner of Messrs. Prawn Kishen Law & Co. which is one of the oldest trading firms of Calcutta. He is a Free Mason and has been elevated to the rank of a Mark Master Mason.

### III

#### BENEFACTIONS

The world of scholars knows him for his writings, but is not so well acquainted with the other aspect of his personality, his phenomenal philanthropy in aid of approved public causes. It is his way to do good in stealth. He shuns publicity like poison. His daily small gifts are hardly known even to the inner circle of his friends. But there are many public institutions which loudly proclaim what they owe to his silent benefactions, of which they will remain permanent witnesses and enduring memorials from generation to generation.

His benefactions cover a wide range of humanitarian purposes. He has responded liberally to the call of the suffering, irrespective of caste or creed, to the cry for relief of the poor, the infirm, the helpless, the afflicted, the diseased, the destitute, and the distressed.

His charities are informed by the loftiest idealism, a spirit of disinterested positivist social service, of worship of *Nara-Nārāyaṇa*, of serving God by serving Man.

He has endowed beds in Hospitals, founded Free-Studentships in Schools and Colleges, general as well as technical, offered facilities for higher research, helped the cause of advancement of learning by learned Societies, and liberally financed the publication of original contributions to knowledge. His charities keep flowing in a continuous stream.

Some of his typical benefactions are worthy of special mention. Besides endowing beds at Hospitals, he has paid a substantial contribution towards the construction of the Anderson Casualty Block at the Calcutta Medical College, and to the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund in Bengal.

Many of the Funds started at different places for the relief of distress caused by Earthquake, Cyclone, Flood or Famine have always received liberal contributions from him.

Some of his charities have been directed towards the promotion of Public Works of Utility, and of Cultural and Social Amenities, in various forms, whether it be Water-Works, Scheme for Afforestation, Supply of Stud-bulls, free distribution of booklets for children, Athletics or Clubs and Libraries.

His very timely contribution for the supply of stud-bulls was thus appreciated by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow: "I have learnt with much satisfaction of your generous gift, and write to say how much I appreciate it. The improvement of the breed of cattle in India is a matter of the first

importance, and your generous donation will assist to further a work of real national interest.

The war has had its full share of his munificence. He has contributed liberally to the different War Purposes Funds in Bengal. He has paid more than Rs 20 000 to the Indian Red Cross Society and to St. John Ambulance Association. He has paid substantial donations towards the Civic Guard Funds Lady Mary Herbert's Women's War Fund H. E. Governor of Bengal's Christmas Gifts Fund for troops 11/19th Hyderabad Regiment I. T. F. Dinapore (1940). He has been helping the cause of the War in many ways.

The value of his gifts to these institutions has been acknowledged by the Governor of Bengal Sir John Herbert in the following terms. Remembering the many occasions upon which you have helped me before I regard this donation as yet another example of your consistent generosity and public spiritedness and if I am able to count upon the same measure of support and interest coming from all sections of the community I don't think Bengal will have any difficulty in fulfilling its full obligations in this great humanitarian cause.

His Excellency R. G. Casey, the present Governor of Bengal has also expressed to him his appreciation of an additional gift as follows. I can assure you that this sum will contribute substantially to the fulfilment of Bengal's obligations to the sick and the suffering and that it will be most gratefully appreciated by those who have sacrificed so much in this war on our behalf.

His contribution to the Cyclone Relief Fund was thus appreciated by the Governor of Bengal. I regard this prompt and generous gesture as splendid evidence of your public spiritedness and your sympathy for the suffering. I can assure you that it will be most warmly appreciated by those who are in most urgent need of assistance.

His donation to the Society for the Protection of Children in India in response to an appeal issued by Her Excellency the Marchioness of Louthgow was thus appreciated on her behalf. Your generous donation is a source of great encouragement in the face of difficult conditions obtaining at this present time.

His contribution towards the King Emperor's Silver Jubilee Fund in the neighbouring Province of Bihar has been thus appreciated by the Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh Mr S. L. Marwood. I wish to thank you personally for your liberal contribution which is one of the first received in this district. It will be a great encouragement to the Committee and an example to other subscribers."

Dr Law has been the recipient of the Silver Jubilee Medal (1935) and the Coronation Medal (1937) as a personal souvenir from His Majesties the King Emperor of India.



His contributions towards these humanitarian and War purposes total more than a lac and a half

An account may now be given of some of his known educational benefactions as follows —

(1) A donation of Rs 8 000| to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for the institution of a medal called the Bimala Churn Law Gold Medal to be awarded to the person who has made conspicuously important contribution to Indology

(2) A donation of Rs 3 000| to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for financing the publication of its popular Lectures

(3) A donation of Rs 5 000| to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science at Calcutta for endowing the Bimala Churn Law Gold Medal to be awarded every year to a person who has made the most important contribution to Science including Medicine

(4) A donation of Rs 2 500| towards the endowment of a Research Fund instituted by the aforesaid Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science

(5) A contribution of Rs 1 000| to the Indian Science News Association

(6) A donation of Rs 7 000| to the University of Calcutta for purchasing Electron Microscope for the Biophysical Laboratory of the University College of Science

(7) A donation of Rs 3 000| to Rabindra Samiti Calcutta for endowing a prize on Rabindranath Tagore

(8) A donation of Rs 5 000| to Sarat Chunder Chatterjee Building Fund

(9) A recurring annual grant of Rs 1 500| to the Daulatpur College of Agriculture and Industries in Bengal

(10) A donation of Rs 5 000 for the construction of a Hall at the Asutosh College Calcutta

(11) A donation of Rs 5 000| to the Chittaranjan Sevasadan Calcutta and another donation of Rs 4 000| to the Dufferin Hospital Calcutta for the endowment of two beds to perpetuate the memory of his deceased daughter

(12) A donation of Rs 5 000 to the Chittaranjan Hospital Calcutta for endowing a bed

(13) A donation of Rs 2 500| to the Calcutta Homoeopathic College for endowing a bed to the sacred memory of his late grandfather Jaygo bind Law C I E

(14) A contribution of Rs. 1 000 annually (1935 to 1939) to the Kern Institute of Holland towards the publication of its Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology

(15) A donation amounting up to now to over Rs 40 000| to the Indian Research Institute Calcutta to conduct its quarterly Journal the Indian Culture

(16) A donation of Rs 5 000| to the Lucknow University Endowment of Dr Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectureship

(17) A donation of Rs 1 000| to the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute at Allahabad

(18) A donation of Rs 3 000| to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay which holds it as a Fund the interest of which is to be spent in buying books in Pali and Sanskrit to be kept separately in its Library as a special collection under the designation Dr B C Law Collection

(19) A donation of Rs 12 000| to the Royal Asiatic Society in London which the Society has created into a Trust Fund the income from which is being utilised by it for the publication of learned monographs on topics of Indology in the Royal Asiatic Society's Special Series called Dr Bimala Churn Law Trust Series

(20) A gift of valuable stone images and sculptures of the Bengal School to the Indian Museum, Calcutta and that of a very valuable ivory image from Orissa to the same institution

(21) A gift to the Mahabodhi Society Calcutta of a granite figure of Prajñā Paramita from his own collection

(22) A present of Persian and Mughal Manuscripts of great historical value to the Delhi Fort Museum and also to the Islamic section of the Indian Museum Calcutta (1939)

The total of his endowments of Free studentships at different educational institutions amounts to over Rupees Fifty thousand (1) Rs 10 500| for the Calcutta Medical College (2) Rs 16 700| for the Bengal Engineering College Sibpur (Howrah) (3) Rs 8 000| for the Calcutta Presidency College (4) Rs 4 500 for the Government Commercial Institute Calcutta (5) Rs 6 000| for the Calcutta Bethune College and Rs 4 500| for the Campbell Medical School Calcutta

#### IV

#### LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS

We may now turn to the work and achievements of Dr Law in the field of scholarship. The quantity and quality of his literary output are unique in the annals of letters. As has been already stated he is to-day the author of more than 40 learned works dealing with different aspects of Buddhism, Jainism, Ancient Indian History, Geography, and Archaeology. All these works by the thoroughness and standard of their scholarship mark him out as an Indologist of the first rank. The range and depth of his scholarship will be evident from his numerous publications.

His noteworthy contributions to Ancient Indian History consist of the following works :

1. Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India,
2. Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India,
3. 'Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I.
4. Ancient Indian Tribes, I.,
5. Ancient Indian Tribes, II.,
6. Tribes in Ancient India,
7. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism,
8. The Magadhas in Ancient India (RAS Pub.).

In his several Volumes on Tribes, he presents a comprehensive and systematic account of more than 150 tribes belonging to different parts of India and playing an important part in the early history of India. In these works, he has drawn upon all the available sources, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain. He has utilised original works in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tibetan and Chinese, and also epigraphic and numismatic sources, archaeological finds and the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. A careful and exhaustive study of ancient Indian tribes written in a spirit of scientific research and without any *parti pris* has been presented for the first time in these books on tribes. One may rightly say with Dr. Sten Konow that 'the more we had books of the same kind, not only about tribes and clans but also about geographical designations, the better it would be for the world of scholarship.' 'He has splendidly enlarged and supplemented the materials which were shortly dealt with by Rhys Davids,' as remarked by Dr. Geiger. 'It must be admitted that the future historian of India will find his task substantially furthered both by the wide knowledge and sound judgment of the author.'

His treatise entitled "*India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*" is a well-written book dealing with the geographical position of India, its kings and peoples, social life and economic conditions, religion, education and learning, based on the early texts of the Buddhists and Jains written in Pali and Ardhamāgadhī, together with relevant Brahminical texts throwing light on obscure points. The treatment is entirely novel and the results achieved are excellent. In the opinion of Dr. Keith, 'no author has done as much as Dr. Law has to make living the picture of ancient India and we are deeply indebted to his learning and skill in exposition. This well-arranged and useful book represents the intensive phase which Indian historical studies are now entering as a result of the labours of Indian scholars. A vast array of facts effectively marshalled presents to us kings and courtiers, saints and knaves, calculating money-lenders with their promissory notes and records of wealth on gold and copper plates, resourceful merchants and skilled craftsmen. This conscientious and painstaking

work goes to elucidate the progress of the country in the different fields of culture.

The following are the more notable contributions made by Dr Law to Ancient Indian Archaeology and Geography

- 1 *Śravastī in Indian Literature* (A S I Memoir No 50)
- 2 *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* (A S I Memoir No 58)
- 3 *Kausambi in Ancient Literature* (A S I Memoir No 60)
- 4 *Panchalas and their capital Ahichchhatra* (A S I Memoir No 68)
- 5 *Ujjayinī in Ancient India* (Arch Deptt Gwalior)
- 6 *Geography of Early Buddhism*
- 7 *Geographical Essays*
- 8 *Holy Places of India*
- 9 *Rivers of India*
- 10 *Mountains of India*

An attempt has been made in the first five monographs to present a graphic picture of the ancient sites of Śravastī Rājagṛha Kausambi Ahichchhatra and Ujjayinī from ancient Indian literature, coins, inscriptions as well as from the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. These exhaustive and systematic *Memoirs* will immortalize his name.

His treatise on the ancient city of Ujjayinī gives for the first time a full and systematic account of its history based on all available original sources supplemented by the evidence of coins and inscriptions and the information supplied by the Chinese travellers. This monograph shows what an important place an intensive study of local history and specialized work in a limited field can have in building up the general history of India in all its aspects political economic or cultural. There is no wonder that Indologists of the eminence of F W Thomas Barnett Winternitz Keith Johnston Stein Geiger or Oldham should have spoken so highly of these works. In the opinion of Winternitz this work adds one more to the long list of highly useful publications which we already owe to him and adds also to our knowledge of the history of ancient India. This excellent piece of work, full of information and completely free from unjustifiable speculation has received admiration on all hands.

His excellent Memoir on Rājagṛha is an admirable piece of scholarly workmanship. By collecting every detail about this ancient city he has contributed a new chapter to the work which he has undertaken.

His *Geography of Early Buddhism* is undoubtedly an example of his erudition and sound exposition. In the well-considered opinion of the German Orientalist Otto Schrader 'this is indeed the kind of work which is often missed when reading through the Pīṭakas and which every Indologist will welcome as a great boon. He admires the pains which the author has taken in collecting every available material on the subject. He expresses

his opinion that this book will become 'an indispensable work of reference for all of them' The great Russian scholar, Theodore Stcherbatsky, remarks that this book 'answers a long-felt need and will be highly appreciated by all students of Buddhist India'

His *Geographical Essays* is 'a really valuable digest of information,' as Dr Barnett remarks Dr Keith says that 'it is a most valuable collection rich in accurately stated and carefully collected facts and lays all students once more under a deep debt of gratitude'

These two works offer us a systematic exposition of geographical and topographical information based on critical study and research, following the lines of investigation started by Sir William Jones, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Buchanan Hamilton, and Mackenzie

His *Holy Places of India*, *Mountains of India* and *Rivers of India* are the publications of the Calcutta Geographical Society They are historico geographical sketches of subjects presented for the first time The holy places of India connected with the three religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, have been arranged regionally and illustrated with maps and sketches The first named work places the educated India of to-day under a deep debt of gratitude by describing the holy places of India in a very picturesque manner, combining the historian's desire for detail with a scrupulous attention to the tourist's or pilgrim's need of topographical information The result of this happy combination makes these works indispensable guides to these places of pilgrimage By his first hand study of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature he is eminently qualified to write this book and his geographical training has added to the utility of the text by enriching it with three maps showing eastern India north and north western India and southern India respectively

His monograph on the *Rivers of India* presents a systematic account of the rivers of India, dividing them into the Sindhu, Desert River, Gangā-Yamuna, Bhagīrathī Hooghly Brahmaputra Meghnā, coastal rivers, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā Kāverī, Penner and Narmadā Tāpti systems

His *Mountains of India* presents likewise a systematic account of the mountains of northern, western, eastern, central and southern India based on the materials available from Indian literature, the accounts of the Greek geographers and the itineraries of Chinese pilgrims

Dr Law is a life long student of Jainism with an intimate acquaintance with its literature and historical traditions His publications in this important branch of Indology are not so numerous as in other branches But his book entitled *Mahāvīra His Life and Teachings*, gives us an objective account of what may be learnt from the Jaina and Buddhist texts regarding the historical founder of Jainism It is characterized by the same accuracy, the same careful choice of facts, the same objectivity and sobriety of judg-

ment which form the marked features of all his writings. It will be difficult to find out a book which gives a clearer and more systematic description of the life and teachings of the Great Jain leader. It is no exaggeration to say that this very suggestive account has been written in a spirit of impartiality and freedom from the narrow prejudice that so often vitiate the writings of sectarian authors. In the opinion of Geiger, 'it is an excellent comparative study of Mahāvīra and Buddha, which sheds a flood of light on several points at issue.' We welcome the publication of this kind which contains valuable details some of which deserve careful consideration, as has been rightly pointed out by the well known German Indologist, Glasenapp.

Dr Law has unrivalled knowledge of Buddhist literature, religion and philosophy. All his works on Buddhism and Buddhist thought are very important, as they help much to elucidate many difficult and knotty points. A brief account of these may here be given.

*A History of Pālī Literature* (in two Volumes). It is a comprehensive work of Pālī literature. It is a clear and exhaustive exposition of all the important problems of the subject and is marked by the sober and impartial judgment of the author. It contains a very learned and important discussion of the relative chronology of the canonical texts, which means, according to Geiger, 'a considerable progress beyond what Rhys Davids has said on the subject.' In the opinion of Winternitz, 'this is the most comprehensive treatment of Pālī literature that has so far been published. The well known French savant Finot so much liked the book that he was frank enough to say 'It seems to me extremely well-devised to provide tillers in the *Buddha kṣetra* with an invaluable stock of information and references. The author has worked hard for this result and undoubtedly he will reap in return much *punya* with the gratitude of the whole *paṇḍitajana*'"

*The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*. This book is the first systematic treatment of Buddhaghosa as a man and as a Pālī commentator. The late lamented Mrs. Rhys Davids in her Foreword to this book, says "The book is all the more needed now as a very useful compendium of what we yet know of Buddhaghosa both from his own works and from other documents. It is a well-executed piece of work in which the author has collected all the historical and semi-historical materials bearing on the life and labour of the great Master of the Law and sifted them with considerable ability, supplementing these by chapters on the origin and development of the stand and commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures (a very interesting *expose*), on Buddhaghosa's successors, and on his writings.' Geiger and Carpenter have expressed their admiration of this book. The former considers it to be 'an excellent monograph' on the celebrated commentator of the holy Buddhist scriptures and the latter takes it to be a very important book on the subject. He also thinks that the chapters on the origin of the commentaries

and the interpretation of Buddhism by Buddhaghosa 'may bring many valuable sidelights on the history of Buddhism and its consolidation as a system of thought in the *Theravāda*'

*Historical Gleanings* This is an interesting and well written collection of essays on historical topics. In the opinion of Dr E J Thomas 'the book gives much more information of Buddhist notions than can be gained from the usual books.'

*Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective* This is a comprehensive treatment of the eschatology of popular Buddhism. Geiger, Carpenter, Pargiter and Rapson have greatly appreciated this work and one of them goes so far as to say that it is 'full of rich illustrations of the working of the principles of *Karma* in producing merit and guilt. A comparison of these with similar conceptions in Brahmanism would show how much folklore was common to the two groups of teaching.' Lord Zetland who has contributed a Fore word to this book introduces it saying "If the reader after perusal of the Volume has not acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the eschatology of popular Buddhism he will have no one but himself to blame for Dr Law has admirably accomplished the task which he set out to perform

*The Buddhist Conception of Spirits* This book acquaints the reader as far as possible with what the ancient Buddhists thought about the spirits and spirit world. A study of the *preta* belief among the southern Buddhists is bound to be attractive. Geiger says 'this book has preserved no doubt the popular beliefs spread all over India. It shows us that Buddhism did not annihilate the older creeds and ideas but the teacher adopted them and inserted them into his own system. Hopkins points out that it fulfils its purpose admirably in giving a very clear notion of what the Buddhists understood by the spirits departed and others

*Women in Buddhist Literature* It contains a clear and comprehensive account of women in early Buddhism. It deals with marriage and marital relations, position of slave girls, the place of dancing girls and courtesans in society, female education, female character, influence of Buddha's doctrine on women, the origin and constitution of the order of nuns, and prominent Buddhist women. This subject has been ably tackled for the first time by Dr Law before I B Horner and others

*Concepts of Buddhism* This is a publication of the Kern Institute, Holland. It is a scholarly analysis of some of the important concepts of Buddhism based upon a careful study of original texts. It deals with eleven Buddhist concepts. Dr F W Thomas considers it to be 'an excellent work one of the best of the author's writings.' 'The precision and exactness of its statements and the aptness of its citations render it eminently suitable for forming and conveying to students a correct idea of the main features of Buddhist doctrine.' Dr Keith remarks that 'the author has aimed at pre

senting us with a large mass of material carefully chosen, accurately interpreted and skilfully co-ordinated, bearing on the essential ideas of Buddhism as it is presented to us especially in the Pali texts. Dr Law's work is of permanent value.

*A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (Saddhamma Sangaha):* This book which is a publication of the University of Calcutta is the first English rendering of an important text of Theravāda Buddhism. The *Saddhamma-Sangaha* is said to have been compiled by Thera Dhammakitti of Ceylon at a great monastery called Lankārama built by the great king Paramarāga. It comprises 11 chapters and his introduction contains a very good summary of the contents, chapter by chapter. The historical value of this work is enhanced by the inclusion of the account of two Buddhist Councils held in Ceylon during the reigns of Devānampiyatissa and Vātṭagāmaṇi. There is a very important and interesting account in this book as to how the four great Nikāyas were entrusted to various Theras at the First Council. The story of the Buddha's prediction about the establishment of the *sāsana* in Ceylon has been developed a step further in this book than elsewhere. We get a very interesting account of the three original commentaries on the Tripiṭaka. The translation is very satisfactory and Dr Law has indeed rendered a great service to the students of Buddhism and Buddhist history by preparing this valuable translation written in a scholarly style. The book is indeed a valuable asset to the library of Buddhist literature.

*Designation of Human Types, The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon—Part III—Buddhaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka:* The first named work is a publication of the Pali Text Society. It is the first English rendering of the fourth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka called *Puggelapaññatti*. According to Geiger, 'the translation is very well made and remarkably correct.'

The *Minor Anthologies* included in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist Series contain an English version of the *Buddhaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* by Dr Law whose love for indology and scholarship in Buddhist literature needs little or no mention to students of Buddhism.

As an editor of Pali texts, too, Dr Law stands pre eminent. Besides being an editor of the *Indian Culture*, he has edited the following books: *Thāpaṃsa*, *Buddhist Studies*, and *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*. The *Thāpaṃsa* has been edited for the first time by him for the Pali Text Society, London.

The second book is a collection of essays written by scholars of repute on Buddhism and Buddhist thought. Dr Keith points out that the editor has succeeded in securing 'many and varied communications which together form a very important addition to our knowledge of Buddhist philosophy and religion, history and philology.' In the opinion of Dr Barnett, 'the



publication of this fine spiritual *puṣpāñjali* is a *punya* of a high order and Dr Law has laid the world of scholarship under a deep debt of gratitude to him'

The *D R Bhandarkar Volume* edited by Dr Law has been well received by Indian and European scholars all over the world. It is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to ancient Indian history.

*A Study of the Mahāvastu and Supplement* The *Mahāvastu* which is an encyclopaedia of Buddhist legends and doctrines is one of the important Buddhist books. Dr Law has given a bird's eye view of this text. He has 'succeeded in reducing its confused mass to a comprehensive shape,' as Dr Hopkins points out. Dr Barnett considers it to be 'a very helpful book which may serve as a guide to the student through the wilderness of the original text.' Rapson congratulates him on 'his patience in analysing this encyclopaedia of Buddhist lore and his skill in making such an interesting selection from its contents.' The celebrated German Indologist Hermann Jacobi remarks that 'all students of Buddhism will be glad to use this guide to the bewildering contents of that important text.'

Dr Law has published in *Devanāgarī* characters the texts of the *Dathāraṇīsa* (the history of the tooth relic) and the *Carīyapitaka* (the collection of ways of conduct) with their English translations.

He has also enriched Bengali literature by his well known publications entitled *Gautama Buddha*, *Licchavi Jāti*, *Preta Tattva*, *Bauddharamanī*, *Bauddhayuger Bhūgola Jainaguru Mahavira*, *Bnārater Punyatīrtha*, and *Saundarananda Kavya*. He has translated Aśvaghōṣa's *Saundarananda Kavya* into Bengali language long before the appearance of Johnston's English translation which acknowledges the help derived from Dr Law's Bengali rendering of the work.

*The Law of Gift in British India* (First Edition 1924 and second Edition 1926) This book collects in one place all that is to be said on the subject of gifts, a subject upon which the theocratic principles of Hindu Law do not always coincide with the secular view of Roman and English Jurisprudence, and what is its modern equivalent in this country, the rules of justice, equity and good conscience. It is a complete and comprehensive treatise on a subject which is often before the Courts. It is an intelligent attempt to co-ordinate the texts and case notes into a coherent commentary which is bound to be of use to legal practitioners. A critical study of the ancient texts and of the improvements made by judicial decisions on the law laid down in the texts are not the least interesting features of the work. The book discloses great originality and research and is bound to provoke thought on the theories put forward by the author who has fully dealt with the entire case-law up-to-date.

A jurist of repute like Sir George Rankin remarks that 'the exposition

of the principles of the Law of Gift is clear and his discussion of the case-law is well arranged and accurate.

It may be noted that many of Dr Law's works have found their publishers in several learned Societies such as the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland the Pali Text Society of England the Kern Institute of Holland the Archaeological Department of the Government of India the University of Calcutta the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute the Calcutta Geographical Society the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State and the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta

The above record is to be considered not as a mere personal record of Dr Law's intellectual work and achievements. It has an important public aspect showing to what extent Indian history in general and Buddhism in particular are indebted to the strenuous and sustained labours and researches of one man and of one who has consecrated himself to a career of painstaking scholarship and has been living laborious days in a rare spirit of self-denial and asceticism eschewing a life of leisure and ease appointed for him by his affluence. Very few scholars of his social position and standing have to their credit such a dedicated life or have lived to see its rich fruition and fruitage in the publication of such a remarkable series of original studies marked by a uniform standard of erudition and scientific method and also including among these editions of valuable Buddhist Texts and their translations.

In this connection a reference may also be made to what is not so much known outside the inner circle of his friends. It is the help that he has been always rendering to his poor fellow workers in the field of Research by way of granting them subventions in aid of their publications. He has been also rendering that help in another form by undertaking financial responsibility for conducting that renowned Research Journal known as the *Indian Culture* on behalf of the Indian Research Institute of Calcutta. Tribute is due to Dr Law for his efficient editorship of this important Journal.

He is one of the editors of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Kern Institute Holland. He acted for sometime as the editor of *Bengal Past and Present* which is the organ of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Besides books Dr Law has to his credit numerous papers contributed by him on the basis of laborious and much original research to different learned Journals and also to Conferences. The total output of his activities in this field may be understood from the list given below.

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Social Economical and Religious Conditions of Ancient India according to the Buddhist Texts

- Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1936*  
 South India as a centre of Pali Buddhism
- Woolner Commemoration Volume, 1940*  
 Drugs and Diseases known to the Early Buddhists
- Studia Indo Iranica* (Ehrendgabe Für Wilhelm Geiger), 1931  
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 Dependent Origination
- A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof P V Kane, 1941* .  
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- Janācharya Shri Ātmānand Centenary Commemoration Volume, 1936*  
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- Prof K V Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1940*  
 Mathurā
- The Cultural Heritage of India* ( Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial,  
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 Eschatological Aspect of Nirvāṇa.
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(2) Some Observations on the Jātakas (April, 1939)

#### JASB.

(1) A Note on Buddhaghosa's Commentaries (N S, XV, 1919,  
No 3)

(2) Influence of the five heretical teachers on Jainism and Buddhism  
(N S, XV 1919, No 3)

(3) A short account of wandering teachers at the time of the Buddha  
(N S, XIV, 1918 No 7)

(4) Taxila as a Seat of Learning in Pālī Literature (N S, XII, No  
1 1916)

(5) The Licchavis in Ancient India (N S, XVII, No 3, 1921)

(6) Data from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on  
the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka (N S, XXI, No 1, 1925).

(7) Anga and Campā in Pālī Literature (N S, XXI, No 1, 1925)

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(7) Magadha and Rajagṛha in Pālī Literature (Vol XIII)

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(10) Mind in the *Dhammapadam* (Vol XIX)

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### *Indian Culture*

- (1) Some Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol I, pp 381 91 & Vol VII, No 2)  
 (2) Kosala (Vol I, No 3, pp 521 3)  
 (3) The Vangas (Vol I, No 1, p 57)  
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 (5) Buddhist Paramitā (Vol I p 686)  
 (6) Did Aśoka become a Bhikkhu? (Vol I)  
 (7) Importance of the Bhābrū Edict (Vol I)  
 (8) The<sup>1</sup>Damilas (Vol III)  
 (9) Aspects of Nirvāṇa (Vol II)  
 (10) Aśvaghoṣa the Poet (Vol III, No I)  
 (11) Aśvaghoṣa the Philosopher (Vol III, No I)  
 (12) Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol III No 4)  
 (13) Distinguished Men and Women in Jainism (Vol III)  
 (14) Telakaṭāhagāthā (verses on oil pot) (Vol V, p 25)

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 (2) Buddha's Life in Art (Vol XVIII)  
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 (4) The Kāsīs in Ancient India (Vol IV)  
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- (2) Arjunāyanas Prarjunas (Vol I, No 7 October 1938)
- (3) A Note on Some Ancient Indian Tribes (Vol I No 9, Dec. 1928 598 99 )
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- (1) Jivaka Komārabhacca ( Vol VI pp 1029 36 )
- (2) Buddha and Contemporary Teachers ( Vol VII pp 1122 26, April 1939 )

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- (1) Anāthapiṇḍika (Bhādra 1345 BS)
- (2) Janaguru Mahāvīra (Agrahayana and Paus, 1345 BS)
- (3) Telakatahagāthā (Vaiśikha, 1346 BS)
- (4) Buddhadever Prathama Dharmopadeśa (Agrahayana 1346 BS)
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- (2) Ajātaśatru (1st year, Caitra, 1323 B S ).
- (3) Vṛjī-Licchavi Vivarana (1326 B S, 3rd year).
- (4) Prācīnamudrā Kārṣāpaṇa (2nd year, Āśvin, 1325 B S ).
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- (1) Bauddhatīrthasthān (Pt IV, pp 1338-40).
- (2) Prācīna Bhārater Bauddha Viśvavidyālaya (Pt IV, pp 1441-54).
- (3) Bhārater Jana Tīrthasthān (No 21, p 1638)
- (4) Prācīna Bhārater Janapada (No 24, p 1890)
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- (6) Bhārater Parvata O Nadī (No 32, p 2534)
- (7) Bhārater Vaiṣnavatīrtha (No 34)
- (8) Brahmaputrer utsa sandhāne (No 38, p 2987)

*Pravāsi*

- (1) Licchavideśa Vaiśālī (Kārtik, 1328 B S )
- (2) Vaiśālīvāsī (Agrahāyana, 1328 B S )
- (3) Videha (Pauṣ, 1328 B S )
- (4) Cāṇakya O Candragupta (Māgh, 1328 B S )
- (5) Bauddhasāhitye Silpa O bhaugolika tathya (Vol XXXI, Part I, 1338 B S, pp 629 32).
- (6) Prācīna Bhārater Nagararakṣī (Māgh, 1348 B S )
- (7) Pañcāler Rājanyavarga (Āṣāḍh, 1350 B S )

*Bhāratataraṣa :*

- (1) Chayajana Bauddha Tīrthakācāryer Itivṛtta (Agrahāyana, 1323 B S.)
- (2) Prācīna Bhārater Amavapota (Agrahāyana, 1322 B S )



- (3) Bhārate Nāga Pūjā (Āṣāḍh, 1322 B S )
- (4) Rāñci Bhramana, (Āṣvin, 1322 B S )
- (5) Bhāratīya Paribrājaka (Āṣvin, 1328 B S )
- (6) Prācīna Bhārate Avantī (Jaiṣṭha, 1336 B S ).
- (7) Vatsadeśa Kauśāmbī (Śrāvaṇa, 1336 B S ).
- (8) Jagannāthpurer Mandir (Ranchi) (Vaiśākha, 1337 B S )
- (9) Gautamer Vairāgya O Sambodhulābha (Māgha, 1337 B S ).
- (10) Prācīna Bhārate Mahājanapada (Agrahāyana, 1340 B S ).
- (11) Prācīna Bhārater Kṣatriya Jāti (Caitra, 1341 B S )
- (12) Prācīna Bhāratīya Aṭṭālikā (Pauṣ, 1343 B S )
- (13) Jaina Tīrthasthān (Śrāvaṇa, 1344 B S )
- (14) Jainaguru Mahāvīrer Dharmopadeśa (Magha, 1345 B S )
- (15) Prācīna Bhārata (Śrāvaṇa, 1346 B S )
- (16) Kauśāmbī (Jaiṣṭha, 1347 B S )
- (17) Bhārater Punyatīrtha (Agrahāyana, Pauṣ, and Phālgun, 1348 B S )
- (18) Prācīna Bhārater Vyādhi (24th year, Pt II, No 1, Āṣāḍha, 1344 B S ).
- (19) Pāñcāler Rājnatik Avasthā (Jaiṣṭha, 1350 B S )
- (20) Suprasiddha Jaina Nara Nārī (Āṣvin, 1343 B S )
- (21) Sauryapura—Prācīna Mathurā (Śrāvaṇa, 1350 B S )
- (22) Prācīna Bhārater Bhaugolik Avasthā (Vaiśākha 1351 B S )

### Bānī

Siṃhala kāhinī (3rd year, No 2, 1317 B S )

### Manasi

Tājer Śilpī Ke ? (Agrahāyana 1318 B S )

### Āryāvartta

- (1) Pravāda Prasaṅga (Jaiṣṭha, 1319 B S )
- (2) Sukyābibi O Sukiyā Street (Śrāvaṇa, 1319 B S )

### Sankalpa

Uttarakuru (Bhādra, 1321 B S )

### Mānasi O Marmarani

- (1) Bauddhabhāṣyakār Dharmapāla (Falguṇa, 1324 B S )
- (2) Prācīna Samāja Prasanga (Kārtik, 1325 B S )
- (3) Buddhadever Samasāmayika Paribrājakagaṇa (Agrahāyana, 1325 B S )
- (4) Prācīna Bhārata Itihāse Uśīnaragana (Āṣāḍh, 1336 B S )

### Basumati

Prācīna Bhārate Paribrājakagaṇa (Jaiṣṭha, 1336 B S )

*Pañcapuṣpa*

- (1) Prācinayuge Mathurāvasi Śūrasenagaṇa (Śrāvaṇa 1336 B S )
- (2) Prācinayuge Pañcālagana (Agrahāyaṇa, 1336 B S )

*Vicitrā*

- (1) Prācina Cedigaṇa O Cedirajya (Āśādh 1336 B.S ).
- (2) Prācina Bhārate Kuru vaṃsa (Agrahayana and Paus 1336 B S )

*Puṣpapātra*

Prācina Bhārate Matsyagana (Śrāvaṇa 1336 B S )

The above constitutes a unique record of learning and scholarship, of liberality and philanthropy, deserving of public and permanent recognition in a fitting form such as that projected in this Presentation Volume made up of learned articles contributed by so many scholars of different lands as tokens of their appreciation of Dr Bimala Churn Law's life and work.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

## ERRATA

Page	83	Read of	instead of or
"	133	" <i>wordly</i>	" " <i>worldly</i>
"	142	" <i>or</i>	" " <i>of</i>
"	219	" <i>married</i>	" " <i>carried</i>
"	275	" <i>delineate</i>	" " <i>delicate</i>
"	469	" <i>d sembodyed</i>	" " <i>embodied</i>
"	499	" <i>Karaya cintamani</i>	" " <i>Kaana cintāmani</i>
"	520	" <i>Aihole Inscription</i>	" " <i>Ihole Inscription</i>
"	521	" <i>Yuan Chwang</i>	" " <i>Uyan Chauang</i>
"	529	" <i>religious</i>	" " <i>religions</i>
"	553	" <i>tract</i>	" " <i>track</i>

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## ADDENDUM

[Addendum to Dr R C Mazumdar's article "The Chronology of the Early Kings of Nepal"]

No notice has been taken of Mr Jayaswal's article on "The Chronology and History of Nepal" (*JBORS* XXII, 157 ff) and Mr K G Sankar's article on "The Early Chronology of Nepal" (*IHQ* XI, 304 ff). The first is based on a series of arbitrary assumptions backed by fallacious and specious arguments, which it would be a long and tedious task to refute in detail. The conclusions arrived at are also so complicated by a rearrangement of the entire list of kings given in the *Vamsāvalis* that it would take many pages to set them forth in a clear light. Mr Sankar's article is inspired by the theory of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya which no scholar accepts now a days and is mainly based on astronomical data. It is interesting to note, however, that the results of his astronomical calculations are very different from those adopted by Fleet, Levi and Jayaswal. This indirectly supports what I have said above regarding the value of these data. I may add that Mr Jayaswal followed Fleet in referring the date 386 of Manadeva to the Gupta era and thus placing the group of kings from Vṛṣadeva to Mānadeva after Śivadeva and Amśuvarman. Mr Sankar regards Amśuvarman as the Viceroy of Yaśodharman and thus places him about a century before Huen Tsang. None of these can be regarded even as probable hypotheses.

## HOMO SAPIENS

*By*

The Most Hon the MARQUIS OF ZETLAND KG GCSI GCIE

On a day in July in the year 1943 I was sitting on the stonepaved terrace which runs along the wing of the house in which my writing room is situated meditating as I often found myself doing in the comparative leisure which retirement from Government office had brought me upon the astonishing spectacle presented by the human race devoting an unparalleled concentration of effort on the task as it seemed of exterminating itself. Although the hands on the dial of my watch pointed to six o'clock the sun was still high in the heavens and cast foreshortened shadows from the trees over the growth of rank grasses which covered what in happier days had been smoothly mown lawns. On the sundial nearby the slowly moving shadow disputed the information given me by my watch to the extent of no less than two hours for with a view to saving the fuel normally consumed in the production of artificial light and to giving the hard worked population the chance of recreation in the open air at the end of the day's toil it had been decreed that by the simple expedient of putting forward the hands of the clock daylight should be prolonged to that extent but one of many indications of the abnormality of the times which had overtaken this man made world of which we found ourselves the protesting but helpless denizens. The weeds and general air of unkemptness which met my gaze the entire absence of activity which was responsible for the triumph of the riotous vegetation over the former orderliness of gravel walk and well kept lawn—for under the system of rigid regimentation which had been imposed upon us every male between childhood and old age whether a gardener or one employed on any kind of peace time work whatsoever had been wrenched away from his normal occupation—were others as were also the bulletins issued on the air at regular intervals during the twenty four hours describing the daily progress made in the process of extermination in the various theatres of war.

On the back of the garden seat on which I was sitting were chiselled deep into the wood words which had once seemed to be full of a sweet content but which now rang with a hollow note —

The kiss of the sun for pardon  
The song of the birds for mirth  
Man is nearer God's Heart in a garden  
Than anywhere else on earth

The song of the birds for mirth? There was little enough mirth in these sombre days, moreover the song of the birds was drowned in a sea of raucous noise and the erstwhile peace of the garden was constantly being shattered by the sinister drone of aeroplanes—giant four-engined bombers and more agile and lithesome fighters—as they streaked across the sky; by the rumble of monster tanks as they clawed their way along the high road nearby, for not far away was a vast military cantonment, and by the patterned explosion of projectiles of many calibres on the moorland beyond the trees which had formerly pastured flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, but which, since it now served the purpose of a tank range, had become a no-man's land of repulsive desolation from which the grouse and other wild life which had formerly found a happy home there, had fled abashed.

As I sat pondering these things on the summer afternoon in question, a letter, come by the afternoon post and bearing an Indian stamp and postmark, was put into my hands. The postmark showed that it had been many weeks on the way, which, in the circumstances, was not surprising, for with battles on a vast scale raging along the Mediterranean sea board and with the seven seas infested with hostile submarines the routing of ships had for long been an uncertain business. But long though it had been on the way, its eventual arrival at its destination was none the less welcome, for it brought me news of one with whose work as the historian of an age which presented so pleasing a contrast with the present, I had long been familiar, and I found myself speeding back in imagination to a day a quarter of a century ago when from the summit of the ruin of an ancient tower—no less a building than the famous Pippala stone house marking the site of the former city of Rājagṛha, of which the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien has left a record—I gazed over the dusty landscape spread over the Patna District of Bihar.

For me much of the charm of Dr Bimala Charan Law's work derives from the fact that he succeeds in clothing with flesh and blood the dry bones, which are all that are left to mark the scene of the life and times of a race of men who flourished high on 2,500 years ago. Apart from certain superficial mounds there is nothing to be seen to-day to distinguish Bārah in the Muzaffarpur District in Tirhut from any one of the numerous other villages dotted over the landscape of the modern Province of Bihar, just as, amid the drab hills of the Patna District hardby, there is little beyond the ruins of walls and an ancient watch tower built of blocks of undressed stone, to break the monotony of the view. Yet with a copy of "The Kṣatriya Clans of Buddhist India" as an aid these modest relics of the past burgeon into life once more and in place of the empty landscape we see, as in a vision flourishing cities and peoples, priests and potentates, playing their allotted part in the great drama of human history—Vaiśālī the capital of the Licchavis and head-quarters of the great and powerful Vajjian Confederacy. Rājagṛha "The King's House", capital of Magadha; Bimbisāra and Ajāta

śātru who lived and reigned there, and more particularly men of venerable bearing leading lives of asceticism and discoursing on the higher problems of religion and ethics in the mango groves abounding in the neighbourhood of the cities or in the mote halls in which gatherings of the people were held.

While the picture painted for us by Dr Law of these early inhabitants of the lands washed by the waters of the sacred Ganges is an attractive one the painter does not seek to depict them either as a race of saint or of super men, but rather as people with a zest for life and with the shortcomings no less than the virtues inherent in human nature. He makes it clear that war was not unknown amongst them for they prided themselves on being of the martial caste while those who occupied the throne where the State was organised on a monarchical basis were by no means deaf to the promptings of ambition. So far as their personal characteristics are concerned he shows us the Licchavis in particular as a handsome race fond of display and of fine raiment an affluent people the owners of chariots and horses yet hardy withal. Their young men it is to be noted were high spirited with a passion for manly sports and no strangers to the escapades common to hot blooded youth all the world over. Yet no doubt is left in our minds that if they found pleasure in the company of courtesans the sacrament of marriage was rigidly respected and a high standard of chastity demanded of their womenfolk.

We see that the standard of civilisation evolved by them was a high one and that with all their virile qualities they were lovers of the fine arts that among the people generally arts and crafts were highly developed while the grandeur and variety of their buildings testified to the skill alike of their architects and their artisans. In brief we derive the impression that what Pericles said of Athens might equally have been said of Vaiśālī namely that the Licchavis had provided education and recreation for the spirit and beauty in their public buildings which delighted their hearts by day and banished sadness.

It is further made clear to us that their social and political organisation was on a correspondingly high level for side by side with the monarchical form of Government which flourished south of the Ganges in Magadha there existed on the north side of the river the Republics of the Licchavis and other clans whose administration was carried out through the agency of powerful Corporations of the citizens meeting in public assembly.

In short what we find in the picture presented to us is a microcosm of civilised humanity as it evolved and spread over the earth and we ask ourselves if the vignette which we are given of the life and times of these Kṣatriya clans is broadly speaking a replica of innumerable other tableaux which go to the making of the vast and chequered panorama of human history what is it that gives to it a quite outstanding importance of its own?

To that question there can be but one answer—it is the simultaneous appearance as the most striking feature of the composition of two dramatic figures—one a citizen of Vaisali—the other a member of the smaller clan of the Śākya dwelling in the foothills of the Himalayas three or four hundred miles to the north-west—two members of the fraternity of Śramanas, or wandering ascetics whose teaching differing no doubt in some at least of its philosophical connotations achieved immortality by the stress which it laid in its ethical aspect upon the doctrine of loving kindness (ahimsa) which five hundred years later on the shores of the Lake of Galilee was reiterated with similar emphasis by another of the supreme figures in world history—that of Jesus of Nazareth.

Mahāvira of Vaisali Buddha of Kapilavastu Christ of Nazareth—how different a world should we not be living in to-day! I thought as the rumble of tank and the drone of aeroplane broke in upon my ear once more if men had not turned their backs upon the code of conduct common to all three and expressed succinctly by Jesus of Nazareth when, in reply to a question on the subject of the greatest commandments of the law put by a spokesman of the Pharisees who sought to embarrass him he replied simply—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself!

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As the rumble of tanks and the drone of the aeroplanes awakened me from my day-dream there arose in my mind a very different picture. In no city of the modern world I thought would a Mahāvira a Buddha or a Christ cut a more incongruous figure than in Berlin or Munich or almost any other German city. For here there has been evolved a philosophy of life and a code of conduct the very antithesis of those proclaimed these many centuries ago in the Ganges valley and on the shores of the Lake of Galilee. Throughout Germany indeed where totalitarianism has found its most complete expression the virtues of Jainism of Buddhism and of Christianity are ridiculed as the most contemptible of human weaknesses and a will to power is stridently proclaimed as the governing principle of human conduct. All freedom—not action only but of thought also—is denied to the individual who is held to be of no account while God as the object of worship has been supplanted by the State.

In a system of which the central tenet is the purely pagan doctrine that might is right there is clearly no place for any moral law and its absence has been made manifest by a whole series of appalling crimes, of which the sadistic persecution of the Jews and the almost incredible brutalities inflicted upon the hapless peoples whose lands have been overrun are but examples. It is equally clear that amongst a people imbued with the ideas which form the basis of the German conception of the Reich, a high degree of racial arrogance and a widespread exaltation of war will be

outstanding characteristics. Even so, it might have been supposed that a whole people, in spite of the emphasis laid on the sense of satisfaction to be derived from the infliction of cruelty by a writer of the fame of Nietzsche, would scarcely have been found willing to raise pure cruelty to the level of the highest virtues. Yet this is precisely what they have been willing to do, and the explanation of this sinister phenomenon is to be found in the success of a campaign of propaganda extending over a long period of time. The leaders of German thought, and notably men like Clausewitz and Moltke, knew well, indeed, how to wean their people from any such weaknesses as were to be attributed to those whom they regarded as the decadent and effeminate races. The argument was almost childishly simple, war, according to Moltke, was in itself part of the universal order of things instituted by God—who when Moltke wrote had not been wholly superseded by the State—and the purpose for which it had been ordained namely, the ennobling of the human race through suffering, must not be frustrated by any illogical attempt to humanise it. War was intended to be brutal, and the more brutal that it was and the greater the suffering that it caused the better it served the purpose for which it had been ordained.

Neither was it military writers like Clausewitz, Moltke and Bernhardi alone who played upon the baser instincts of the people and by the demoralisation—using the word in its primary meaning—which they brought about, induced the desired degree of war mentality amongst them. Writers in many walks of life—Frederick the Great and Bismarck in the ranks of the politicians, Nietzsche among the philosophers, Mommsen, Sybel and Treitschke among the historians are but a few of those who during the 19th century poured forth a stream of poisonous propaganda directed to a single end. And the harvest of this baleful sowing was garnered in a beerhall in Munich by the founder of the Nazi Party and his more immediate associates. There is no doubt that in his fevered imagination Adolf Hitler the inefficient corporal of the earlier world war, saw himself as the world's greatest superman and the German people of whom he was the archetype and preordained leader, as the chosen race, the Herrenvolk, high gods among puny mortals, destined to inherit the earth and to exercise domination over its peoples.

That there should exist a man suffering from these delusions is in itself, a matter of little significance, it merely indicates the presence in the particular individual of a pathological condition well known to the medical profession under the name of paranoia which frequently takes the form of persecutory, or ambitious mania. What is significant is the fact that a whole people should have allowed themselves to become hypnotised by so dangerous a charlatan. The explanation is to be found, of course, in the steady undermining of the nation's belief in the reality of spiritual and moral values, brought about by the insidious stream of propaganda of which a



mere indication has been given above. Much more might be said under this head, but there is no need to elaborate, for the evil teaching of a century is epitomised by Adolf Hitler himself in that most revealing and cynical of human documents *Mein Kampf*. Moreover there is another aspect of the catastrophe in which mankind is involved which calls for comment if any attempt is to be made to see it and its causes as a whole

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It is not only the peoples of the aggressor States whose outlook upon life has become unbalanced by the spectacular achievements which during recent years have crowned the strivings of civilised man on the material plane. For if in the case of the aggressor States the inventive genius and skill of the scientist have been prostituted to the perfecting of man's capacity for making war amongst the Western Democracies they have been directed too exclusively towards effecting increases in his material prosperity. The fatal mistake has been made as a recent American writer has put it, of regarding civilisation as a by-product of economic progress whereas, the essence of civilisation is a restraint imposed by divine law or by reason upon the instincts of man.<sup>1</sup> In short in the case of the one as in the case of the other man's outlook has become unbalanced because his progress on the physical plane has outstripped his advance along the moral and spiritual planes.

The theme is one on which much might be written but it is to the future that we must look to redress the evils of the past and what is vital in estimating the chances of the survival of civilisation is that there should be signs of a dawning realisation that for his moral and spiritual well being man must turn back once more to the simple truths taught him in the Ganges valley and in Palestine long centuries ago. Happily such signs are not altogether wanting

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Here in England even while the battle is at its height and it is still only with the eye of faith that the dawn of victory can be glimpsed on the far horizon there are many signs that men's minds occupying themselves with the planning of the new world which they hope to see rising from the ashes of the old are permeated with an ever growing consciousness of the spiritual and moral issues involved. In the space at my disposal nothing more than an indication of the general trend of thought is possible, let two pointers suffice to serve my purpose.

The Atlantic Charter signed by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States on August the 12th 1941 is a great document of State and as such is primarily concerned with political

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1 "A Time for Greatness" by Herbert Agar

and economic issues. It is of all the more significance, therefore, that the word "spiritual" should find a place in its phraseology—the first time in all probability that the word has crept into any such State paper. In point 8 of the Declaration the two signatories proclaim their belief that—for practical reasons, certainly, but no less for *spiritual* reasons—all the nations of the world must come to the abandonment of forces, in other words that the pagan doctrine on which German authoritarianism is based, must give way once more to the Buddhist and Christian doctrines of loving kindness and unselfishness which in their turn require that recognition be accorded to the right of the individual to be regarded as something more than a mere cog in the soulless mechanism of the Totalitarian State, to claim, indeed, as Mr Herbert Agar, writing from the standpoint of Christianity, puts it, no less a thing than equality in God—"in the divine spark which gives abiding value to the individual soul."

That is the basis on which civilisation must stand if it is to survive that one and all, the casual labourer and the merchant prince the crossing sweeper and the dweller in palaces the śūdra and the brahmin, are equal in God. And it is in consonance with the stress laid upon the preciousness of the individual soul in Christian teaching that here in England Government and Parliament alike are devoting their attention to the education and upbringing of the individual child. And this brings me to my second pointer, chosen for the reason that the worthiness or otherwise, of the new world to survive must depend in the main on the fitness of the children of to day to be its citizens.

I have spoken of education and upbringing, let it not be thought that in doing so I am guilty of tautology. Education rightly considered may, as a recent writer has observed constitute a philosophy of life. But where and how often has education been rightly considered? The same writer answers the question when he says — If there is any truth in the recapitulatory hypothesis of the evolutionary biologist then morally every baby born is a stone-age baby and in a decade or so has to be pulled up from a stone-age morality to that of a civilised morality, whereas on the other hand knowledge is cumulative and each age inherits the inventions, the learning and the institutions of its predecessors, and he concludes that "the problem of problems for education is how to speed up our ethics and to bring them into line with our scientific knowledge."<sup>1</sup>

The expression of the above view would be of less significance if it were not for the fact that the writer has put into a sentence what a large and growing number of people are thinking. There is indeed, an increasing distrust of a system of education whose curricula are confined to secular subjects and a growing sense of the urgency of fostering in the mind of the

1 T. Everard M.A., in the *Hibbert Journal* January, 1943

pupil an awareness of spiritual and moral values of raising him as Mr Everard puts it from the morality of the stone age to that of civilisation. Evidence of this is widespread. A strong Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1911<sup>1</sup> found a very general feeling that Christianity could not be called a failure because it had never been tried and an instinctive desire, particularly among the young that it should be tried both within and between the nations and in no formal and conventional manner. They added that there was evidence from the higher schools the Universities and various student and youth associations, that among the rising generation there was a movement of minds impatient of bare formularies yet eager for the truth—a feeling after God if haply they may find him. They accepted as fundamental and true the view expressed by an earlier Committee that no boy or girl could be counted as properly educated unless he or she had been made aware of a religious interpretation of life.

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Much had already been done by the leaders of the denominations to smooth away the difficulties due to doctrinal differences by collaboration on an agreed syllabus and when in July 1943 the President of the Board of Education submitted to Parliament his scheme for the reorganisation of the educational system of the country no feature of it excited more wide spread interest than his proposal for giving religious education a more clearly defined place in the life and work of the schools, and his declaration that in order to emphasise the importance of the subject provision would be made for the school day in all primary and secondary schools to begin with a corporate act of worship.

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I have travelled far from my rustic seat on the stone paved terrace outside my window as was indeed inevitable when my musings began straying over the present plight of and the future outlook for the species to which was given—in a moment of sarcasm it might also be thought—the title of *homo sapiens*. The occasion of their doing so was as I have explained the arrival of a letter which touched a chord of tender memory and it is to that letter that these discursive musings must be regarded as the answer.

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<sup>1</sup> Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood.

# DESPATCHES AND REPORTS IN INDIAN HISTORY

By

Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, MA, PRS, KT, CIE, Hony D LITT.,  
Hony MRAS (Lond), Hony Fellow RASB (Cal),  
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## I

Just a century ago the great German historian Leopold Von Ranke wrote, "I see a time coming when we shall build modern history no longer on the accounts even of contemporary historians, except where they possessed original knowledge, much less on derivative writers, but on the relations of eye witnesses and the original documents"

The modern period of Indian history may be said, in one sense, to have begun about the middle of the 17th century,—say the year 1658 when Shah Jahan's reign ended at Delhi. At that time the epoch of the Wars of Religion having been closed by the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the English Restoration (1660), the progressive peoples of western Europe were set free to direct all their energies to the expansion of eastern trade and the increase of their national wealth, the golden East was invaded by the hungry West, in the humble disguise of traders. The same thing happened in India again, but in an intensified military form (soon leading on to political domination), after 1763, when the Seven Years' War having come to an end, vast numbers of demobilised European soldiers turned their steps to this fabled land of wealth and plenty.

Happily for the student of Indian history, from about this year 1658 has been preserved a class of our historical documents which exactly satisfy Ranke's criterion, and they grow in volume and variety in the course of the next hundred years, till from 1763 onwards we have English and French, Persian and Mārāṭhī—and though this last class is as yet little known and of small size and range, Rājasthānī,—records which give us "the relations of eye witnesses". These relations naturally fall into two classes, namely (a) official despatches or the letters of military commanders, governors and diplomatic agents describing what *they* themselves have done or seen done by their subordinates, and (b) news reporters' accounts of what they have seen or heard done by others, i.e., things of exactly the same type as modern journalistic messages.

Now, it is obvious that a wide empire can be administered from the centre only by means of extensive letter writing and calling for regular local reports. This necessity was felt as early as the Persian empire of Darius,

pupil an awareness of spiritual and moral values, of raising him as Mr Everard puts it from the morality of the stone age to that of civilisation. Evidence of this is widespread. A strong Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941<sup>1</sup> found a very general feeling that Christianity could not be called a failure because it had never been tried and an instinctive desire, particularly among the young that it should be tried both within and between the nations and in no formal and conventional manner. They added that there was evidence from the higher schools the Universities and various student and youth associations that among the rising generation there was a movement of minds impatient of bare formularies yet eager for the truth 'a feeling after God if haply they may find him. They accepted as fundamental and true the view expressed by an earlier Committee that no boy or girl could be counted as properly educated unless he or she had been made aware of a religious interpretation of life.

Much had already been done by the leaders of the denominations to smooth away the difficulties due to doctrinal differences by collaboration on an agreed syllabus and when in July 1943 the President of the Board of Education submitted to Parliament his scheme for the reorganisation of the educational system of the country no feature of it excited more widespread interest than his proposal for giving religious education a more clearly defined place in the life and work of the schools and his declaration that in order to emphasise the importance of the subject provision would be made for the school day in all primary and secondary schools to begin with a corporate act of worship.

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<sup>1</sup> Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood.

# DISPATCHES AND REPORTS IN INDIAN HISTORY

By

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## I

Just a century ago the great German historian Leopold Von Ranke wrote, 'I see a time coming when we shall build modern history no longer on the accounts even of contemporary historians, except where they possessed original knowledge much less on derivative writers, but on the relations of eye-witnesses and the original documents'

The modern period of Indian history may be said, in one sense, to have begun about the middle of the 17th century,—say the year 1658 when Shah Jahan's reign ended at Delhi. At that time the epoch of the Wars of Religion having been closed by the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the English Restoration (1660), the progressive peoples of western Europe were set free to direct all their energies to the expansion of eastern trade and the increase of their national wealth, the golden East was invaded by the hungry West in the humble disguise of traders. The same thing happened in India again but in an intensified military form (soon leading on to political domination), after 1763, when the Seven Years War having come to an end vast numbers of demobilised European soldiers turned their steps to this fabled land of wealth and plenty.

Happily for the student of Indian history from about this year 1658 has been preserved a class of our historical documents which exactly satisfy Ranke's criterion and they grow in volume and variety in the course of the next hundred years till from 1763 onwards we have English and French Persian and Marathi—and though this last class is as yet little known and of small size and range Rajasthani—records which give us the relations of eye witnesses. These relations naturally fall into two classes namely (a) official despatches or the letters of military commanders governors and diplomatic agents describing what *they* themselves have done or seen done by their subordinates and (b) news reporters accounts of what they have seen or heard done by others i.e. things of exactly the same type as modern journalistic messages.

Now it is obvious that a wide empire can be administered from the centre only by means of extensive letter writing and calling for regular local reports. This necessity was felt as early as the Persian empire of Darius

about which we read, "To each of the satraps a royal secretary (i.e., writer) was attached, who attended to the receipt and despatch of the correspondence between the king and the satrap" (*Cambridge Ancient History*, iv, 197). The system was of still earlier origin, as we can judge from the Tel-el Amarna tablets, it was one of the necessities of Nature

Coming down to India and to more modern times, we find a *fully developed* recording system for the first time under Akbar. Here again, we must distinguish between the Court diarist and the press-reporter (if the latter term can be used when there was no press and no publicity of the news, and the report was contained in a hand written "news letter" for perusal by a private or royal patron). The tenth *Ain* of Book II describes a regular officer, the Recorder of Court incidents, whose duty<sup>1</sup> was to attend the royal court daily, and "write down the orders and doings of His Majesty, whatever the heads of the departments report His Majesty's remarks, appointments, gifts etc., the arrival of reports (from the provinces) and the minutes<sup>2</sup> thereon, extraordinary phenomena, harvest, etc." (*Ain-i Akbari*, tr. i, 253). The example thus set by the Mughal Emperors was imitated by their vassal princes, many of whom still maintain an officer called the *parchana-lā* for writing down the most trivial details of the daily doings of the Raja or Nawab and the occurrences of their darbar.

From the capital the system was spread to the provinces. When in December 1579, Akbar divided his empire into twelve *subahs* and organised a regular and uniform administration for them, he appointed to each province, in addition to the governor, the *ducān*, the *bakhshī* (inspector of the forces), the judge, etc., also a *Waqā' nātis* or Recorder of events (*Akbarnāmah*, tr. iii, 413). A little later, one of his highest councillors suggested to Akbar that "a daily journal of events should be obtained from all the cities and towns" (*Akbarnāmah*, tr. iii, 559). Jahangir continued this arrangement and highly praised it, remarking "Much gain and great advantage are to be brought about by it, and information is acquired about the world and its inhabitants." (*Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* tr. i, 247).

## II

In the Persian language we have a profusion of despatches from local officials and commanders of detachments or specially deputed agents sent to the Central Government at Delhi. A despatch announcing a military success was technically called a *Fath nāmāh* or "letter of victory". These, as may be easily imagined, were often highly exaggerated in tone.<sup>3</sup> The English reader

1 Done by a body of 14 clerks, two by rotation attending daily

2 And sometimes falsified as to facts e.g., when a victory was 'written in the name of' or in other words, officially ascribed to a prince and not to the general who really won it.

may remember a ludicrous example of such perversion of facts in a famous work of fiction, *Haji Baba of Ispahan*. I have found truth outdoing fiction in point of exaggeration, among the despatches of one of Aurangzib's grand sons Muizz ud din to that Emperor, penned by *munshi* Mādho Rām. The most sober and reliable accounts of victories in the Persian language are the despatches of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh I in his campaigns against Shivaji and Adil Shah (1665-1666), written by his Secretary Udirāj. The exaggeration of numbers in documents of this class and in the historical narratives based on them, may be explained away, as a natural defect of the mentality of that age and not cases of deliberate falsification. The *Cambridge Medieval History*, in commenting on the numbers alleged to have been engaged in the Crusades, justly remarks, "all these general estimates are merely pictorial in character" (V 297).

Except in this one point of numbers the military despatches in the Persian language are often of the highest degree of accuracy and rich in significant details. On the last battle of Panipat (1761), I have found two Persian narratives of contemporaries—though not strictly despatches—no way inferior in clearness and correctness to the best European historical despatches, these are Kāshirāj's diary of what he saw and did as an eye witness and the "Life of Najib ud daula" written by Sayyid Nur ud din Husain the agent of ex wazir Ghāzi ud din Imād ul mulk, who was very close to the scene and in the know of everything. These two more than compensate us for the lack of 'press reports' (*ākhhbar*) on that historic battle.

Every high official, both civil and military,—these two categories were often fused into one—and every vassal prince of the Empire of Delhi and even the French mercenary captains (like De Boigne and Perron) besides the British Residents at the courts of the Indian Powers—kept a *munshi* or Persian secretary for writing all his letters to the Indian princes and their own Indian subordinates (except inside the same Rajput State) and also for interpreting the Persian letters and news reports (*ākhhbār*) that reached him. In almost every case, these *munshis* kept with themselves copies of the letters which they wrote for their masters and others afterwards collected them together, in a classified form added a formal preface and colophon and sent them forth into the world as examples of their literary skill. This collected form has preserved many letters of the highest historical importance from the loss to which stray documents are subject. We owe thanks to the literary vanity of these writers.

### III

Besides the despatches of high officers to their royal masters, we have in the same Persian language, a very much larger number of documents consisting of Court diaries and news reports,—the latter two forming really one and the same class. *Ākhbārāt* : *Darbār* : *mu'ala* is the special name of the



reports of the occurrences and sayings at the public *darbār* of the Delhi Emperor, taken down on the spot and transmitted to the writers' absent employers. Similar reports of the *darbār* proceedings and news circulating at the Court or camp of the Nawāb of Oudh, the Nizām of Haidarābād, Sindhar, Holkar, Ranjit Singh of Lahore, etc were taken down and sent off by the scribes posted there to their masters

Every prince of the blood provincial governor general or vassal prince, when absent from the imperial Court used to employ a writer (*waqī'a navis*) to write and send to him reports of the doings and speeches at his Sovereign's court. Similarly, in the reverse direction, there were posted imperial agents at the provincial headquarters<sup>1</sup> and the camps of generals detached on campaigns, charged with the duty of sending to the Central Government periodical reports of local occurrences which were often read out openly at the Emperor's daily *darbār* and thus got incorporated in the *Ākhbārāt : Darbār : mu'ala*

These Government news writers were of three classes, in the most developed form of the Mughal intelligence department (1) *Waqī'a navis*, (2) *Sawānīh nigar*, and (3) *Kufia navis* or *harkarah*. The *Waqī'a navis* was the more regular and public reporter of the two, while the *Sawānīh nigar* was of the nature of a secret reporter on important cases only, the latter was intended to be a spy and a check on the former<sup>1</sup>. At a later stage, as a check on this check (namely the *Sawānīh nigar*), a third set of spies were appointed, called *Khufia navis* (or secret writers). These last, in the late 18th century, were popularly called *harkārahs*, though this term usually means 'couriers of news' or mail runners. The *Khufia navis* was a most confidential agent. He reported to the imperial wazir on local events without any communication with the authorities of the place, who often did not even know his name. The news reports were sent to an officer of the Central Government named the *Dārogha* of *Dak Chauki*, i.e. Superintendent of Posts and Intelligence who handed them *unopened* to the Wazir for submission to the Emperor.

Owing to the paucity and high price of hand made paper in those days and the necessity of minimising the load of the letter carriers (who travelled in pairs called *juri*, and carried the letters enclosed in bamboo cylinders called *nalo*),—these *ākhbar* or *uqā* sheets were made extremely terse their language pared down to the bare bones of the facts and figures. But on occasions of greater importance or interest they were liberal of description. Indeed these reporters by long practice of the professional craft, had developed quite a modern journalistic sense of "news value" and never failed to

<sup>1</sup> Secret news-reporters appointed from the capital to the provinces were an important element of the administration of the Abbasid Khalifs. (*Camb Med Hist* IV. 283)

report in detail any marvellous or unnatural occurrence, which illustrated the credulity and taste of that age. The diplomatic reports in the Marathi language, in the late 18th century, are an exception to this rule of brevity, and they give us full information, as I shall describe later.

Of these imperial court news letters we possess a vast mass, sent to the Rajahs of Jaipur by their Darbār agent, dating from the accession of Aurangzib (1658) till about 1730. These were written on small slips of paper, about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 4 inches, one sheet for each day. Sometimes there is no entry except the date and the remark, "His Majesty did not hold the morning darbār" or "His Majesty did not hold the evening darbār." When the events were numerous, more than one slip was used for that day. Of the mass of these news letters that came to Amber (the old capital of the Jaipur State), bundles covering 26 years were borrowed by Lt Col James Tod more than a century ago and deposited by him in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (in London). The remainder, covering the other years of Aurangzib's long reign of 51 lunar years, (with gaps for a few years) are preserved in the Jaipur State record office. These latter have been recently sorted, repaired and copied. Similar *Ākhbārāt : Darbār : Muālā* (i.e., Delhi imperial Court diaries) are found in small batches, here and there, but of a much later date than the Jaipur collection, e.g., 36 days of the year 1743 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and a larger number, covering the years 1753-56, in the Peshwas' *daftar*, Poona.

The Jaipur archives possess, in addition to these reports of the Emperor's Court, another class of reports entitled *Siāhā : Hazur*, which record the occurrences and speeches at the camp or court of the Rajahs of Jaipur. These are of great value too because the Jaipur Rajahs had, since the days of Akbar, played a very important part in the general history of the Mughal Empire. Unfortunately these papers have not been as yet copied.

#### IV

A change in the contents and importance of these diaries of the imperial Court of Delhi was caused in the latter half of the 18th century by the revolution in the fortunes of the Mughal dynasty. At the end of the year 1759, the Padshahī fell under an eclipse, when after the murder of the Emperor Alamgir II, his heir Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II) became a fugitive and a political pensioner or prisoner of the British and did not return to Delhi till January 1772. Again, at the end of 1784 he took Mahadji Sindhia as his protector and regent, so that the centre of gravity of Delhi politics shifted from the capital to the camp of Sindhia: the Emperor's keeper, and despatches in the Marathi language rose to primary importance.

The supreme value of these court diaries to Indian history will be illustrated here by one example in which light from every other source fails us. It is well known that according to the popular tradition in Rajputana the

reports of the occurrences and sayings at the public *darbār* of the Delhi Emperor, taken down on the spot and transmitted to the writers' absent employers. Similar reports of the *darbar* proceedings and news circulating at the Court or camp of the Nawāb of Oudh the Nizam of Haidarābad Sindhia, Holkar, Ranjit Singh of Lahore etc were taken down and sent off by the scribes posted there to their masters.

Every prince of the blood, provincial governor general or vassal prince, when absent from the imperial Court used to employ a writer (*waqī'a navis*) to write and send to him reports of the doings and speeches at his Sovereign's court. Similarly, in the reverse direction, there were posted imperial agents at the provincial headquarters<sup>1</sup> and the camps of generals detached on campaigns charged with the duty of sending to the Central Government periodical reports of local occurrences, which were often read out openly at the Emperor's daily *darbār* and thus got incorporated in the *Ākhbarāt : Darbār : mu'ala*

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<sup>1</sup> Secret news reporters appointed from the capital to the provinces were an important element of the administration of the Abbasid Khalifs. (*Camb Med Hist* IV, 283)

by all kinds of means brought Prince Jawān Bakht (eldest son of Shāh 'Alam) under his own influence, and came back with him to Benares. On 22nd September, he paid a visit to the Shāhizāda [Jawān Bakht] held a secret consultation with him for three hours, and summoning Nawāb Si'dat Alī Khan, the brother of the Wazīr [of Oudh], presented him to the Prince. . . That day the Baḍe Sāhib got the Prince's elephant ready, seated Si'dat Alī in the back seat (khawāsi), brought him to the Gyān bāpī in Benares city, where the Emperor Alamgir had constructed a mosque on the original site of the Vishveshvar temple, and made him perform his namāz there. Next day [should be 24th September], for witnessing the Vijayā Dashamī show, the Baḍe Sāhib taking Sadat Alī Khan, [Ghulām] Alī Khan and (the Shāhizāda's maternal uncle) Akbar Alī Khan, and ten or twelve English officers on elephants, came to the field of Chitrakut, where the Rāmlīlā is celebrated wonderfully well.

In this city is the mansion of Dundā Bhagat, the *duwān* of Rājah Chait Singh in which his wife and children reside. Some mischievous person told the Baḍe Sāhib that two *krors* of Rupees in cash lay hidden in the *duwān*'s house. The Baḍe Sāhib placed a guard over the house and had the floor dug up for seven days, he also caused the ancient seat of Sadāshiv near the Govardhan hillock to be dug up for ten or twelve days. But nothing was discovered at either place. So, the Baḍe Sāhib has been put to great shame. All the Lālās of the city are alarmed. In fact, this Government is in great straits for money on account of its indebtedness. In the English dominions up to Benares, there are 15 to 20 thousand Telingas (musketeers) forming two *campoos*, their pay has been in arrears for seven or eight months."

## V

It may be here remarked that the news letters from Delhi and other important cities in Upper India, even when written for the English Council at Calcutta or the Maratha Governments of Poona Ujjain (Sindhia) and Maheshwar (Ahalyā Bai Holkar), were all composed in Persian, though their covering letters were in English or Marathi. On arrival they were translated into English (or Marathi) by the Persian department of the respective Governments. Persian (and latterly Urdu) was the official language at Jaipur and Alwar, till our own days. The British in India as well as the French adventurers who made money in Hindustan in the 18th century, were great collectors of these news reports though written for others, and their collections have escaped destruction by having been sent to London and Paris. There are several thousand such sheets (all towards the very end of the 18th century and the first eighteen years of the 19th) in the British Museum and the India Office Library, London, a few in Paris, and a very valuable Munshi's diary of Col Camacs campaign in Malwa against Mahadji Sindhia (1780-81) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Claud Martin the famous French engineer

death of Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh I (1667) was caused by poison administered by his second son, Kirat Singh in consequence of which accusation the Kachhwa nobles have ever since that year debarred Kirat Singh's branch of their royal family (the house of Kāmā) from adoption as heir to the throne of Jaipur in the case of a failure of natural heir (See Tod's *Rajasthan*, Annals of Amber, Vol. II, Ch. 1, the end). I was the first to prove (in 1907) from contemporary Persian sources that at the time of Mirzā Rājah's death at Burhānpur, it was ascribed to poisoning by his *munshi* Udirāj, and Kirat Singh far from having been the murderer, himself led the infuriated Kachhwa soldiery in an attack on Udirāj for avenging his father's death on the culprit. And now, two court *akhbārāls* of this very time give the true facts of that great Rājah's death—quite a natural one and under circumstances which are quite credible. These documents had lain in the Jaipur archives, untouched and ungarbled ever since they were written in September and October 1667, and they have been brought to light only recently (1940). \*I translate them here (from Persian).

#### NEWS OF THE IMPERIAL COURT

27th Rabi' ul-āwwal regnal year 10th = 6th September, 1667

'Aqil Khān reported to the Emperor,—“Isfandiyyār Beg who had been appointed as a bailiff to conduct Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh to Lāhor, has written a letter to me to say that, at the time when Mirzā Rājah started from Burhānpur for the imperial court, he fell down from his horse, received very severe injuries to his leg and died on the Burhānpur road.” The Emperor remarked “He was a capable officer of the Crown and a highly trust worthy Rājah (Rājah i 'umda i tiqād').”

#### NEWS OF THE IMPERIAL COURT

22nd Jamādī ul āwwal r yr 10th = 30th October 1667

The Emperor asked Kirat Singh the son of the late Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh ‘How was the deceased Rājah wounded in the leg?’ He replied “One day as he was mounting to the back of his elephant the foot of the ladder was not properly planted and so the leg of the Rājah was injured. From that day his illness began and in a few days he died.”

Here is a piece of novel intelligence from a Marathi report —

Lāla Sevak Rām was the agent of the Peshwa's Government at the Court of the Governor General of Bengal. On 11th November 1784 he wrote a letter to Nānā Fadnis which gives some details of Warren Hastings' last visit to Benares which are not to be found elsewhere. I translate extracts from this Marāṭhi despatch below.

“At Lucknow the Bāde Sāhib (G. G.)—[alarmed at the news of Maḥdī Sindhī having brought the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam under his control]

by all kinds of means brought Prince Jawān Bakht (eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam) under his own influence, and came back with him to Benares. On 22nd September, he paid a visit to the Shāhzāda [Jawān Bakht] held a secret consultation with him for three hours, and summoning Nawāb Sā'dat Alī Khan, the brother of the Wazīr [of Oudh], presented him to the Prince. That day the Bāde Sāhib got the Prince's elephant ready, seated Sā'dat Alī in the back seat (*khawāsī*), brought him to the Gyān bāpī in Benares city, where the Emperor Alamgīr had constructed a mosque on the original site of the Vishveshvar temple, and made him perform his namāz there. Next day [should be 24th September], for witnessing the Vijayā Dashamī show, the Bāde Sāhib taking Sadat Alī Khan, [Ghulam] Alī Khan and (the Shāhzāda's maternal uncle) Akbar Alī Khan, and ten or twelve English officers on elephants, came to the field of Chitrakut, where the Ramhilā is celebrated wonderfully well. In this city is the mansion of Dundā Bhagat, the *duwān* of Rājah Chait Singh, in which his wife and children reside. Some mischievous person told the Bāde Sāhib that two *krors* of Rupees in cash lay hidden in the diwan's house. The Bāde Sāhib placed a guard over the house and had the floor dug up for seven days, he also caused the ancient seat of Sadāshiv near the Govardhan hillock to be dug up for ten or twelve days. But nothing was discovered at either place. So, the Bāde Sāhib has been put to great shame. All the Lalās of the city are alarmed. In fact, this Government is in great straits for money on account of its indebtedness. In the English dominions up to Benares, there are 15 to 20 thousand Telingas (musketeers) forming two *campoos*, their pay has been in arrears for seven or eight months."

## V

It may be here remarked that the news-letters from Delhi and other important cities in Upper India even when written for the English Council at Calcutta or the Maratha Governments of Poona, Ujjain (Sindhvā) and Maheshwar (Ahalyā Bāi Holkar), were all composed in Persian, though their covering letters were in English or Marathi. On arrival they were translated into English (or Marathi) by the Persian department of the respective Governments. Persian (and latterly Urdu) was the official language at Jaipur and Alwar, till our own days. The British in India, as well as the French adventurers who made money in Hindustan in the 18th century, were great collectors of these news reports though written for others, and their collections have escaped destruction by having been sent to London and Paris. There are several thousand such sheets (all towards the very end of the 18th century and the first eighteen years of the 19th) in the British Museum and the India Office Library, London, a few in Paris and a very valuable Munshi's diary of Col Camac's campaign in Malwa against Mahadji Sindhia (1780-81) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Claud Martin, the famous French engineer

in Oudh service, made a collection of over 1,500 sheets (1781-85) which is now in the British Museum, and the Lalsot campaign of Mahadji Sindhua (1787) is copiously illustrated by two reports daily—one from Mahadji's camp in Rajputana and the other from the Emperor's *darbar* in Delhi—throughout the three months without a break.

The ākhbārāts containing news of Ranjit Singh of Lāhor, (referring to his early years before 1814) have been mostly translated into English and published by the Panjab Government, under Professor Garrett's editorship. The other Persian akhbarāts (beginning of the 19th century) in the Peshwas' *daftar* await study and publication. I know of only one other very large collection of Persian ākhbarāts in India namely those that reached Kalé the Poona envoy at the Court of Haidarabad ranging from 1772 to the end of the century, but these too await study and even unveiling.

## VI

The historical records in the Marāṭhi language that can be rightly called primary sources all belong to the 18th century, they fall into three divisions (a) despatches (b) envoys reports, and (c) news sheets. The first of these two differ from each other in many important respects though they are both written by officials to their masters.

The historical letters in the Persian language are clearly marked off from those in Marāṭhi by certain features. First the latter class are almost always careless about dates, most of the Marāṭhi letters omit the year and many even the month, while in several of them the writer gives no date at all and we have to infer it from the context, or in exceptional cases when an exact man like Nanā Fadnis carefully endorsed them on the top corner with the date of their arrival from that information. Besides this defect, one cannot help feeling that the Marāṭhi records both of the (a) and (c) categories are too concise, scrappy and very often obscure by reason of their extreme brevity and their writers' lack of literary skill. The elegant art of the Persian *munshis* does not seem to have been admired or cultivated in the arid Deccan plateau.

The Marāṭhi official records for all practical purposes are confined to those of the Peshwas i.e. the Poona Government while the extant records of Gwalior, Indore and Baroda are very scanty and unimportant from the wider historical outlook when we go to the period before 1800 A.D. After that year records in the English language gain primacy in quantity and quality, even for Mahārāshtra's internal affairs.

The State records of the Peshwas are dispersed between two places—in the Peshwas *Daftar*, Poona down to 1774 and in the Menavli *Daftar* of the village of Menavli, in the Satara district after that year. The latter legitimately belonged to the Peshwas Government but when Nanā Fadnis during

his long years of supreme power in the Poona Government, received all the despatches that came from the subordinate officials of that Government, he kept them in his own private residence, and these after his death (in 1800) were removed to his village home at Menavli by his widow. The former collection is also enriched by a large number of papers of historical importance found among the private records of historical families, which were seized by the Inām Commission and brought to the Poona Alienation Office, whence they were never returned to their true owners. The cream of the Poona archives has been sifted, properly arranged and published by the Bombay Government in 45 volumes (7801 pages), as *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar*, edited by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

But here news letters are very few and seldom of the regular ākhbārāt type. The so-called *Peshwas' Diaries* are not at all diaries in the English sense of the term, but only accounts of daily income and expenditure, which however occasionally give an indirect information of great value. The Peshwas' itineraries, which are very full and accurately dated, are bare lists of dates and place names, and valuable only as enabling us to form a correct skeleton of their movements and marches.

## VII

We now pass on to the last section of primary sources in the Marathi language for the 18th century (really its latter half only), namely the envoys reports. These are as superior to documents of the same class in the Persian language as ordinary Persian military despatches and news reports are to their Marathi rivals. In these Marathi envoys letters we find a mastery of expression, clearness and cogency of language, and power of reporting long discussions accurately and with an eye for the essential points only,—which are a pleasing contrast to the Persian Secretaries' sickening rhetorical flourishes, bombastic flattery of their own sovereigns, and excessive verbosity in consequence of which the few relevant facts have to be dug out of a heap of words. I have in mind here the letters of Āpajī Ram Dabholkar and Sadāsiv Dinkar, Nana Fadnis's agents in Sindhiya's camp and in a lesser degree, but less only to these two, the despatches of Mahādev Govind Hingane, the Poona envoy at the Delhi Emperor's Court.

The first two of these writers, I may be pardoned for saying it, were no whit inferior in literary power or skill in observation to the Venetian ambassadors whose despatches from the Court of Tudor England are so highly valued in Europe. Their position was delicate and they had to use considerable tact at every step and weigh their words carefully, as there was an almost intolerable tension for long years between their master and the Court to which they were accredited. Their prose style is an object of study and admiration. We find no case of despatches being written by them in a code (ank-pallavī); therefore, no cypher being available, they had at times to use



a veiled language, and yet not so veiled as to baffle their masters. Many of their contractions we can easily interpret with a little detailed knowledge of the history of the time and place. E.g. *ga kār ātmak* (name beginning with G) stands for Govind Rao, *na kār* in the particular context for the Nizām Holkar's officials deputed to Sindhiya's camp complain against the latter as "our friend" and so on. *Harī bhaktas* stands for the Marathas (pious Hindus<sup>1</sup>). Some code-names of persons and places, especially with reference to British India were used, and Parasnis has printed a key to them.

The extant envoys' despatches are from the agents at the courts or camps of the Delhi Emperor, Mahadji Sindhiya, Ahalyā Bai Holkar the Maharajah of Jodhpur, the Nizam Tipu Sultan the Governor General at Calcutta the Portuguese Government of Goa—the last three of the above list being rather meagre in number. The Marathi despatches written by Daulat Rao Sindhiya and his officers and the news letters in the same language written by agents in Poona that reached Pandit Lālji Ballal Gulgule, Sindhiya's<sup>2</sup> Resident at Kota are of first rate importance for the years 1792-1803, and compensate us for the closing of the *Menavli daftar* in 1794—though the earlier portion of these Kota archives down to the year 1791 is meagre and scrappy in the information it gives. A selection from this source under the expert editorship of Rao Bahadur Govind Sakhāram Sardesai is being arranged for publication as soon as the war clouds are dispersed.

# ŚAKUNTALĀ, THE CHILD OF NATURE

By

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The English poet Wordsworth speaks of a certain Lucy in these words :

Three years she grew in sun and shower,  
Then Nature said, A lovelier flower  
On earth was never sown  
This child I to myself will take  
She shall be mine, and I will make  
A lady of my own

•       Myself will to my darling be  
Both law and impulse and with me  
The girl in rock and plain  
In earth and heaven, in glade and bower,  
Shall feel an over seeing power  
To kindle or restrain

In another poem composed "A few miles above Tintern Abbey" the same poet tells us how he was prone to recognise—

In Nature and the language of sense  
The anchor of my purest thoughts the nurse  
The guide the guardian of my heart, and soul  
Of all my moral being

while in his poem styled "The Excursion" he has delineated several aspects or stages of the relation that can subsist between Man and Nature. Critics are agreed that what Wordsworth affords us in these and other poems of his are not so many examples of what is known as the Pathetic Fallacy whereby man simply transfers his own feelings, emotions and sentiments to "inanimate" objects. The thoughts and impulses that Man is apt to derive from Nature she really has the power to communicate to him because between Nature and Man there is at work one self same soul or spirit, so that an inward communion between the two is as readily and legitimately possible as between two sympathising human friends, and for such communion there is not always required the use of articulate language.

The philosophical basis of the above "Theory of Nature" which Wordsworth is known to have believed in and promulgated comes very near to the view point of India's own Vedānta Philosophy, which asserts that one and the same Ātman pervades men, animals, plants and the whole creation. That this was Kālidāsa's own creed goes without saying, but if a poetic proof of it be necessary, the most convincing would be the speech of Urvaśī (*Vikramor*

ratyam, Act IV, passage 57, Pandit's edition), who, cursed to become a creeper and subsequently restored to her original form has preserved for us a record of her experience as a creeper! \*

अभ्यन्तरकरणाए मए पचहलीकिदुत्तान्तो ए महाराओ । [ अभ्यन्तरकरणा  
मया प्रत्यक्षीकृतश्रुतान्त खलु महाराज । ]

In fact with the Hindu belief in Transmigration of the Soul this can be accepted as the normal experience in such matters, so that it is possible to assert that objects in Nature can feel and communicate their thoughts just as well as human beings. The most apposite example of the kind, however, is to be found in Śakuntalā, the heroine of Kalidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* who was every inch a true Child of Nature, and whom the Poet has not merely described in words, but has ushered before us in flesh and blood and made her speak and feel and act in the way such a child would normally feel and act, and that constitutes the real interest of the following investigation.

Born of Menakā the Heavenly Nymph from sage Viśvāmitra whose fierce penance led the apprehensive Lord of Heaven (Indra) to send down the Nymph to tempt him and frustrate his penances the mother abandons the infant in the forest and returns to Heaven. Thus left forlorn, the birds of the air take pity upon her and feed her until she is found by sage Kanva who names her Śakuntalā (lit 'fed by birds') and adopts her as his foster child.

As companions of her childhood sage Kanva assigned to his foster child not only the two friends Anasūyā and Priyamvadā—whose names sufficiently indicate their carefully contrasted character—but the creepers Mādhavī Ati muktakī and above all Śakuntalā's creeper sister† Navamālīka fondly named

Groves Moonlight, the Bakula Kesara Sahakara (mango) and other trees planted and tended with care and kindness, the deer, antelopes peacocks swans cuckoos and cakravākas not to mention the Sylvan Deities. To assiduously tend water, feed and minister to the comforts of all these inmates of the Āśrama (besides the welcoming of occasional guests) was by Kanva enjoined as a daily task upon Śakuntalā who soon grew to like that task and find therein the real joy of service compare<sup>2</sup>

ए केवल तादणिओओ । अत्थि ममावि सोदरसिणेहो एदेखु । [ न केवल  
तातनियोग\* । अस्ति ममापि सोदरस्नेह एतेषु । ]

or the well known stanza<sup>2</sup> of Kanva in Act IV—

पातु न प्रथम व्यवस्यति जल युष्मास्वपीतेषु या  
नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवता स्नेहेन या पश्यम् ।

\* NB—For the convenience of readers not so familiar with the original words of Kālidāsa, I have numbered the text-quotations in the essay *seriatim* and translated them into English at the end.

† *Ladābahmā* of Asyaṁ ahaṁ tvayī ca sampratī vitacintah [ 'In regard to her and, now in regard to thyself also I have become freed of all anxiety ]

आद्ये वः कुसुमप्रवृत्तिसमये यस्या भवत्युत्सवः  
सेयं याति शकुन्तला पतिग्रहं सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम् ॥

All these her comrades of the animal and vegetable kingdom became, each one of them, instinct with a life and an individuality of his own no less distinctive than that of Anasūyā or Priyamvadā. Naturally, they called forth from Śakuntalā acts of service and friendliness varying with the varying circumstances of each. Thus the creepers had not only to be daily watered and nurtured, but, whenever they showed signs of budding youth, they had to be mated with befitting trees, or if they, like Śakuntalā herself subsequently, did not wait for the elders, but made it a *stayamvara* or mating by self-choice, they had at least to be felicitated upon their great good fortune. So too, the tender fawns needed particular care when, chewing blades of grass for the first time, they injured their tender mouths. There was one such in particular that had lost its mother at birth, and Śakuntalā took upon herself the office of a mother to this youngling, fondly naming it *Dīrghāpāṅga* (lit long eyed) and tenderly applying the *Ingudi* oil to its injured lips and, in fact, discharging for him all the functions of a loving mother, just as Dame Nature had done in the case of Śakuntalā herself when mother Menakā had heartlessly abandoned her. Compare Śakuntalā's words\* in Act IV—

वच्छ । किं सहवासपरिचाङ्गि मं अणुसरसि । अचिरप्पसूदाए जणणीए विणा  
वड्ढिदो एव्व । दाणि पि मए विरहिद तुम तादो चिन्तइस्सदि । [ वत्स । किं सह-  
वासपरित्यागिनीं मामनुसरसि । अचिरप्रसूतया जनन्या विना वर्धित एव । इदानीमपि  
मया विरहितं त्वा तातश्चिन्तयिष्यति । ]

or, the stanza preceding, where Kanva feelingly describes how Sakuntalā used to tend the orphaned youngling—

यस्य त्वया व्रणविरोपणमिभ्रुदीना  
तैल न्ययिच्यत मुखे कुशसूचिविद्धे ।  
श्यामाकमुष्टिपरिवर्धितको जहाति  
सोऽयं न पुनकृतकः पदवीं भृगस्ते ॥

In consequence of such a constant and continuous exchange of sympathy and service, Śakuntalā and all these companions of hers, human and others, were expected to exhibit a perfect understanding of each other's needs and moods, divining and anticipating each other's thoughts and hastening to further and fulfil each other's wishes expressed or suppressed. It was nothing strange, therefore, that Priyamvadā could read correctly Śakuntalā's innermost thoughts as the latter empties her pitcher into the basin of Vanṛjyotsnā and gazes at her wistfully\*.

अणुसूए । जाणासि किंनिमित्तं सउन्दल वणजोसिणि अदिमेतं पेस्सदि ।.....।

\* जहा वणजोसिणी अणुरूपेण पाअवेण सगदा, अवि नाम एव्व अहं वि अत्तणी अणुसू  
वरं लहेअ ति । [ अणुसूये । जाणासि किंनिमित्तं शकुन्तल वनज्योत्स्नामनिमात्र

प्रेक्षते ।.....। यया वनज्योत्स्ना अनुरूपेण पादपेन सगता, अपि नाम एवमहमपि  
आत्मनोऽनुरूप वरं लभेयेति । ]

But, is it not equally legitimate to inquire whether Vanajyotsnā Śakuntala's creeper sister, could not have done the same? So too—to take another illustration—if Anasūyā and Priyamvada were capable of devising ways and means for bringing the Hero and the Heroine together by the expedient of Śakuntala's love letter, which Priyamvadā was to deliver into Duśyanta's hands?—

तं मुमनोगोविदं करिअ देवदासेसावदेसेण से हत्थअ पावइस्स । [ तं मुमनोगोपि  
इत्था देवताशेपापदेशेन तस्य हस्तं प्रापयिष्यामि । ]—

would not the Bakula or the Kesara tree or the creeper Vanajyotsnā think of accomplishing something in the same line to bring about a similar result? That these would be no idle questions to ask in regard to Śakuntala's Āśrama companions as Kalidāsa himself paints them follows from the circumstance that later, when Śakuntala starts to go to her husband's house, it is not only Anasūyā and Priyamvada that get together for the occasion auspicious decorations like<sup>8</sup>—

गोरोअण, तिथमिस्सिअ, दुव्वाकिसलआणिस्सि मङ्गलसमालम्भणाणि [ गोरोचन,  
तीर्थमृत्तिका, दूर्वाकिसलयानीति मङ्गलसमालम्भनानि ]—

not forgetting that garland of Bakula [Kesara] flowers which we are told Anasūya had specially set aside for the occasion<sup>9</sup>

एदस्सि चूदसाहावलम्बिदे णारिएलसमुग्गए एदणिमित्त एव कालन्तरक्खमा  
णिक्खित्ता मए बउल [केशर] मालिआ । [ एतस्मिन्धूतशाखावलम्बिते नारीकेलसमुद्भूते  
एतनिमित्तमेव कालान्तरक्षमा निक्खित्ता मया बकुल [केशर] मालिका । ]—

but as Kalidasa purposely tells us even the Āśrama trees had sent their own real (not imaginary) marriage presents<sup>10</sup>

क्षौम केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा माङ्गल्यमाविष्कृत  
निष्ठपूत्रधरणोपभोगसुलभो लक्ष्मणस केनचित् ।  
अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितै  
र्दानान्याभरणानि तद्विक्खल्लयोद्धेदप्रतिद्विदिभि ॥

*This is my problem number 1*

Similarly, if before encouraging Śakuntala's passion for Duśyanta Anasūya and Priyamvada are so anxiously debating amongst themselves as to whether the King can prove a deserving object for Śakuntala's love<sup>11</sup>

अणसूए । दूरगअमम्महा अवल्लमा इअ कालहरणस्स । जस्सि बद्धभावा एसा सो  
ल्लामभूतो पोरवाण । ता जुस्स से अहिल्लसो अहिल्लिन्दु । [ अनसूये । दूरगतमन्मथा  
अहमेयं कालहरणस्य । यस्मिन् बद्धभावैषा स ल्लामभूत पोरवाणाम् । तमुचमस्या  
अभिल्लयोऽभिनन्दितुम् । ]

and subsequently when the King himself actually and unexpectedly appears on the scene, if the same companions are seen to take on their own part all precautions to ensure a successful sequel to the love intrigue by observing<sup>1</sup>

वअस्स । बहुवल्लहा राआणो सुणीअन्ति । जह णो पिअसही बन्धुअणसोअणिज्जा  
ण होदि तह णिव्वाहेहि । [ वयस्य । बहुवल्लभा राजान ध्रूयन्ते । यथा न प्रियसखी  
बन्धुजनशोचनीया न भवति तथा निर्वाह्य । ]—

are we not entitled to expect that some other companions of Sakuntala from the plant or animal life ought to have been shown by the Poet as being capable of exhibiting an equal solicitude for Śakuntala's future welfare?

*This is my problem number 2*

Finally, in that well known and lavishly praised parting scene in Act IV wherein we see the whole Nature grieving at the impending separation from Śakuntala<sup>13</sup>

उगलिददम्भकवला मिआ परिचत्तणचणा मोरा ।

ओसरिअण्डुपत्ता मुअन्ति अस्सू विअ लदाओ ॥

[ उद्वलितदर्भकवला मृग्य परित्यक्तनर्तना मयूर्य । अपस्तपाण्डुपत्रा मुचन्त्य  
श्रूणीव लता ॥ ]—

and where to forestall the dreaded consequences of the curse of Durvasas the two friends at the final moment of parting remind Sakuntala of the ring of Duṣyanta casually desiring her to make use of it if and when needed but unwisely keeping from Śakuntala all knowledge of the curse on the flimsy pretext of saving her some present grief<sup>14</sup>

रक्खिदव्वा क्खु परिदिपेव्वा पिअसही । [ रक्षितव्या खलु प्रकृतिपेव्या  
प्रियसखी । ]—

and wherein even father Kanva possessing as he did the Prophet's pre vision\* of the great ordeal of grief and suffering through which his daughter was destined to pass would not yet convey to her any indication or warning not only in the text book advice that he specifically reads to her<sup>15</sup>

शुश्रूषस्व गुरुन् कुरु प्रियसखीश्रुतिं सपत्नीजने etc —

but even through that most stoically conceived message to the King<sup>1</sup> which he dictates seated under the shade of the obliging Kṣiravṛkṣa

अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य समयमनानुचै कुल चात्मन-  
स्त्वप्यस्या कथमप्यबाधवकृता स्नेहप्रश्रुतिं च ताम् ।—

begging for his daughter no special concessions but merely an equality of opportunities and freedom to work out her own destiny

Compare Marica's words<sup>13</sup> in Act VII—तपः प्रभावात् प्रत्यक्षमेतत् तत्र भवत इत्यस्य ।

सामान्यप्रतिपत्तिपूर्वकमिय दारेषु दृष्ट्या त्वया  
भाग्यायत्तमत परं न खलु तद्वाच्य वधूवन्धुभि ॥

In this parting scene I repeat where we see Śakuntala heedlessly marching so to say right to the very brink of the precipice in a mood of confident hopefulness \* her friends and father alike conspiring (although from different motives) to keep her utterly in ignorance of the gravity and imminence of the dangers lowering over her head—the father in particular vainly endeavouring to suppress his sombre thoughts†—why should we not suppose that some of the sub human friends of the Heroine could have sympathetically caught up the innermost thoughts of the Sage and found for them in their own language of looks signs and movements an expression which could have at least momentarily touched the fringe of Śakuntala's consciousness even though it might have subsequently been driven out of it by some extraneous circumstance so that when she reaches the court of Duśyanta she remains absolutely unprepared for the storm that is to descend upon her with a tragic crash ?

*This is my problem number 3*

Now my study of Kalidasa's *Abhyāñanasakuntala* all these years has fully convinced me that if instead of the *Śakuntala* of our uncritically edited text books we had before us the real original *Śakuntala* as Kalidasa wrote it all the above problems would meet their instant and correct solutions. Such an edition is however not yet within sight ‡ The problem of the *Ur Śakuntala* deserves to be tackled in the same manner in which the allied Mahabharata problem is being tackled the underlying principles of textual reconstruction being the same in both cases with this important difference that while in constituting the present critical text of the B O R Institute's edition of the Great Epic what is known as Higher Criticism comes very rarely in evidence this will have to be more frequently appealed to in the case of Kalidasa's *Magnum Opus* because speaking relatively the problem in the

\* Compare<sup>18</sup> परिणय एव सदेहो । कुदो दाणि मे दूराधिरौहिणी आसा । [ परिणय एव सदेह । कुत इदानीं मे दूराधिरौहिण्याशा । ]

† The best evidence of the state of Kanva's mind is the stanza \*

अभिजनवतो भर्तुं श्लाघ्ये स्थिता दृहिणीपदे  
विभवगुरुभि कृत्यैस्तस्य प्रतिक्षणमाकुल ।  
तनयमचिरात् प्राचीवार्कं प्रसूय च पावनं  
मम विरहजा न त्व वत्से शुच गणयिष्यसि ॥

which although designed to comfort and cheer up Śakuntala is still thrown into the plaintive dirge like Harṇi metre. That this is the Poet's conscious hut should follow from the circumstance that there occur only three stanzas in the Play thrown into this particular metre and they have each its own *raison d'être*

‡ I tried to evoke the interest of the Vikrama B M Ummam Celebrations for it but without much success.

Play is unitary and far less complicated. For obvious limitations of space I shall not attempt the indicated textual reconstitution here, but content myself with the demonstration that, assuming the correctness of the reconstituted text, we are able to deduce therefrom a conduct on the part of the Nature-companions of Śakuntalā which is just what one is led to expect if Kālidāsa, like the true Hindu that he was, had regarded objects in Nature as being instinct with life and sentiency.

In a paper I contributed in 1925 to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, Pt. 2, pp. 349-359, I put forth the view that the order of the speeches in Act I of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* from the speech behind the curtain of the Heroine<sup>20</sup> :

इदो इदो पिअसहीओ । [ इत इतः प्रियसख्यः । ]

to the point where the bee emerges from Vanajyotsnā's basin<sup>21</sup> :

अम्मो । सलिलसेअसंभमादो णोमालिअं उज्झिअ वअणं मे महुअरो अहिवट्ठदि ।

[ अहो । सलिलसेअसंभमान्नवमालिकामुज्झित्वा वदनं मे मधुकरोऽभिवर्तते । ]

has gone wrong in the current editions of the Play. The Bengali recension here gives 35 speeches, the Kāśmīrian recension 27, and the Devanāgarī *cum* South-Indian recension advocated by Cappeler, only 22. The story given by these sets of passages falls into three moments : the loosening of Śakuntalā's tight garment (*Valkalaśithilikaraṇa*), Śakuntalā's approaching the Kesara tree upon a supposed beckoning from the tree (*Kesarasamīpagamana*)<sup>22</sup> :

एसो वादेरिदपल्लवहुलीहिं तुवरेदि विअ मं केसरवृक्षसो । जाव णं संमावेमि ।

[ एष वातेरितपल्लवानुलीभिस्त्वरयतीव मां केसरवृक्षः । यावदेनं संमादयामि । ]

and Śakuntalā's watering the Navamālikā creeper (*Navamālikāśiṅcana*). The available printed editions give the *Valkalaśithilikaraṇa* before the *Kesarasamīpagamana*. Only the recension contained in the unique birch-bark MS., Bombay Govt. Collection, No. 192 of 1875-76 (now deposited in the B. O. R. Institute), gives precedence to the *Kesarasamīpagamana*. The same MS. also tells us (through a stage-direction) that the King had concealed himself behind this very Kesara tree. No wonder, in that case, if the Kesara tree got confused by the unexpected presence of a stranger, and beckoned sister Śakuntalā (whose assigned task it was to attend to all Āśrama visitors) to his side. For, why should Śakuntalā have interpreted the slight flutter in the leaves of the Kesara, caused by a stray breeze, as the tree's call to her? Not a blade of grass can move without some purpose : that was the Hindu Poet's article of faith. Kālidāsa elsewhere tells us, in so many words, that trees are in the habit of making birds (and, let us add, bees and movement of leaves) as vehicles of their thoughts : compare<sup>23</sup>—

अनुमतगमना शकुन्तला

तदभिरियं वनवासवन्धुभिः ।



परभृतविस्त कल यथा

प्रतिपत्तीकृतमेभिरीदृशम् ॥

When Śakuntala approaches the Kesara tree that movement is described in the editions by the stage direction *Tatha karoti* [Does accordingly] the birch bark MS alone makes it *Ramah samnikarṣam agacchati* [[Approaches the presence of the King] The ensuing comparison of the Heroine to a creeper by the side of THIS tree"—

जाव तु ए उवगदाए लदासणाहो विअ अअ केसरघम्बओ पडिभादि । [ यावत् त्वयोपगतया लतासनाथ इवाय केसरवृक्षक प्रतिभाति । ]

gains in suggestive value only if the King is behind the tree and the *Valkala sūhīlikarāna* effected while the Heroine is so near the Hero (whose presence the ladies of course do not suspect) has a *syngatic* value which Kālidasa of all poets was not going to miss There is much therefore in that stage direction which should prove that the MS is in some passages at any rate in the line of authentic text transmission Only a fool or a pedant would think of changing that tell tale stage direction to the flat *Tatha karoti* of the editions !

The speeches that follow after this moment in the watering scene and particularly the words of Śakuntala :

हृत् । रमणीए क्खु काले इमस्स लदापादवमिहुणस्स वइअरो सचुत्तो । णवकुसु मजोव्वणा वणजोत्तिणी, वद्धपल्लवदाए उवभोअवखमो सहअरो । [ सखि । रमणीये खल्ल कालेअस्य लतापादपमिधुनस्य व्यतिकर ससत्त । नवकुसुमयौवना वनजोत्ता, वद्धपल्लवतयोपभोगक्षम सहकार । ]

are sufficiently indicative of what was passing in the innermost thoughts of Śakuntala Priyamvada's guess quite hits the mark and confuses the Heroine But could not the other Nature companions—and particularly the Vanajyotsna that formed the theme of the conversation—have divined the thoughts ? Certainly yes and the Creeper goes one better and having seen the concealed King and believing him to be an appropriate consort for sister Śakuntala she exercises the already married elder sister's privilege of arranging to bring her younger sister into contact with her would be lover Hence, we must assume she it is that purposely starts the bee ! Śakuntala had been watering so many trees and creepers that morning Why should a bee have started only from the basin of the Vanajyotsna ? Mere chance some one would reply but in a world believed to be permeated by an indwelling Spirit chance has to be ruled out.

The Kesara tree and the creeper Vanajyotsna thus prove themselves Śakuntala's real loving companions

*This is how I propose to solve my problem No 1*

To be able to give a satisfactory solution of the next problem would sorely test one's understanding of Kālidasa's *Śakuntala* In that famous Repudiation-scene in Act V when to her utter consternation Śakuntalā finds

that the ring is unaccountably missing as a last desperate attempt to awaken the King's dormant memory, she hits upon the expedient of narrating the Dirghāpāṅga incident"<sup>6</sup>

ण एकदिअहे गोमालिआमण्डवे णलिणीपत्तमाअणग्द उदअ तुह हत्थे सणिहित  
आसि । तत्तखण सो मे पुत्तकिदओ दीहापत्तो णाम हरिणपोदओ उवट्ठिदो । तुए अअ  
दाव पढम पिअउत्ति अणुअम्पिणा उवच्छन्दिदो उदएण । ण उण दे अपरिचआदो  
हत्थच्चास\* उवग्दो । पच्छा तस्सि एव मए गहिदे सलिले णेण किदो पणओ । तद  
तुम इत्थ पढसिदो सि । सब्बो सगन्धेषु विस्ससिदि । दुवे वि एत्थ आरण्णआ ति ।  
[नन्वेकदिवसे नवमालिकामण्डपे नलिनीपत्रभाजनगतमुदक तव हस्ते सनिहितमासीत् ।  
तत्क्षण स मे पुनरुत्तको दीर्घापात्रो नाम हरिणपोतक उपस्थित । त्वया—अय तावत्  
प्रथम पिबतु—इत्यनुकम्पिनोपच्छन्दित उदकेन । न पुनस्तेऽपरिचयादस्ताभ्याशमुपगत ।  
पश्चात् तस्मिन्नेव मया गृहीते सलिलेऽनेन कृत प्रणय । तदात्वमित्थ प्रहसितोऽसि ।  
सर्वं सगन्धेषु विश्वसिति । द्वावप्यत्रारण्यकाविति । ]

\* This very word is used by Śakuntalā a little later to describe her own condition when, convinced of Duṣyanta's perfidy by the unintended double entente of the words *amanuṣiṣu antarikṣagamanat duṣiṣah* and *parabhṛtaḥ* in the stanza"<sup>7</sup>

खीणामशिक्षितपटुत्वममानुषीयु  
सदृश्यते किमुत या प्रतिबोधवत्य ।  
प्रागन्तरिक्षगमनात् स्वमपत्यजात  
मन्यैर्द्विजैः परभृत खलु पोषयन्ति ॥

she wrathfully bursts out<sup>28</sup>

अणब्ब । अत्तणो हिअआणुमाणेण पेक्खसि । को दाणि अण्णो धम्मकञ्जुअण्वे-  
सिणो तिणच्छण्णकूबोवमस्स तव अणुकिदि पडिपदिस्सदि । [ अनार्य । आत्मनो हृदया-  
नुमानेन प्रेक्षसे । क इदानीमन्यो धर्मकञ्जुकप्रवेशिनस्तुणच्छनकूपोपमस्य तवानुकृतिं  
प्रतिपत्स्यते । ]

And upon Duṣyanta's words<sup>29</sup>

भदे । प्रथित दुष्यन्तस्य चरितम् । तथापीद न लक्ष्यते ।

she flings back a spirited reply (unaccountably omitted by all editors<sup>1</sup>) which is quite worthy of the daughter of the fiery sage Viśvāmitra<sup>30</sup>,

तुम्हे व्येव पमाण जाणघ धम्मत्थिदि अ लोअस्स ।  
लज्जाविणिज्जिदाओ जाणन्ति हु किं ण महिलाओ ॥

[ यूयमेव प्रमाण जानीध धर्मेस्थिति च लोकस्य । लज्जाविनिर्जिता जानन्ति  
खलु किं न महिला ॥ ]

And then finally adds<sup>31</sup>—

मुण्डु दाव सच्छन्दआरिणी किदम्हि जा अह इमस्स पुरुवसपच्चएण हिअअसत्थ-  
धारस्स मुहमहुणो हत्थच्चासं उवग्गदा । [ मुण्डु तावत् स्वच्छन्दचारिणी कृतारिम्  
याहमस्य पुण्यशत्रुत्ययेन हृदयशस्त्रधारिणो मुत्तमपुनो हस्ताभ्याशमुपगता । ]

See below for the propriety of the phrase हिअअसत्थधारस्स (carrying a weapon [concealed] in the heart) instead of हिअअविसत्थ (having poison in the heart)

Here, is it not legitimate to ask why Śakuntalā chose this particular incident? The choice of the Navamalika bower is of course significant. But why did Duṣyanta fetch—presumably from the adjacent river canal—water in a lotus-leaf receptacle? And why did Dirghapāṅga present himself in the bower just at this juncture? It is easy enough to brush aside these as idle questions, as the products of some hyper sensitive critic and they would probably be no more than that if Kalidasa had not been a consummate artist who weighed his words and whose every hit counted. Years ago I invited scholars to let me have their reasons as to the choice of the incident. Some few responded but not quite satisfactorily. Here is my own reading of the situation.

The bower incident was meant to remind the King—for that is the main point—of his having given the ring. It must therefore have taken place immediately before or after the gift of the ring. When later the missing ring is recovered and by the consequent termination of the curse the King's memory returns this is how he describes what did take place<sup>12</sup>:

तदा स्वनगराय प्रस्थित मा प्रिया सबाष्पमाह, कियच्चिरेणायपुन प्रतिपत्तिं  
दास्यतीति । पश्चादिमा नाममुदा तदङ्गुलौ निवेशयता मया प्रत्यभिहिता—

एवैकमत्र दिवसे दिवसे मदीय

नामाक्षरं गणय गच्छसि यावदन्तम् ।

तावत् प्रिये मदवरोधगृहप्रवेश

नेता जनस्तत्र समीपमुपैष्यतीति ॥

The above assurance given by the King apparently satisfied Śakuntalā. She ceased weeping and was ready to put implicit faith in her lover's words. Thereupon following the time honoured Hindu custom Śakuntalā's tear-soiled face had to be washed. The water in the lotus leaf receptacle was what Bhaṣa\* in a similar situation calls *mukhodakam*. The coming in of the Dirghapāṅga in the bower at this juncture was due not to his being thirsty—for there was the running canal water close by for the purpose—but because the fawn wished to give his foster mother a warning against too readily putting trust into this stranger who from Dirghapāṅga's view point was no more than a hunter carrying weapons to kill innocent deer. Dirghapāṅga has clearly shown his distrust of the King by refusing to drink from his hand.

This Dirghapāṅga is actually introduced on the stage in Act IV. Śakuntalā has just taken leave of her creeper sister Vanajyotsna twined around her mate the mango tree<sup>13</sup>:

वृणजोसिणि । चूदसगतावि पञ्चालिङ्ग म इशेगदाहिं साहावाहाहि । [वनज्योत्स्ने ।

चूदसगतापि प्रत्यालिङ्ग मामितोगताभि शाम्बावाहाभि । ]

and is mentally carving out a rosy picture of her own married life with the King Duṣyanta. The next object that she notices is a doe who like Śakun

\* Cp *Śaṅkharasāradattam* Act IV towards the end

talā herself, was expecting shortly to be a mother<sup>34</sup> :

ताद । एसा उडजपञ्चन्तचारिणी गम्भमन्यरा मिअवहू जदा अणघप्सवा होई  
तदा मे कं पि पिअगिवेदइत्तअं विसजइत्सह । [ तात । एपोटजपर्यन्तचारिणी गर्भम-  
न्यरा मृगवधूर्यदानघप्रसवा भवति तदा मे कमपि प्रियनिवेदयितारं विसर्जयिष्यथ । ]

Her own picture of herself as the mother for the moment drives out her earlier picture of herself as the wife and the Queen ; and we might imagine that Śakuntalā is engaged in mentally contrasting the treatment that she herself would be giving to her own would-be son. At this precise psychological moment her foster-son Dirghāpāṅga pulls her up by the garment, and seems to ask whether, in abandoning him then, she was behaving any better than her own mother Menakā ? I am, however, disposed to think that Dirghāpāṅga's appearance here was to give his foster-mother another parting warning about Duṣyanta, whose perfidy was, at long last, apparent even to the simple Anasūyā<sup>35</sup> :

एवं नाम विसअपरंमुहत्स वि जणत्स ण एदं ण विदिअं जघा तेण रण्णा  
सउन्दलाए अणजं आअरिदं । [ एवं नाम विषयपराध्मुखस्यापि जनस्य नैतन्न विदितं  
यथा तेन राज्ञा शकुन्तलयामनार्यमाचरितम् । ]

If Śakuntalā's mind had not been obsessed by her day-dreams, she probably would have received and understood all these warnings which her comrades in Nature sought to give her, as she ere this had understood the beckoning of the Kesara tree in Act I.

*This is my solution to my problem No. 2.* Fortunately, except in minor details, the textual question does not come in the way of our reaching this solution, once we accustom ourselves to read Kālidāsa's masterpiece with an inquiring and sympathetic mind.

The third problem I have discussed in full details in a paper I contributed to the "Asia Major", Vol. II, fasc. 1, pp. 84-87, as early as 1923. It refers to the Cakravāka incident in Act IV. There are three Prākṛit speeches connected with it, out of which, the shorter or the Devanāgarī recension gives the second and the third, omitting the first, while the Bengali gives the first only, omitting the other two. The Kāśmīrian MS. gives all the three, and fully satisfies the demand of higher criticism. The speeches in their correct order are as follows<sup>36</sup>—

अनसूया—सहि । ण सो अस्समपदे अरिथि चित्तवन्तो जो तए विरहिमन्तो अन्न ण ऊप्पओ  
कदो । पेक्ख ।

पुडइणित्तन्तरिअं वाहरिओ णाणुवाहरेदि पिअं ।

मुहउब्बुद्धमुणालो तद दिट्ठि देद चयाओ ॥

[ सति । न स आध्रमपदेस्ति चित्तवान् यस्त्वया विरहमाणोऽयं नोत्तुङ्कः  
कृतः । प्रेक्षस्य । पक्षिनीपत्रान्तरिता व्याहृतो नानुव्याहरति प्रियाम् । मुग्धोदग्गृणाल-  
त्त्वयि दृष्टिं ददाति चक्रवाकः ॥ ]

शकुन्तला—हल । पेक्ष ।

गलिणीवृत्तान्तरिअ एसा पिअसहअरं अपेक्षन्ती ।

आरब्ध चक्रवादे दुष्परमहं करोमि ति ॥

[ सखि । प्रेक्षस्व । नलिनीपत्रान्तरितमेवा प्रियसहचरमप्रेक्षमाणा । आरटलि चक्रवादी दुष्परमहं करोमीति ॥ ]

प्रियवदा—सहि । मा एव्य मन्तेहि ।

• एसावि पिण्ण विणा गमेइ रअणि विसाददीहअरं ।

गरुअ पि विरहदुक्ख आसाबन्धो सहावेदि ॥

[ सखि । मैव मन्यस्व । एषापि प्रियेण विना गमयति रजनीं विषाददीर्घतराम् ।

गुरुमपि विरहदुःखमाशाबन्ध साहयति ॥ ]

Here the whole incident is designed to convey to Śakuntala a representation of the fate that is in store for her. The Cakravakī calls but the Chakravakī—through causes beyond his control his heart being full of Śakuntala—does not answer. So before long would Śakuntala be herself calling and Duryānta would not answer. Anasūya administers a consolation to her friend which she could do with some confidence because they had in their possession the Royal ring which was to terminate the curse. Hence we find that in their very next speech the friends are reminding Śakuntala of the ring. From another point of view the Cakravakī in a sort of a spiritual telepathy may be said to be taking up from Kanva the grief to which the stoic Sage refuses to give an opening and so the Cakravakī tries in his own ways to warn Śakuntala of the ordeal of sorrow and suffering through which she has to pass. That Śakuntala misses this warning as she missed that of Dirghapanga was due to her pre-occupation to her mind not being attuned to receive them. The Friends seem to have understood the Cakravakī and so immediately bethink themselves of the signet ring.

From the above discussion it will have become sufficiently evident that Kalidasa has depicted Śakuntala as a true Child of Nature privileged to have intimate intercourse and communion with the objects in Nature in the midst of which she was brought up. A true understanding of the inner significance of Kalidasa's *Śakuntala* would be impossible unless we understand the Poet's Philosophy of Nature. That sufficient attention to this aspect of the Play has not been hitherto paid has to be attributed to the circumstance that *pace* Pischel and Patankar and Cappeler a really critical edition of the Play still remains a desideratum.

#### ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXTS

1 By me possessed of inward senses hath been indeed witnessed the condition and happenings of Your Majesty

2 Not merely because my father hath ordered it I for my own part do also entertain a fraternal affection for these

3 'She, who would not think of drinking water herself whilst your thirst remained unslaked, who, although fond of decorating [her person], would not, for very affection, deprive you of even a leaflet, to whom the time of your first blossom used to be an occasion of festivity she, Sakuntala, is now leaving for her husband's house. may ye all assent to it!'

4 "My child, why wouldst thou follow me who am ready to forswear thy company? Thou hast been—is not it so?—reared up when thy mother died so soon after thy birth. Now too, separated from me, father Kanva is there to look after thee'

5 "To whose mouth, pierced by the prickly ends of Kusa grass, was by thee applied, to heal the wound, the oil of *Ingudi*: that dear foster son of thine, whom thou didst feed on handfuls of *Śyamāka* rice he is [now] loath to leave thy track"

6 "Anasūye, knowest thou wherefore Sakuntala is gazing so intently upon Vanajyotsna? Just as Vanajyotsnā hath been joined to a befitting tree mate, would that I also do secure a lover befitting me'

7 "I shall conceal it under flowers and make it fall into his hand under pretext of its being [part of the] remainings of divine worship'

8 'Yellow pigment, holy earth, Dūrvā ends, and other auspicious decorations'

9 "In that palm leaf basket slung upon the mango branch I have kept aside—for this very occasion—a Bakula [Kesara] garland that retains its fragrance a long time"

10 "An auspicious silken garment white as the moon, was put forth by one tree, by another was exuded lac dye pleasant for use on the soles. From the others arose up to the finger joints the palms of Sylvan Deities that vied with the sprouting up of their own tender leaflets and they proffered [all these] ornaments

11 "Anasūye, far gone in love as she is, she is incapable of brooking loss of time. Where her affection is fixed, he is the ornament of the Paurava race. So it behoves us to congratulate her upon her love"

12 "Friend it is reported that Kings have several objects of love. Manage things in such a way that this our friend would not become an object of commiseration for her friends and relations

13 "The deer have dropped down their Dārbha morsels, the peacocks have abandoned dancing, the creepers, showering down faded leaves, are, as though, shedding tears.'

14 "Certainly our dear friend with her tender constitution has to be saved [from the shock of grief]

15 "Through prowess of penance all this comes within the direct knowledge of the revered Kanva'

16 "Render service unto the elders, towards co wives display conduct as towards dear companions", etc.

17<sup>ab</sup> "Take good note of us as being persons to whom self restraint is their [real] treasure, also note well thy high lineage, as well as that course of her love towards thee, brought about somehow, without [the agency and initiative of] the relations"

17<sup>cd</sup> "Such as she is thou art to view upon her—amongst thy wives—as one deserving normal treatment\* anything over and above this, it is not for the relatives of the bride to express"

18 "There is doubt even about the marriage whence now my far soaring hopes?"

19 Having attained the praiseworthy status of the mistress of the house' unto thy husband of noble descent, and being engrossed every moment in those activities of his, great on account of his high position, before long, having given birth to a son, like the Eastern quarter the purifying Sun, thou my child wilt no longer reckon thy grief born of separation from me'

20 'This way—this way, my dear friends!'

21 "Helas! Owing to the flurry caused by the pouring of the water [into the basin], this bee abandoning the Navamalikā, is now hovering around my own face!'

22 'Here, with his fingers in the form of leaflets, is this Kesara tree looking as though hurrying me up to him So I shall honour him [by doing his wish]'

23 'Śakuntala hath been by these trees—her brethren during forest residence—permitted to make her departure seeing that such a melodious cooing of the cuckoos has been turned by them into an answer on their own behalf"

24 'So that, with thy high approach this Kesara tree appears as though associated with a creeper

25 'Holla! Felicitous indeed is the time that has brought about the union of this creeper and tree couple The Vanajyotsna is youthful in her fresh blossom, the mango-tree putting forth tender leaves, is well disposed for enjoyment.

26 'Dost thou not remember? On a certain day, under the Navamalikā bower, thou hadst in thy own hand water filled in a vessel made of lotus leaves At that nick of time my foster son named Dirghāpāṅga, the deer cub approached 'Let him drink first with such a compassionate thought thou didst cajole him with the water But through lack of familiarity, he

\* A double entente in *samanya* (i— normal = *sa+manya*), is possible but hardly probable " = *sā+mā+[a]nya*, or in

would not allow thee *to handle him nigh* Subsequently, when the same water was taken by me in the hand, he fancied it Then thus didst thou laugh out 'Every one puts faith in his own kind both of you are forest-ers!'

27 "In the case of women, their untutored cleverness is in evidence even amongst the non human species what to say of those that are endowed with intelligence? Prior to soaring up in the mid region the Parabhr̥ts (i the cuckoos, ii those vicariously reared up e.g. court maids or Apsaras) forsooth do know how to cause their younglings to be brought up by other Twice born (i birds, ii Brahmins)'

28 "Ignoble One! Thou art judging by the measure of thy own mind Who now would care to emulate thee that art wrapping thyself with in a cloak of saintliness that art comparable to an old hay hidden well?

29 Good Lady, Duṣyanta's career is before the public, yet is THIS not to be detected therein

30 'Alone thou art arrogating all authoritativeness and claiming [exclusively] to know what is righteousness Thinkest thou that the females—too much overcome by inborn modesty as they are—can know nothing at all?'

31 'So, now, meet it is that I be here turned into a self indulgent female because, putting implicit faith in his Puru lineage I have allowed this person of honeyed mouth possessing weapon in his heart *to handle me nigh*''

32 "Then when about to start for my Capital my beloved said to me with tears 'After how long will the Son of the Noble one afford me [public] acceptance?' Thereat while putting upon her finger this my signet ring I made the reply

Upon this [ring] one each for every day do thou count the letters of my name Precisely the time thou dost reach the last there will be seen approaching thee a servant of mine who shall lead thee to receive entrance into my private residence

33 "Vanajyotsne although united with the mango tree, do thou never theless give me an embrace with these thy branch hands that are extending in this direction

34 Father! This doe with the burthen in her foetus and so roaming [only] up to the outskirts of our cottage when she has had a safe delivery, do thou thereupon send me some one as reporter of the welcome tidings

35 This indeed cannot remain unknown even to a person naturally averse to worldly matters, that that King hath behaved unto Śakuntalā in a manner unworthy of an Ārya"

36 ANASŪYĀ—Why, Friend! There exists not within the bounds of this hermitage any being endowed with mind who about to be



separated from thee, is not this day rendered disconsolate Just see

This Cakravāka, though addressed [by her], does not address back his deaf mate that is partitioned off from him by a lotus leaf, and dropping down from his mouth the lotus filaments is fixing his gaze upon thee

ŚAKUNTALĀ—Helas ! Just see

This [female] Cakravāki unable to sight her mate that is partitioned off from her by [just] a lotus leaf is crying aloud piteously 'How hard is my lot !

PRIYAMVADĀ—Do not, Friend, think this way

Even she—separated from her mate—lives through the night, which appears all the longer for the grief For, even the great pain of separation, the tie of hope does make one endure '

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## AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN SOUTH INDIA

By

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Since my last attempt to trace the outline of the history of Buddhism in South India<sup>1</sup> I have had occasion to go further into the references to Buddhists and Buddhism in Tamil literature and I think it will be of some use to bring together the more important ones among these references here and also to consider in some detail what appears to have been one of the historic episodes in the repeated contests between Saivism and Buddhism in the south to which I made a brief reference in the paper just mentioned

Working with imperfect indexes as they now turn out to be I permitted myself to make the statement that only Jnanasambandar and Tirumangai seem to mention them (Buddhists) particularly and their dress and habits in their verses<sup>2</sup> This is clearly wrong and there are found equally clear and definite references to Buddhists and their practices and doctrines of course always with a sneer in the hymns of Appar and Sundaramurti and in some of the alvars besides Tirumangai Appar is well known as the senior contemporary of Jnanasambandar and both have been assigned on very proper grounds to the seventh century A.D. Sundaramurti came about a century or more later

The position of Manikkavasagar the other great protagonist of Saivism most celebrated in legend as the opponent of Buddhism is unfortunately not yet satisfactorily settled whether he preceded the other saints or came after them is still a subject of debate and I will not enter into this vexed question here but merely refer the reader to my *Pandyan Kingdom* where I have summed up the main arguments on either side The disputation that took place at Chidambaram between Manikkavasagar and the Buddhists from Ceylon and the legends that have gathered round it have been discussed fully by G U Pope in his superb edition of the *Tiruvassagam* and there is no need to reproduce the story now But it is perhaps worth noting that the episode is briefly mentioned in a verse in the *Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam* (The Purana of Sacred Sports) by Vembarrurar alias Perumbarrappuliur Nambi (ch 30 v 51) it does not in any sense differ from the legends reviewed by Pope and is of interest as being perhaps the earliest extant literary

1 *The Maha bodhi* Vol 50 Apr June 1917 pp 157-67

2 *Ibid* p 163

reference to the story of the dispute. The *Pēṇṇa Purāṇam* of Śekkījar does not mention either Māṇikkavāṣagar or his disputation with the Buddhists. This omission by Śekkījar who follows the tradition coming down from Sundaramūrtti is one of the strongest arguments for Māṇikkavāṣagar being assigned to a date after the time of Sundaramūrtti, the last of the three saints whose hymns together constitute the sacred collection known as the *Devaram* (The Divine Garland). The story that the Buddhists with whom Māṇikkavāṣagar had his disputation came from Ceylon may also be taken to point in the same direction, for there was no dearth of Buddhists and Buddhist institutions in South India in the seventh century A.D. as may be seen from Hiuen Tsang's account of Drāviḍa and Malakūṭa and also from the episode in Jīānasambandar's life to be discussed presently in some detail. This consideration is however by no means conclusive. For the only legitimate conclusion that can be drawn from it is that Māṇikkavāṣagar did not belong to the same age as the hymnists of the *Dēvāram*, he might have lived before or after their time, and those who stand for an early date for Māṇikkavāṣagar may argue that as Buddhists continued to flourish in South India up to the fourteenth century A.D. after the coming of Buddhism Māṇikkavāṣagar must be taken to have preceded that age and followed that of the Śāṅgam poets who know only of Vedic religion and indigenous cults but nothing of Buddhism or Jainism. We should not also lose sight of Aśoka's claim to have sent missionaries of the faith to South India to preach the Dhamma there, though of the practical results of these missions we have no definite knowledge.

Appar makes several references to Buddhists<sup>3</sup> but two of them deserve particular notice as in both they are mentioned along with the Jainas and another sect called Kundaṛ. In the hymn on Tirutturuttu (IV 42) we read in v 9

Kuṇḍare Śamaṇar Buddhar kuṇṇiariyādu nīṇṇu  
kaṇḍade karuḍuvargaḷ karuttennāḍolūmin nīrgaḷ

i.e. we have no regard for the faith of the ignorant Kuṇḍas Jainas and Buddhists who take account only of what they see—a dig at the philosophical position of the sects which accept only pratyakṣa (with anumāna) as pramāṇa. Again in the hymn on Tirunagai karonam (VI 22) we have in v 10

manaituṇḍa vallamaṇar tangaḷ poyyum  
māṇburaikkum manakkunḍar tangaḷ poyyum  
śinaḷ poḍinda civarattar tangaḷ poyyum  
meyyenṇu karuḍade poḍa neṇṇē—

i.e. 'O intelligent mind do not take for truth the falsehood of the hardy

<sup>3</sup> See pp 61 67, 111 212 228 233 218 254 269 316 317 and 359 of the Sarva Siddhānta mahāsamajam edition (1941)

Jainas who have abandoned their homes or the falsehood of the boastful minded Kuṇḍar, or the falsehood of those (Buddhists) who cover their limbs with cīvara (monk's robes)'

Now who are the Kuṇḍar who seem to figure as a third sect by the side of the Jainas and the Buddhists in both these passages? I am not able to answer this question with any confidence. One suggestion that occurred to my friend Mr Vaidyanathan Pillai Reader in Tamil (Madras), with whom I discussed this question may be mentioned here though no finality can attach to it until manuscript authority is forthcoming in support. It is this. In the first two lines of the last citation given above from Appar, it seems probable that the amanar who renounced family life are contrasted with kuṇḍar who hang on to it, and if this surmise is accepted a slight emendation of the text will be seen to support the view,—instead of *manakkuṇḍar* we have only to read *manai kuṇḍar*, (kuṇḍar living in their own homes) and the phrase will be a perfect contrast to *manai turanda amanar* of the preceding line. The Kuṇḍar would be the laity among the Jainas. And this seems to get some support from the phrase once employed by Nambī Āṇḍār Nambī (end of tenth century A.D.) in whose works there are found frequent references to the Kuṇḍar. That phrase is *amanāna van kuṇḍar*<sup>4</sup> i.e. the strong Kuṇḍar who are Jainas which shows that the Kundaś were a section among them. But one is not sure how far Nambī who came long after Appar's date may be taken to represent the correct position regarding these sects and sub sects. And to make matters worse, there is another text of the same author in his *Tiruvandādi* (v 28) which reads *uri kaṭṭu paritai laik kuṇḍar* i.e. the Kuṇḍar with slings in hand and heads made bald by the hair being plucked—showing thus that Kuṇḍar are here identified with Jain monks. But if the Kuṇḍar were identical with Jain ascetics it is very difficult to account for the way in which Appar mentions them separately from the samanās in the passages cited above.

There is one other reference to Kuṇḍar and this is from Jñānasambandar, which seems to suggest that Kuṇḍar were the Jainas who wore robes as opposed to those who did not. It occurs in the hymn on Kīlāit Tiruk kaṭṭup paḷḷi (T 5, 10)

on tuvar-ār tuḡil aḍai mey porttucci koḷamai yundē yuraiḱkun  
kuṇḍargaḷoḍ araiḱ kūṟaiyillar kūṟuvaduṅṅamalla kaṇḍīr

i.e. 'Know ye that there is no good in the words of those who have no clothes on their waists and of the Kuṇḍar who cover their bodies with clothes coloured with bright red ochre and eat their meal in the forenoon.' Here Kuṇḍar are said to cover themselves with red robes unlike the naked Jainas; the śvetāmbara Jain monks though their name means 'white-robed' are seen

4 *Aṭṭaṇṭiya Pīḷaiyar Tirukkalambakam* v 8

today wearing the orange-coloured robes used by monks of other persuasions, and if this practice may be assumed to have prevailed in the days of Sambandar this passage should be taken to mention two schools of Jainas otherwise the *kunḍar* of this text must be taken to be Buddhists. One explanation of the word *Kunḍar* I have heard may also be noted here. *Kunḍu* means a depth or hollow and hence *Kunḍan* means a man of low character a heretic. But this explanation of the term as a word of abuse which seems to be followed in Tamil Lexicon also does not by any means constitute a satisfactory account of the question raised by the references cited above about *Kunḍar*. This discussion which has to be left in this unsatisfactory state shows how little we know definitely and even Nambī Anḍar Nambī knew of the details of sectarian history which loomed large in the eyes of contemporaries.

Departing a little from the chronological order we shall take up the references to Buddhists in *Sundaramurti* next. There are quite a number of such references<sup>5</sup> in which they are called *Therar Śāḷkiyar* and so on but only one of them is of sufficient general interest for being noticed here. In v 10 in the *Devaram* on *Tiru vaḷkoḷi puttur* we have the phrase *irundun terarum ninrun Samanum* i.e. the Buddhists who eat their meal seated and the Jainas who do so standing. This distinction between the adherents of the two faiths known to the Tamil Śaiva canon does not seem to occur anywhere else and being unable to say how far this distinction is true to facts and if so what the point of the contrast is I must leave these things to be explained by scholars who have better knowledge of the subject.

Before leaving *Sundaramurti* I should like to cite one verse from him which though it does not bear on the Buddhists but relates to the Jainas is still of great general interest as an index to the attitude of intense hostility to the heretical sects taken up by the Śaiva saints of the day. The very presence of the viharas and *prāṇīs* some of which are known to have been in a very flourishing condition was an irritation to the Śaivas and the following verse is strongly reminiscent of the things they saw and heard and did not like. The verse is No 9 in the hymn called *Namakkaḍigal-agiya aḍigaḷ* i.e. The God who is our Lord. It reads

Namananandiyun Karumaviranun Darumasenanum enriyar  
Kumaṇa mamalaik kuṇṇupol ninṇu tangaḷ kuṇṇayonṇinṇiye  
Namaṇa nanaṇa ṇaṇa nonam enṇodī yaraṇṇum nanaḷ  
amaṇaraṇṇ paḷippuḍaiyaro namakkaḍigal-agiya vaḍigaḷ.

i.e. Is our Lord God to be touched by reproaches from these Jainas who are lost to all sense of shame viz. Namananandi Karumavira Darumaseṇa and the rest of them who stand erect with no clothes on their bodies like

<sup>5</sup> pp 17 71 111 114 131 268 of the *Saivasiddhanta Mahasamajam* edition (1935)

some foul smelling hillock and mutter (unmeaning formulae sounding like) *ñamaṇa ñāṇaṇa ñāna ñōnam* ' ? This precious verse is a concentrated expression of the intolerance of the age which forms the subject of this paper, an age which offers one of the few striking exceptions to the easy going tolerance bordering on indifference that has been the general rule through the ages in all India. But the Jainas and Buddhists seem to have risen equal to the occasion and in their turn reciprocated the hatred directed towards them. Sambandar refers to the Jains' intolerance of Śaivas in rather strong terms, in III 108 v 8 (Madura) he says

*nūṟu mēṇiyarāyinar mēlurṭa  
kāṟṟuk koḷḷavum nillā amanar*

ie the Jains who would not even stand in the direction of the wind that has touched the bodies of persons wearing the holy ashes (Śaivas)

Jñānasambandar was indeed the purest and the greatest of the Dēvāram trio. Unlike his elder contemporary Appar, he was no Jain turned Śaiva and had no past to look back on with remorse. Unlike Sundaramūrtti whose youth was dazzled by the full lustre of woman's love and whose love affairs on occasions entangled even the deity he worshipped, Jñānasambandar was the joyous recipient of the highest knowledge while yet he was but a child, and an utter stranger to sex life. Sambandar has been best known to legend and history as the opponent of Jainism and the scene of his most remarkable achievements against that religion was the court of the Pāṇḍyan ruler of Madura on the banks of the Vaigai river. On his return to the Cōla country after his victory against the Jainas he had to meet and overcome the opposition of Buddhists and this episode in Sambandar's life is not so well known as his great encounter with the Jains of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

The references to Buddhists in Sambandar's hymns are numerous, and he speaks of their dress, mode of life, and their doctrines, of their denial of the authority of the Veda and the efficacy of sacrifice, and of their allegiance to the Bodhi tree and the Tripiṭaka. All these references have been collected and carefully indexed together with those on the Jains by my friend Mr Balasubramania Mudaliyar<sup>6</sup>, and there is no need to cite these texts here. We may therefore turn to a consideration of Sambandar's contest with the Buddhists in some detail.

Before we enter on this task some indication may be given of the sources of our knowledge of the incident and their relative importance. Sundaramūrtti's celebrated hymn known as *Tiruttondai toḡai*, (Groups of Sacred Devotees) is the starting point of the hagiology of Tamil Śaivism.

<sup>6</sup> pp 60-66 of the Śaiva Siddhānta Mahāsamājam edition of Sambandar's *Devarām* (1937). This index appears in the second edition and not in the first but even the second edition has gone out of print, and it is to be hoped that it will be reprinted when conditions allow of its being done.

by its nature it is nothing more than an almost bare mention of the names of the devotees with no details whatever of their lives and achievements which, however must have been matters of common knowledge among the votaries of Śaivism when the hymn was composed. The traditions are recorded in a little more detail some two centuries later by Nambī Anḍar Nambī in his *Tiruttonḍar tiruvandādi* and other works some of which will be mentioned presently. Nambī then marks the second stage in the literary tradition when we are vouchsafed some details of the ancient oral tradition. The third and definitive stage in this development is reached in Śēkkīār's *Tiruttonḍar purāṇam* also known as *Periya purāṇam* twelfth century. The nature of this great work and the circumstances of its composition have been outlined by me in the chapter on Literature in my work *The Cōlas* and need not be reproduced here, we may note however, that in this extensive purāṇa which has found a place in the Śaiva canon from the date of its composition we have the most complete record of the traditional lives of the Saints of Śaivism. Being the work of a devout believer in the faith we find miracles recorded in it side by side with the commonplace occurrences of every day life with equal seriousness and good faith. I have thought it best to let such a work speak for itself, and hence, all the verses in which Śēkkīār has described Sambandar's contest with the Buddhists are presented here in translation and a few comments offered to enable the reader to follow the narrative with ease.

The translation of the thirty odd verses of Śēkkīār has been found by no means an easy job, the diction is prolix and often obscure, and the translation now offered might never have been made but for the alacrity with which my friend Mr P N Appuswami undertook to make a draft translation which could be treated as I liked after it was placed in my hands and I am very grateful to him for his generous aid. The draft was checked and revised with all possible care with the assistance of Mr S Vayyapuri Pillai given with equal readiness. But under the circumstances I have stated no responsibility should attach to my collaborators for any shortcomings readers may discover but only for the merits in it if any.

Let us now turn to the story of the disputation between Sambandar and the Buddhists. The account of Sambandar's life in Nambī Anḍar Nambī's *Tiruttonḍar Tiruvandādi* does not contain any reference to this incident. But in his other works on the life of the Saint which are no fewer than six in number<sup>7</sup> Nambī repeatedly uses expressions which are clear re-

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7 Aluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvandādi  
 Aluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruccanbai Viruttam  
 Aluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirumummaṇṇikkovai  
 Aluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvulamalai  
 Aluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirukkalambaṅgam  
 Aluḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttogai

ferences to this disputation and once refers to an incident in the encounter which figures again with some variations in the longer account of Śekkilar purāṇam. Nambī repeatedly applies to Sambandar terms like *para mata koḷar* (Lion to enemy faiths) *aruhasam* (thunderbolt to the Arhats) *Kunḍasam* (thunderbolt to the Kunḍas) and so on. The specific and unmistakable reference to an incident in the dispute with the Buddhists occurs in *Aludāya Piḷḷaiyar Tirutṭogai* II 19 21 which read

ner vanda  
puttan talaiyaip puvimer paraḷuvitta  
vittagap paḍal viḷambinan

i.e. he uttered the magic song which caused the head of the opposing Buddhist to roll on the ground. Judging from this cryptic reference Sambandar must be taken to have composed and recited some song in the course of his disputation with his Buddhist opponent, and as a result the opponent's head was severed from the body and rolled on the ground. We shall see from what follows that this miracle is attributed by Śekkilar not to Sambandar himself as Nambī does but to a devotee of his who after demonstrating his superiority against one set of opponents by this miracle met a second party of Buddhists under another leader and had a long drawn logical argument with them which is reviewed at some length by Śekkilar and as a result of which the Buddhists acknowledged the superiority of Śaivism and turned Śaivas.

We shall now trace the story in the words of Śekkilar—(the numbers within the brackets are those of the verses in the *Sambandar Purāṇam*)

896 Followed by a great concourse of holy servants of the Lord peerless in their goodness he on whose chest lay the triple thread came to the land made fertile by the Kaveri. Adored by devotees and citizens he visited every temple dedicated to Him who wears snakes as ornaments. He offered worship at Tirukkalar the city of maiden ramparts and sang of Pataḷccaram which belongs to Him whose throat is adorned by the black stain and bowing down he offered worship to all other cities *en route* and reached Muḷḷivaykkaraḷ.

897 Carrying the sandal the eaglewood and the teak which grew upon the hills and bearing mountainous piles of bowers which bees hummed around and rising to a great height the river became so swollen by the flood and the waves rose so high that men dared not cross it. Because the barge pole thrust against the river bed could not strike bottom the boatmen of the river left the boat deserted on the shore. That noble of Kaunṭya clan versed in the arts saw it there, and came to that shore gracing it with his presence. While he stood thus.

898 He saw on the opposite shore Tirukollampatur where resided the Lord of the gods. His pure heart yearned to go thither and bow down



in worship Since the shore was deserted with none to ferry the boat across the chieftain of Śaṅbai with eager haste untied the boat, and got the servants of the Lord on board and with the might of his tongue for a barge-pole, he stood upon the deck, and with feeling sang of the Lord the hymn beginning *koṭṭam* (Costus root)

899 By the grace of Him who drank the poison in order that the gods may live the boat was propelled on and on and moved across the river and reached *Koḷḷampūtur* the city of the Lord whose looks are like red gold When the boat had reached the other shore he who in his fancy was on Knowledge fed alighted with the faithful servants of the Lord to bow down to Lord Śiva and with delight walked up to the gates of the temple of Him who is fond of fresh blossoms of fragrant *Konrai* (Indian laburnum)

This miraculous crossing of the stream from *Muḷḷivaykkarai* to *Koḷḷampūtur* on the opposite shore is mentioned a number of times by Nambī Aṇḍar Nambī in his works on Sambandar to which reference has been made above To continue Śakkiḷar's narration

900 He prostrated in worship in front of the lofty upstanding tower and entering with the crowd of the peerless servants of the Lord he circumambulated the temple which shone bright He stood with head bowed down in the sacred presence of the moon crested Lord and reverently extolled Him thus 'O Immutable One O Lord who shewedst me Thy grace by propelling the boat upon the river' O Thou who wearest snakes for jewels' O Three eyed one and pure who wearest as a shawl the flayed skin of the elephant'

901 In the days when he dwelt there ever coming out of the temple after singing paeons of praise he desired to prostrate in worship before the Lord whose hymnal decades were unconsumed by fire at the disputation with the heretical Jains held in the presence of the Paṇḍya Obtaining His grace in abundant measure he departed thence and prostrating in worship before the cities he had visited earlier surrounded by those who love the Lord he reached *Tirunaḷḷaṟu* praised of the four quarters and went to the temple of the Lord of the land

902 There while the ever holy servants of the Lord surrounded him on all sides he descended from the pearl palanquin and bowing before the glorious and holy gates entered in He went round the temple of the Lord who on His crest wears the moon and approaching nigh with delight in his heart and clasping in worship his flower soft hands he prostrated before Him and in praise of the gracious Lord sang the hymn beginning *Paḍaga mellaḍi* (The soft ankle foot) with tears streaming from his eyes.

903 At the disputation which the Jains held in the presence of the

Pandya Thou didst preserve the freshness of the palm leaves thrown into the fire Thou abidest as a friend within my heart and yet Thou dwellest in Alavay too—How is all this O my Father? Thus praising Him again and again and laying on Him a garland of Tamil song he dwelt there with the sweet natured servants of the Lord And then bowing down in worship to Nallaru the chief of Sanbai went forth for worship in the other cities

904 Then he went to Tiruttellicceri glistening in splendour and after praising the Lord Śiva he reached Bodimangai where lived the Sakkiyas ignorant of the true faith Knowing this full well the Śaivas (followers of Sambandar) sounded their conches and brass trumpets and many other musical instruments and raised a din like unto a surging sea and they blew shrill clarions at whose sound the earth rejoiced and upon pipes too they blew to proclaim He has come—he who is like a devouring lion to the other faiths'

Bodimangai was a Bauddha settlement on the way from Telicceri to Tirukkadavur It may be the same as Bodimangalam a hamlet of Tiruvi daikkali in the Mayavaram Taluk Buddha images have been recovered from this neighbourhood in recent years\* But we may note here that Bodimangai was an exclusive colony of Buddhists and because of this the Śaiva followers of Sambandar deliberately draw the attention of the residents of Bodimangai to the presence of the Śaiva saint by the noises they make and thus challenge them to a contest This challenge to what was apparently a strong centre of Buddhism in the Tamil country in those days could not well be ignored by the Bauddhas We should remember that the whole of this account comes to us from the side of the victors in the contest which followed but if we allow for the natural likes and dislikes of the author of the account the substratum of truth is not very hard to get at Let us see how the Buddhists reacted to the challenge

905 \* When the mean minded Sakkiyas learnt of his arrival they gathered together and being greatly bewildered by the envy provoked in their hearts by the noisy shouts of the servants of the Lord and by the swelling sounds of the trumpets which went forth to welcome the Lord of Pugalai when he came and graciously entered upon their outskirts they went to their Buddha Nandi and to the other learned Theras and angrily informed them (of this)

906 When their hot and angry words and the rising sound of the trumpets blown in front of the Divine Child and the loud and joyous shouts of the servants of the Lord thronging there entered his ears like a barbed arrow a great hatred swelled up in Buddha Nandi's heart. He rose in anger

8. 276 of 1925 A R A 1912 13 p 75 I owe these reference to Mr K R Venkatarama Aiyar of Pudukottah

Note that in this account Sambandar who is present throughout and whose permission is sought by the Śaivas for everything that they do, takes no direct part in the argumentation and leaves this to his favourite disciple, who starts by asking Sāriputta to state his creed. Sāriputta's answer follows the usual Theravāda position regarding the Buddha his Enlightenment and the nature of release.

915 "In all the Kalpas where everything is born dies and goes through many a transformation and thus every moment is constantly undergoing a change, He performed well Charity which is glorious, Penance and Meditation which seeks to be alone, and thereby achieved the Eternal and heavenly Mukti, inseparable from Knowledge, which is spoken of in the Holy Books. He who proclaimed the Dharma so that all diverse Beings may be saved and be redeemed—He is the supreme Lord whom we worship."

916 "As Sāriputta spoke thus, that distinguished devotee who had performed severe penances went up to him and said 'Well, then, what is this Mukti of yours which you assert your Lord has achieved?' Whereupon the Pīṭaka scholar replied 'Constant Uruvam (Form) Vēdanai (feeling), Kurippu (Perception), Śeykai (latent tendencies to action) and the true Jñānam (Intellect) are the five elements which together form the skandha (body), their annihilation is Mukti'."

The objection raised by the Śaiva protagonist to this view is well known to have engaged Buddhist writers for long and turns on the difficulty of reconciling the denial of the soul and the life after death postulated by the doctrine of Karma. It takes the form here of questioning the continued existence of the Buddha after his death and his capacity to receive and reward the worship offered to him by his devotees. As Keith has pointed out "The problem of the continued existence of the Tathāgata after death is in the ultimate issue the same as the problem of the existence of a true self, if such exists, then the enlightened one must necessarily, as the highest product of the world be the possessor of such a self."

The Buddha never answered these questions fully and relegated them to the region of indeterminates. But the relation of the disciple to the Buddha is of a very peculiar character, and does need quite a lot of explanation. It can be taken in fact to be nothing more than the natural reverence inspired by the memory of a noble path finder, and before proceeding to the details of the discussion that follow in Śekkiḷar's account it may be useful for the reader to pursue the following summary by Keith of a discussion of the very problem debated here which occurs in the *Milindapañha*. "A question of importance" says Keith<sup>10</sup>, "is presented by the attitude of the

9 *Buddhist Philosophy* pp 61-2

10 Keith, *op cit.* pp 210-11

*Mūlindapañha* to the difficult problem of the efficacy of gifts to the Buddha. The issue is clear, the Buddha is absolutely departed, neither in life nor yet more in death can he accept gifts, if there be no recipient how can homage to him avail? But Nāgasena insists on the merit of acts of homage and seeks to explain this quality by similes, if a great fire goes out, men kindle one for themselves so men by erecting a shrine do homage to the supreme God under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom and win rebirth as a man or god, as even release. Seed sown on the earth grows into trees though the earth is unconscious. Diseases come to men without their consent from former evil deeds, hence it follows that a good deed must bear fruit apart from consent just as ill deeds done to a saint bring retribution without his desire.

Another point that comes up for discussion between Sariputta and the Śaiva protagonist is the omniscience of the Buddha, the Buddhist canon contains many passages which affirm the omniscience of the Buddha, but he does not reveal everything but only 'what redounds to the benefit of man desirous of salvation both as regards the past, the present and the future. He knows whatever throughout the world is discerned striven for accomplished or devised by gods or men, all that he spoke between his enlightenment and his passing away was true, as he does according to his word and his word is according to his going he is styled Tathagata'.<sup>11</sup> He is reticent on many issues 'not merely because knowledge of these matters does not tend to Nirvāṇa but because men hold various opinions regarding them

After this somewhat lengthy explanation of the points at issue and the Buddhist position regarding them the rest of Sekkilar's account may be given without further comment.

917 'The devotee who heard this speech repeated his words and turning to him asked, 'If all the five skandhas including the supporting Jīṇa be annihilated altogether, then how can you say 'The Lord is here', and build vihāras and fashion tall images of him for worship and celebrate festivals in his honour? Who is he that receives all this worship? Answer pray'. And he replied,

918 'Freed from this Karmic body made up of the five skandhas, our Lord has become merged in Mukti. Whereto the devotee said 'The sensory organs namely the eye and others being absent he could have no consciousness (at all), which he refuted saying 'Just as when a person is unconscious in sleep those who abuse him and dance upon his person, do reap the fruits of their deeds similarly may not Good result to those who offer reverent worship (to our Lord)?'

<sup>11</sup> Keith *op cit* p 44

and going forth with a congregation of Theras around him angrily spoke thus Is it not seemly that you should blow upon the trumpets of victory only after defeating us in disputation ?

Evidently there was a vihara in Bodimangai with many learned theras in it and a number of other monks not so learned In the first stage of the contest Buddha Nandi figures as the leader on the Buddhist side and takes up the challenge. He offers to meet the Śaivas in a disputation and stops their noises as unseemly in persons who have as yet no victory of their own to celebrate This irritates the Śaivas and they report the occurrence to Sambandar

907 When Buddha Nandi surrounded by groups of Buddhists on all sides forbade the blowing of the truly victorious trumpets in the gracious presence of that incomparably wise and holy man the Lord's devotees rose up in indignation and glared in anger thinking If we should forbear and do not cut them down for this act of theirs the heretics' position will become strong' they approached him who sat like a jewel upon the palanquin set with rows of pearls and making due obeisance told him of the occurrence and stood waiting

908 Truly this is a strange welcome in the place we are visiting' When their doctrines are set forth in argument in a definitive manner by Buddha Nandi we shall know the falsity of his propositions said the chief of Pugali But the devotee who wrote down the noble hymnal decads as they were uttered cried out in impatience By the might of the holy word of Sambandar let the thunderbolt fall with a roar and knock the head of the Bauddha off and roll it down

909 Like the omnipotent martra which like a thunderbolt destroys all obstacles to the spread of the commandments enjoined for those of the faith of the Lord of the bull banner these words uttered by that holy truthful servant of the Lord sundered and blew into fragments the head and trunk of the Buddhist who came seeking victory in wordy disputation Thereat the gathering of the Buddhists was thrown into utter confusion and being thoroughly frightened it fled precipitately

910 When those servants of Hara saw the plight of the Buddhists and saw the devotee with words as weapons cut asunder the head of trunk of Buddha Nandi who had come seeking wordy disputation they went and humbly informed the Divine Child who gave them victory He replied That which has happened to remove the obstacle in our way is pre-ordained by fate So shout you all Hara whereupon their shouts reached up to heaven

This is the first stage Sambandar is patient and offers to meet Buddha Nandi when he has stated his doctrines but a devotee of his is im

patient, he utters a curse against Buddha Nandi, and that acts immediately, Buddha Nandi dies, and there is confusion in the Buddhist camp Sambandar for his part, when he sees what has happened, more or less ratifies the action of his devotee on the score of predestination. We have seen that in Nambi's account, the loss of the Buddha's life was brought about by a song of Sambandar himself, Śēkkilār evidently felt that such a method of controversy should not be attributed to the great saint and modified the story. Nambi's account knows nothing of what follows, but he did not set out like Śēkkilār to give a full fledged biography of the saint. Their first shock of surprise over, the Buddhists rallied again under the leadership of Sāriputta, an eminent divine learned in the *piṭakas*, and he began, under proper safeguards against magic and trickery, a disputation also with the devotee of Sambandar who had caused the death of Buddha Nandi. Here is Śēkkilār's summary of the arguments urged on both sides

911 "All those Buddhists who in fright had fled afar were wonder struck, but soon they gathered again and thought in their bewilderment 'Is this trickery or is this an instance of the might of their Śaiva truth?' They said 'Without resorting to downright sorcery, will you agree to meet us to discuss religious doctrines?' So saying they came back with the eminent Sāriputta himself at their head

912 "Graciously listening to their statement, the Victorious Lion of Śaṅbai felt in his heart 'This is well, and rejoicing greatly, he hurried forth. Descending from his palanquin of white pearl he ascended the pillared hall of another choultry and was graciously seated among long rows of Śaivites. And then he said 'Invite hither the Buddhists who have come', whereupon those who stood in his gracious presence went forth bearing the commands of that chieftain of Pugalī

913 "Those who went out thus came to the congregation of Theras and said 'That victorious and youthful tusker of ours, the Lord of Śaṅbai who has sailed across the sea of Vedic Knowledge, and is a prince of proficients in the three branches of Tamil is well pleased to invite you to speak out the doctrines of the creed which you have been proclaiming. So hurry up'. Thereupon Sāriputta accompanied by other heretical Buddhists of equal eminence came thither in front of the pillared hall of the choultry

914 "When they reached there, the Divine Child stood in that pillared hall with the Buddhists close by his side. Then that incomparable friend who blew up into fragments the big head of the Buddha who forbade the blowing of the sacred trumpet, worshipped at the feet of the chieftain of Pugalī whose renown is ever expanding, and, by his gracious leave, he said to Sāriputta, 'Tell us who your Lord is and what your creed'. Then he too took up the challenge and said in reply "

Note that in this account Sambandar who is present throughout and whose permission is sought by the Śaivas for everything that they do, takes no direct part in the argumentation and leaves this to his favourite disciple, who starts by asking Sāriputta to state his creed. Sāriputta's answer follows the usual Theravada position regarding the Buddha, his Enlightenment and the nature of release.

915 "In all the Kalpas where everything is born, dies, and goes through many a transformation and thus every moment is constantly undergoing a change, He performed well Charity which is glorious, Penance and Meditation which seeks to be alone, and thereby achieved the Eternal and heavenly Mukti, inseparable from Knowledge, which is spoken of in the Holy Books. He who proclaimed the Dharma so that all diverse Beings may be saved and be redeemed—He is the supreme Lord whom we worship."

916 "As Sāriputta spoke thus, that distinguished devotee who had performed severe penances, went up to him and said: 'Well then, what is this Mukti of yours which you assert your Lord has achieved?' Whereupon the Pīṭaka scholar replied, 'Constant Uruvam (Form) Vēdanai (feeling), Kurippu (Perception), Śeykai (latent tendencies to action) and the true Jñānam (Intellect) are the five elements which together form the skandha (body) their annihilation is Mukti.'"

The objection raised by the Śaiva protagonist to this view is well known to have engaged Buddhist writers for long and turns on the difficulty of reconciling the denial of the soul and the life after death postulated by the doctrine of Karma. It takes the form here of questioning the continued existence of the Buddha after his death and his capacity to receive and reward the worship offered to him by his devotees. As Keith has pointed out: "The problem of the continued existence of the Tathagata after death is in the ultimate issue the same as the problem of the existence of a true self, if such exists, then the enlightened one must necessarily, as the highest product of the world, be the possessor of such a self."

The Buddha never answered these questions fully and relegated them to the region of indeterminates. But the relation of the disciple to the Buddha is of a very peculiar character, and does need quite a lot of explanation. It can be taken in fact to be nothing more than the natural reverence inspired by the memory of a noble path finder, and before proceeding to the details of the discussion that follow in Śekhara's account, it may be useful for the reader to pursue the following summary by Keith of a discussion of the very problem debated here which occurs in the *Mūlindapañña*: "A question of importance" says Keith<sup>9</sup>, "is presented by the attitude of the

<sup>9</sup> *Buddhist Philosophy* pp 61-2

<sup>10</sup> Keith *op cit*, pp 210-11

*Mulindapañha* to the difficult problem of the efficacy of gifts to the Buddha. The issue is clear; the Buddha is absolutely departed, neither in life, nor yet more in death can he accept gifts, if there be no recipient, how can homage to him avail? But Nāgasena insists on the merit of acts of homage and seeks to explain this quality by similes, if a great fire goes out, men kindle one for themselves, so men by erecting a shrine do homage to the supreme God under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom and win rebirth as a man or god, as even release. Seed sown on the earth grows into trees, though the earth is unconscious. Diseases come to men without their consent from former evil deeds, hence, it follows that a good deed must bear fruit apart from consent, just as ill deeds done to a saint bring retribution without his desire.

Another point that comes up for discussion between Sariputta and the Śaiva protagonist is the omniscience of the Buddha, the Buddhist canon contains many passages which affirm the omniscience of the Buddha, but he does not reveal everything, but only 'what redounds to the benefit of man desirous of salvation both as regards the past, the present and the future. He knows whatever throughout the world is discerned striven for accomplished, or devised by gods or men, all that he spoke between his enlightenment and his passing away was true, as he does according to his word and his word is according to his going he is styled Tathagata<sup>11</sup>. He is reticent on many issues 'not merely because knowledge of these matters does not tend to Nirvāṇa, but because men hold various opinions regarding them'.

After this somewhat lengthy explanation of the points at issue and the Buddhist position regarding them the rest of Śāṅkīya's account may be given without further comment.

917 "The devotee who heard this speech repeated his words and turning to him asked, If all the five skandhas including the supporting Jñāna be annihilated altogether, then how can you say 'The Lord is here', and build vihāras and fashion tall images of him for worship and celebrate festivals in his honour? Who is he that receives all this worship? Answer pray' And he replied

918 'Freed from this Karmic body made up of the five skandhas, our Lord has become merged in Mukti. Whereto the devotee said 'The sensory organs namely the eye and others being absent he could have no consciousness (at all)', which he refuted saying 'Just as when a person is unconscious in sleep, those who abuse him and dance upon his person do reap the fruits of their deeds, similarly may not Good result to those who offer reverent worship (to our Lord)?'



919 "That devotee graciously listened to these words and said, 'When he who receives continuously many an adoration can neither accept it nor reject it, then surely he cannot be said to have received it' To which the other replies. 'When a person, neither accepting nor yet rejecting whatever is presented before him, is immersed in deep slumber—if one should kill him in anger, would it not lead to loss of his sweet life and constitute murder? Even so will worship touch our Lord'

920 "'Does it reach him thus!'" exclaimed he 'As in the case of the sleeping man of your analogy, you postulate that your Lord is possessed of all the organs of sense and of life If so then the annihilation of the five skandhas ceases to be true, and it is clear that He could not have attained changeless Mukti Further if, among the five skandhas Intellect (arivu) is destroyed, Bliss cannot be associated with Mukti'

921 'When he heard this speech he had no answer, and stood deeply concerned that even His Lord's mukti should have come to naught While he stood thus that devotee of him who was like the nectar of the ocean of Knowledge (Sambandar) faced him and said 'You spoke an untruth when you said that he attained to Mukti You said also that he long ago knew all things and proclaimed them long ago, how could he have known everything? This too is an untruth Still speak out let us see'

922 "'Knowledge is twofold, general and particular The first is to know that a thing is a tree, to know which is which among the trees is knowledge of the particular kind Thus also among all other things which are limitless Whether you heap the faggots of wood you have gathered in a pile or whether you place the hacked pieces separate each distinct from the other, yet a consuming sprout of fire does seize upon them and burn them, even so does the Ancient One reveal everything both in the mass and in detail'

923 "To the Bauddha who set forth this argument that devotee replied 'You mentioned the fire as an analogy to Knowledge Now Knowledge has no form at all, while the fire that you spoke of has a form as you know While your Lord, you say, can visualise not merely the present but also the past and future together, yet the raging fire can burn only what is put in it in the present and cannot touch (anything) in the unseen times (Past and Future)

924 "'Therefore your statement that your Lord is omniscient fares exactly like your statement about his Mukti And the precepts revealed through this Knowledge are faulty too' Thus graciously did he tell him in an acceptable manner Whereat the Bauddha having no argument in reply, was defeated Having thus graciously vanquished him, that devotee bowed down at the lotus feet of the chieftain of Pugal; and all the Buddhists gave up their creed, and humbly fell prostrate.

925 When that devotee in his wisdom had shown by logical argument the untrue nature of the doctrines they held he, who knew the substance of the glorious limitless Vedas and of the Āgamas and of all the other arts was graciously pleased to speak to the dull witted (Bauddhas) saying Nothing is true but Śaivism Thereupon the Buddhists heartily accepted it and approaching the holy Brahmin of Śanbai laid themselves low at his feet

926 On that day the gracious look of the Prince of the Kauṇṭya clan fell upon them and so their ignorance disappeared Then they humbly bowed down before him and falling prostrate got up again and became Śaivites And everywhere flowers rained in torrents The Prince of Śanbai then graciously revealed to them the truth that all things stationary and moving are but manifestations of Śiva Thereafter going forth thence to worship at the holy cities of Lord Śiva he reached the outskirts of Tirukkadavur

Analogy fills an important role in this disputation as in that of Nagaśena in the *Milindapañha* summarised above but the present account is that of a Śaiva writer meant to celebrate the victory of Śaivism as often happens in history we have only one side of the story before us What the Bauddhas of South India felt and said on their side we have no means of knowing We must also remember this—that as the account of Śekkīṣar is separated by four to five centuries from the date of the occurrences it narrates and as oral tradition in such matters is apt to distort events considerably all that we can take for certain is the general fact that Jñanasambandar upheld the cause of Śaivism not only as against the Jainas of the Pandyān country but as well against the Buddhists of the Coḷa rajya We may also accept the presence of Theravāda Buddhists in considerable numbers in those days in South India a fact even otherwise attested

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# VIŚĀKHADATTA

By

Dr S K DE, M A, D LITT

Of Viśākhadatta, author of the *Mudra rakṣasa*<sup>1</sup> we know only what he himself tells us in the Prologue to his play, namely, that he was son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta (or according to most manuscripts Pṛthu) and grandson of Samanta Vāṇeśvaradatta, and in spite of all the conjectures and theories that have centred round his date and personality, we shall probably never know anything more. In the concluding stanza (vii 21) which however is not an integral part of the play but is meant to be spoken by the actor and hence called Bharata vakya there is a mention of a king Candragupta whose kingdom is said to be troubled (*udvejyamana*) by the Mlecchas. As a reference to Candragupta Maurya who is the subject of the play itself would be unusual in the Bharata vakya it is taken as the eulogy of a reigning sovereign, and some scholars are inclined to see<sup>2</sup> in Viśākhadatta a contem

1 Ed K T Telang with comm (written 1813 AD) of Dhundiraja Bomb Skt Ser 1884 (7th ed 1928) ed A Hillebrandt Breslau 1912 ed K H Dhruva 2nd ed Poona 1928, with English trs. All the known commentaries are of comparatively modern date for an account see Dhruva introd p xix. On the MSS material and an edition of the Prakrit verses see Hillebrandt Zur Kritik des Mudrā rakṣasa in *Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1905 pp 429-53. No good Eng trs except Wilson's free rendering in *Select Specimens* vol II. French trs by V Henry Paris 1868. German trs. by L Fritze Leipzig 1883—The *Canakya-katha* of Ravi-nartaka (ed S C Law Cal Orient Ser 1921) like Dhundiraja's summary printed in Telang's ed is a resume of the traditional story although the work pretends to derive its material from a prose original and gives some new points of interest.

2 K. P. Jayaswal in *IA* xlii 1913 pp 265-67. Sten Konow in *IA* xliii 1914 p 66f and *Ind Drama* p 70f. Hillebrandt in *ZDMG* xxxix 1885 p 130f. lxix 1915 p 363 (4th century AD). S Srinantha Sastri in *IHQ* vii 1931 pp 163-69. The difficulty however of taking the term *mleccha* in the sense of the Hunas (even though they are mentioned as allies of Malayaketu in v 11) and of explaining the word *udvejyamana* satisfactorily in terms of the known facts of Candragupta's time should be recognised while Jayaswal's identification of *Parvataka* and Malayaketu are wholly fanciful. J Charpentier in *JRAS* 1923 p 586f (also *IHQ* vii 1931 p 629), would however take Viśākhadatta to be a contemporary of one of the later Guptas probably Samudragupta but he confesses inability to adduce much historical or literary evidence in support of his theory. *Raghu*\* vii 56 and *Śiśu*\* i 47 are adduced as parallels to the stanza in question (vii 21) as well as *Raghu*\* vii 43 to *Mudra*\* v 23 but it is admitted that such literary coincidences by themselves are of not much use in fixing a date. The presumption of Konow and Charpentier that the drama must have been composed before the destruction

porary of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty (cir 375-413), and apparently of Kālidāsa. But since the readings Dantivarman, Rantivarman or Avantivarman, instead of Candragupta, are also found, no finality is reached on the question. The first two of these names cannot be traced anywhere, but since two Avantivarmans are known the author's patron is identified sometimes with the Maukhari king Avantivarman, who flourished in the 7th Century<sup>3</sup> and married his son Grahavarman to Harṣavardhana's sister Rājyaśrī, and sometimes with Avantivarman king of Kashmir, who reigned in the middle of the 9th century.<sup>4</sup> From Hillebrandt's critical edition of the text, however, it appears that the variant Avantivarman is most probably a later emendation, and if this is so the theories based upon the name lose much of their force. In view of these difficulties, the problem must still be regarded as unsolved, but there is nothing to prevent Viśākhadatta from belonging to the older group of dramatists who succeeded Kālidāsa either as a younger contemporary, or at some period anterior to the 9th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever may be its exact date, the *Mudra rāksasa* is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit dramas. In theme, style and treatment, however, it stands apart from the normal Sanskrit play, even to a greater degree than the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. It is partly for its originality that its merits have been even less appreciated than those of Sūdraka's play by orthodox Sanskrit theorists. It breaks away from the banal subject of love, having only one minor female character, and poetic flights are naturally circumscribed by its more matter of fact interest. If the *Mṛcchakaṭika* gives a literary form to the bourgeois drama, its theme is still an affecting story of love and suffering

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of Pataliputra, because the town plays an important part in it, should not be pressed too far in view of the conventional geography which we often find in Sanskrit imaginative writings.—The assumption (*JASB* 1930 pp 241-45) that the drama is a Bengal work is purely gratuitous and conjectural.

3 K. H. Dhruva in *WZKM* v p 25 f (end half of the 6th century). V. J. Antani in *IA* li 1922 pp 49-51. Dhruva rightly points out that the way in which the king of Kashmir is mentioned in the play itself would preclude any reference to Avantivarman of Kashmir.

4 Telang introd to his ed. Jacobi in *WZKM* ii pp 212-16. Jacobi adduces also passages which Ratnākara, who flourished in Kashmir at about the same time, is said to have imitated from the *Mudra*, but Dhruva points out that the passages are not conclusive. By astronomical calculation again Jacobi would identify the eclipse mentioned in the play as having occurred on December 2, 860 A.D. when he holds, Śūra, Avantivarman's minister, had the play performed. Some passages from *Mudra* occur with some variation in other works, e.g. *Mudra* ii 13 = *Tantrakhayika* i 46 ii 18 = Bhartṛhari's *Nīti* 27 and *Pancatantra* etc. but there is nothing to suggest that Viśākhadatta could not have utilised the floating stock of Nīti verses and such passages are of doubtful use in questions of chronology. See also Hertel in *ZDMG* lxx 1916 pp 133-42. Keith in *JRAS* 1909, p 145 (9th century).

5 The earliest quotation from the work occurs in *Dasarūpaka* (10th century A.D.).

and politics merely forms its background, the *Mudra rakṣasa* on the other hand is a drama of purely political intrigue in which resolute action in various forms constitutes the exclusive theme. The action however does not involve actual fight war or bloodshed<sup>6</sup>. There is enough martial spirit but there is no fondness for violent situation no craving for fantastic adventures and no taste for indecorous affrightments. The action takes the form essentially of a conflict of wills or of a game of skill in which the interest is made to depend on the plots and counterplots of two rival politicians. One may wonder if such a subject is enough to absorb the mind of the audience but the action of the play never fags the characters are drawn admirably to support it and the diction is appropriate in its directness force and clarity. The *Pratīpadyaugandharayana* is also another drama of political intrigue but the plotting in it centres round the romantic legend of Udayana's love for Vasavadatta both of whom do not make their appearance indeed but of whom we hear a great deal throughout the play. The *Mudra rakṣasa* is unique in avoiding not only the erotic feeling but also the erotic atmosphere. It is a drama without a heroine. There is nothing suggestive of tenderness or domestic virtues no claim to prettiness of romance no great respect even for religion and morality. Politics is represented as a hard game for men the virtues are of a sterner kind and if conduct glorified by the name of diplomacy is explained by expediency its crookedness is redeemed by a high sense of duty resolute fidelity to a cause and unselfish devotion. There is a small scene between Candanadatta and his family indicative of affection but it is of no great importance to the development of the plot and there is nothing of sentimentality in it even in the face of death.

Perhaps the suggestion is correct<sup>7</sup> that the *Bṛhatkatha* of Guṇadhya could not have been the source<sup>8</sup> of the plot of the *Mudra rakṣasa* for the events narrated there might have supplied the frame (as Viśakhadatta did not certainly invent the tale)<sup>9</sup> but the main intrigue appears to be the work

6 The antecedent incidents of the drama are not indeed bloodless for we are told of the extirpation of the Nandas and of the murders of Sarvarthasiddhi and Parvataka but in the drama itself Candakya's policy is directed rather towards preventing the shedding of blood.

7 Speyer *Studies about the Kathasaritsagara* p. 54 the drama is held here to belong to the 4th century A.D.

8 In the printed text of the *Dasarupaka* (i. 61) we have the statement in Dhanuka's Vṛtti *bṛhatkatha mulaṁ mudrarakṣasam* followed by the quotation of two verses but these verses are obviously interpolated from Hsemendra's *Bṛhatkatha mañjarī* (ii. 216-217). See G. C. O. Haas *Introd. to Dasarupaka* (New York 1912) p. xxiii.

9 The story of the downfall of the Nandas and the rise of the Mauryas occurs also in Hemacandra's *Parisiṣṭa partan* and other works and is probably traditional. The details of Candakya's intrigue and even the name of Rakṣasa are not found in these sources. The very name of the drama derived from the signet ring (*Mudrā*) which plays an important part in the winning over of Rakṣasa as well as the em-

of the dramatist himself. It is also not necessary to assume that the drama is historical in all its details, or to see in the working out of a political plot a tendentious piece of literature, which may be conveniently referred to this or that period of Indian political history. It is unquestionable that Candragupta and Cānakya are historical personages, and so are possibly Rākṣasa and Sarvārthasiddhī, although these latter names do not occur in the traditional accounts we possess; but how far they are historically or purposively presented is a different question; at least, the occurrence of historical facts or persons does not justify the designation of a historical drama to the work of art, which must necessarily owe a great deal to the author's imagination in the ingenious maturing of the story.

The main theme of the drama is the reconciliation of Rākṣasa, the faithful minister of the fallen dynasty of the Nandas, by that traditional master of statecraft, Cānakya, who wants to win him over, knowing his ability and honesty, into the service of Candragupta Maurya, who has been established on the throne by Cānakya's cleverness and his own bravery. To the crafty machinations of Cānakya are inseparably linked the almost co-extensive plots of Rākṣasa, acting in alliance with Malayaketu, son of Candragupta's former ally, now alienated by the treacherous murder of his father by Cānakya's agents. The detailed development of the plot of the drama is complicated but perspicuous; ingenious, but not unnecessarily encumbered. The first act plunges at once into the story and gives us a glimpse into Cānakya's resolution and his deeply laid schemes, cunningly devised and committed to properly selected agents, which set the entire plot in motion. The second act shows, by way of contrast, the counter-schemes of Rākṣasa and the character of his agents, as well as the traps of Cānakya into which he unsuspectingly walks. The next act is an ably constructed dramatic scene of a pretended but finely carried out open quarrel between Candragupta and Cānakya, meant as a ruse to entrap Rākṣasa further into the belief that Cānakya has fallen from royal favour. In the next three acts the plot thickens and moves rapidly, drawing in Malayaketu's suspicion of the treachery of his own friends, execution of the allied Mleccha kings, and dismissal of Rākṣasa, who is left to soliloquise deeply on the heart-breaking failure of his aims and efforts, and on the fate of his friend Candanadāsa who is led to death. The misguided but valiant and pathetic struggle of Rākṣasa perhaps suggests tragedy as the natural end, by making him a victim of the misunderstandings created by Cānakya, but the intrigue is developed into a happy end, not in a forced or illogical manner, but by a skilful handling of the incidents, which are made to bring about the denouement in the natural way. Cānakya's intention from the beginning is not tragedy but a happy consummation. He makes, therefore, an accurate estimate of both the strength and weakness of ployment of the old idea of a token in this particular form, appears to be entirely Viśakhadatta's own



his opponent's character and prepares his scheme accordingly Cāṇakya knows that the only way to subdue Rākṣasa and impel him to a supreme act of sacrifice is through an attack on his dearly loved friends, especially Candanadasa, whose deep affection and spirit of sacrifice for Rākṣasa is equally great In the last act, cornered and alone, Rākṣasa is ultimately compelled to accept with dignity, the yoke which he never intended to bear, not to save his own life, but to protect those of Candanadasa and his friends The acts are complete in themselves, but they are not detached, no situation is forced or developed unnaturally, all incidents characters dialogues and designs are skilfully made to converge towards the denouement, not in casual strokes but in sustained grasp, and there is no other drama in Sanskrit which achieves organic unity of action and inevitableness with greater and more complete effect

In characterisation, Viśakhadatta fully realises the value of contrast, which brings distinctive traits into vivid relief, and one of the interesting features of his delineation is that most of his characters are dual portraits effectively contrasted, but not made schematically symmetrical Both Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa are astute politicians, bold, resourceful and unscrupulous but both are unselfish and unflinchingly devoted, from different motives, to their respective cause Any possible triviality or sordidness of the plot is redeemed by the purity of their motives and by the great things which are at stake Both are admirable as excellent foils to each other, Cāṇakya is clear-headed self-confident and vigilant, while Rākṣasa is soft, impulsive and blundering, the one is secretive distrustful and unsparing while the other is frank, amiable and generous, the one is feared while the other is loved by his friends and followers, the hard glitter of the one shows off the pliable gentleness of the other The motive of Cāṇakya's unbending energy is not any affectionate sentiment for Candragupta for in his methodical mind there is no room for tender feelings, Rākṣasa on the other hand is moved by a willing admiration even of his political adversary It is precisely Rākṣasa's noble qualities which prompt Cāṇakya to go to the length of elaborate schemes to win him over, and it is precisely these noble qualities which lead ultimately to his downfall He is made a victim of his own virtues, and the pathos of the situation lies not in an unequal fight so much as in the softer features of his character Rākṣasa is of course also given to intrigue, but he does not live and breathe in intrigue as Cāṇakya does There is however no feeling in Cāṇakya's strategy, there is too much of it in Rākṣasa's Although sharp and relentless Cāṇakya is indeed not a monster, and whatever one may think of his deception impersonation and forgery, one admires his cool and ingenious plotting But our sympathy is irresistibly drawn towards the pity of Rākṣasa's stumbling and foredoomed failure, his noble bitterness on the break up of his hopes and efforts, his lofty desire to sacrifice himself for his friend, and his dignified but pathetic submission The

same contrast is seen in the presentation of Candragupta and Malayaketu. Although they are pawns in the game they are yet not mere puppets in the hands of the rival statesmen. Though low born and ambitious the Maurya is a sovereign of dignity and strength of character well trained capable and having entire faith in his preceptor and minister Canakya, but the capricious young mountaineer moved as he is by filial love is conceded weak and foolishly stubborn and has his confidence and mistrust equally misplaced. It is clear that the characters of this drama are not fair spirits from the far off and unstained wonderland of fancy, nor are they abstract embodiments of perfect goodness or incredible evil. Even the minor characters none of whom is fortuitous or unmotivated are moulded skilfully with a natural blend of good and evil. The secret agents of Canakya Bhagurayana and Siddharthaka faithfully carry out their commissions not with spontaneous enthusiasm but from a feeling of awe and meek submission they are, however finely discriminated as individuals for while the one hates his work and feels secret compunctions the conscience of the other is more accommodating. Rakṣasa's agents the disguised Virādhagupta and the honest Śakaṭadasa on the other hand are moved by a sincere attachment to Rakṣasa and honest desire to serve. One of the most touching minor characters of the play is Candanadasa the head of the guild of lapidaries whose affection for Rakṣasa is as sincere as that of Indu-arman for Cānakya but it is strong and undebilitated enough to rise to the height of facing death for the sake of friendship and to be used for that very reason as a lever by Canakya to play upon the magnanimous weakness of Rakṣasa. It is true that the characters of the drama are not always of a pleasant type but they have a consistent individuality and are drawn as sharply and coloured as diversely as the shady characters in the *Mṛcchakatika*.

The mastery of technique which the work betrays is indeed considerable but there is no aggressive display of technical skill nor any wooden conformity so far as we know to fixed modes and models. Nor is there any weakness for the commonplace extravagances of poetic diction affected by some of his contemporaries. Viśakhadatta's style is limpid forcible and fluent and he appears to be fully aware of the futility of a laboured and heavily embellished diction for the manly strain of sentiment and vigorous development of character which his drama wants to attain. His metrical skill<sup>10</sup> and literary use of Prakṛits<sup>11</sup> are considerable but in no way conspicuous. Perhaps as a

10 The metres most employed (besides the Śloka) in order of frequency are Śāṇḍilavikṛīḍita Sragdhara Vasantatilaka and Śikharinī. Other metres are sporadic, but no rare kind is attempted.

11 The usual Prakṛits are Sauraseni and Māhārāṣṭri but Magadhi also occurs. Hillebrandt rightly points out that as in *Sakuntala Mṛcchakatika* and other earlier plays there is no justification in this case for the assumption that Sauraseni was exclusively employed for prose or Māhārāṣṭri for verse.

stylist he does not claim a high rank with his great compeers and yet some of his stanzas stand out among the loftiest passages in Sanskrit literature. We do not indeed find in him the poetic imagination and artistic vigilance of Kalidasa the dainty and delicate manner of Harṣa the humour pathos and kindness of Śudraka the fire and energy of Bhaṭṭa Narayana or the earnest and tearful tenderness of Bhavabhūti, but there can be no doubt that his style and diction suit his subject and in all essentials he is no meaner artist. He uses his images similes and embellishments with considerable skill and moderation, and if he does not indulge profusely in elaborate poetical and descriptive passages it is because his sense of dramatic propriety recoils from them. The soliloquy of Rakṣasa is indeed long but it is not longer than some of the soliloquies in *Hamlet*. It shows however that the author was not incapable of truly emotional outbursts, and the paucity of citations from his work in later rhetorical and anthological works need not prove that his drama is devoid of poetical or emotional touches. The kind of poetry and sentiment which are normally favoured are perhaps not to be found here but in easy and subdued elegance of its own poetry and sentiment the work is certainly successful. Viśakhadatta never thinks less of his subject and more of himself so as to make his work a convenient vehicle for the display of his literary ingenuities nor does he pitch his voice too high and exhaust himself by the violence of his effort. He has the gift of projecting himself into the personality of his characters his dialogues and stanzas have the dramatic quality necessary for rapidity and directness of action and characterisation and if his work is necessarily of a somewhat prosaic cast it still conforms more to the definition of the drama as the literature of action than some of the greater Sanskrit plays. The only serious defect is that the drama lacks grandeur with a grand subject it also lacks pity with enough scope for real pathos. The downfall of a dynasty and fight for an empire are concerns only of personal vanity wounded by personal insult they are matters of petty plotting. Our moral sense is not satisfied even by the good result of placing Candragupta more securely on the throne and the atmosphere of cold calculated strategy and spying is depressing enough for a really great and noble cause.<sup>12</sup>

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12 Passages from a drama entitled *Devī candragupta* are quoted seven times in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Ramacandra and Guṇacandra (12th century) ed GOS Baroda 1929 pp 71 84 86 118 141 43 193 194 and the work is attributed to Viśakhadeva who is probably identical with our author Viśakhadatta (whose name however does not occur in it in the anonymous quotations from the *Mudra-rakṣasa*). The work has not been recovered but it probably dealt with the story (cf. Rāja sekhaṛa *Kaṭya mīmāṃsā* p 46) of Kumāra Candragupta's rescue (in the disguise of a woman) of Dhruvadevī who had been abducted by a Śaka prince. This is perhaps the same story as is alluded to by Buṇa in *Harṣa carita* (*atipure ca para kalatra kamukam kamini tesa guptas candraguptah śakantpatim aśatayat*) see IA iii 1923 pp 181 84 where this Candragupta is taken to be Candragupta II of the

Gupta dynasty From the citations it appears that the drama extended at least to five acts Abhinavagupta also quotes the work without the name of the author in his commentary on Bharata so does also Bhoja in his *Sṅgata prakasa* (see S K De in BSOS IV 1926 p 282) Another work of Viśakhadeva's entitled *Abhisarikā tancitaka* (\**bandhitaka*) is also cited by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja It appears to have been based on another love legend of Udayana in which Padmavati wins back the lost affection of Udayana who suspects her of having killed his son by disguising herself as a Sabari and in the role of an *Abhisarika* making her tender minded husband fall in love with her again<sup>1</sup> It is curious that a drama called *Pratiṣṭha canakya* on the same theme appears to have been composed by one Bhuma as we knew from its citation also by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja apparently it was modelled on Viśakhadatta's play (See R Ramamurthi in JOR Madras III 1929 p 80)

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# KĀLIDĀSA'S USE OF THE INCARNATION THEME

By

Mr C W GURNER c s i i c s

The foundations of belief in one era of civilisation will often be found to play a secondary part in the cultural or philosophical ideas of a different age. The doctrine of transmigration of souls (in the form of Karma and Rebirth) is one of the foundations of classical Indian thought—it plays a secondary and exotic part in that of Greece and Rome. The doctrine of Incarnation is the essential basis of religious belief and of the cultural ideas integrated with religious consciousness in the Christian era—it fills a definite and recognisable but nevertheless a secondary place in the intellectual atmosphere of classical and perhaps one might add of modern India.

It is the object of this article to ascertain exactly what content this conception stood for in the minds of a cultured and thoughtful Sanskrit poet—the mirror of his age. Kalidasa's philosophical and theological ideas lie outside our scope except so far as necessary for definition and comparison with Christian interpretation of this particular theme.

By the idea of Incarnation in this article is meant the apprehension of the appearance through birth of the Godhead in human form for the purpose of relief of Evil followed by reabsorption in the divine origin. This definition excludes embodiment of the deity in non human forms such as some of the Avatars of Viṣṇu. And it is necessary to distinguish the sense of Immanence of the deity in the physical world including humanity which is often associated with the Incarnation both in Indian and Christian thought but implies an entirely different philosophical conception. The close collocation of the two ideas of Immanence and Incarnation in the Bhagavadgita is apt to result in confusion between the two.

It is an open question to what extent the cultured thinker of Kalidasa's time accepted the Incarnation in this sense as a vital factor in his religious consciousness. The same question is raised about Brahmanic Hinduism of to-day by A. C. Bouquet in his book on Comparative Religion<sup>1</sup>. But it is doubtful whether the devout believer in the Avātara is really satisfied with that (a doctrine of Illusion). Rama is probably as real to him as Jesus to the Christian. But even as an article of belief the Incarnation would remain in Indian culture should one say a secondary feature of theological reality rather than the essential basis of the religious system which it is for Christianity.

This idea appears in two forms in Sanskrit literature both associated with the God Viṣṇu his Incarnation in Rama and in Kṛṣṇa. In both cases the expression of this conception whether in the Ramayana or in the Bhagavadgita must almost by consensus of scholarship precede its appearance in the New Testament by one or more centuries. A derivative form of the idea exploited and possibly invented by Kalidāsa for purely literary purposes is the propagation of the divine element by Śiva through Parvatī in Skanda for the destruction of demonic activities corresponding to those of Ravana in the Rama legend.

अरिबिप्रकृतैर्देवैः प्रसूतिं प्रतियाचिन्तित ।

Kum Sam VI 27

At the outset one must define more closely this element of the relief of Evil as an essential element in the Incarnation theme. It stands on two levels. One is that of the ethically lower strata of the Ramayana. The object of the deity incarnate is to destroy the material interference by a physically existent power of evil Ravana.

a With the gods themselves

b With sacrifice to the Gods

वधार्थं रावणस्येह प्रविष्टो मानुषी तनुम् ।

Ram VI 117/28

It is an implication of this basic idea that the demonic activities should themselves have originated with the consent of the Godhead in some form. Viṣṇu has only acquiesced in Ravana's activities because of the Brahmas boon.

सद्युवरासिगातु

Kalidasa RV A. 42

Ravana in relation to the Rsis is Job's Satan of the Old Testament. And the Lord said unto Satan Behold all that he hath is in thy power (Job I 12). It is the same crude treatment of the problem of evil.

But there is a higher conception of the evil for which Incarnation alone can provide the remedy than that of the physical activities of a malignant power. It is that of the moral religious evil involved in the confusion of Dharma. This idea is of course essentially that of the Bhagavadgita (in which the motive for Incarnation never touches the lower plane) e.g. Bhagavadgita IV 7 —

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति ।

It does appear however also in the more philosophical stratum of the Ramayana whether concurrently with or derivatively from the Bhagavadgita e.g.

नष्टधर्मव्यवस्थाना काले काले ।

Ram VII 8 27

Both authorities no doubt contribute to the expression of the same thought in Kalidasa

धर्मरक्षणार्थं प्रवृत्तिभुवि शार्ङ्गिण ।

Raghu XV 4

The object of the Incarnation is no mere business of killing Ravana but the Salvation of Dharma in a deeper sense.

Two comments may be made at this point by way of comparison with the western conception of Incarnation. The recurrent process essential to the Puranic idea is entirely absent from and incompatible with the specifically Christian interpretation of the same theme. And though in a passage such as that last quoted the functioning of the deity incarnate may be far removed from the original crude conception of killing Ravana though the process of relief of evil through Incarnation begins to assume the sense of a Mystery there is in Hindu thought at least as embodied in the author under study not the remotest conception of the New Testament principle of Redemption. The only element in the specifically Christian interpretation of the theme of Incarnation which can be traced in its Indian counterpart is that of *divine favour* as the sole motif for the Descent

लोकानुग्रह एवैरो हेतुस्ते जन्मकर्मणो ।

Raghuv X 31

( So God loved the world that he gave )

The earthly parentage is an aspect of the Incarnation developed by Kalidasa only in the Viṣṇu Rama theme. Coincidences with the New Testament story are in fact far more marked in the legend of the infant Kṛṣṇa and in those associated with the Buddha. But the Viṣṇu Rama birth is more directly concerned with the mystical problem of self procreation by the God head through earthly parentage. And here arises a point of great interest in the contrast between the Indian and Christian interpretations. For Christianity interest centres on the maternal side and the act of parentage vests the Mother with an immense religious significance of her own. The essential features in the Viṣṇu Incarnation are on the other hand firstly the emphasis on the male parent rather than the mother and secondly as the logical result of this trend coupled with polygamy the distribution of the divine element Incarnate to the offspring of several mothers. Both principles are embodied in a single Śloka of the Ramayana

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2 For the recurrent process as taking shape in the Viṣṇu cycle see A. C. Bouquet Op cit p 104. Though essentially incompatible with Christian doctrine the same thought may creep into Christian writings. E. G. Cook Rebirth of Christianity (Penguin Series) p 163. Ordinary processes of growth and repair reach their height in divine acts of regeneration redemption and atonement.

कृतात्मान चतुर्विधम् ।  
पितर रचियामास तदा दशरथम् ।

Ram I 15 31

Four mothers shared in the divine birth but it was none of these so much as the Father whom the divine being blest with his choice

The plural incarnation is given its full significance in the birth of Rama and his brothers in the *Ramāyana* where the individual blessing on each mother is particularised in *ślokas* imitated and elaborated by Kalidāsa

कौशल्या शुशुभे तेन पुत्रेणामिततेजसा । etc

Rām I 18 12 etc CP Ragh X 69 ff

and in one passage at least the *Ramayana* puts Rama and Lakṣmaṇa on an equivalent plane of divinity

महाभागौ भ्रातरौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ।  
मनुष्यभाव सम्प्राप्तौ ।

R IV 31 45

For Kalidasa only the figure of Rama is invested with religious significance

The distribution of the divine element between the consorts of Daśaratha is elaborated with full literary value in the tenth Sarga of the *Raghuvamśam*. All carry the embryo of divine origin as the solar tubes (of Purāṇic physics) carry water (Ragh X 58). All participate in dreams conveying the presence of Viṣṇu with attributes and consort, which are the Sanskritic equivalent of an angel choir in a Madonna painting (Ragh X 62). But no one can interpret such passages as more than literary embroidery, and so far as one can sense any expression of genuine feeling it is Dasaratha whose exaltation recalls the sentiments of a *Magnificot* more appropriate in Christian thought to the Blessed Virgin

मेने परार्च्यमात्मान गुरुत्वेन जगद्गुरो ।

Raghuv X 64

He considered himself blessed in the fatherhood of the Father of the world. This predominance in sacred interest is marked by the fact that it is to him and not to the Mother that the Messenger of the Annunciation bearing the mystic Payas appears

(Ram I 16 18 Ragh X 50)

The principle of plurality of Incarnation assumes a more fantastic form in the subsidiary incarnations of other deities in the beings destined to attend on Rama. There is not *one* deity incarnate (and He in four persons) but several deities descending into human and sub human forms to follow Him.

अक्षरन्तुयुर्विष्णुं पुण्यैर्वायुमिवहमा ।

Ragh. X. 49



following Viṣṇu with parts of their selves as trees follow the wind with flowers

And they are not forgotten on their way back when the earthly mission is accomplished (Raghv XV 102) We are obviously drifting away here from any kind of religious content to that of traditional convention but Kalidasa's approach to the idea of Incarnation will not be fully understood unless this elaboration is comprised in the account

In the representation of the divine infant Kalidasa emphasises an element which whether by coincidence or continuity of tradition played an essential part in the Christian era namely the Halo The origin of this convention needs a study in itself but it is sufficient for present purposes to say that for Kalidasa the Halo was an attribute of royalty which he transferred impartially to the divine infant male or female The Rama babe dims the chamber lights (Ragh X 68) The infant Parvatī sparkles like jewels on the mountain side (KS I 24) Contemporaneously the Byzantine mosaics were investing the Infant Jesus and all other divine figures with the heavy gold halo which passed down all the centuries of Christian art till it was refined to a gleam of chiaroscuro round the cradle The same feature reappears in the Kṛṣṇa infant as portrayed by Bhaṣa more specifically as a miracle ad hoc

मम मागमपश्यत

अपक्रमणहेतुं तु कुमार्येण प्रभा कृता ।

Bit 17

The infant creates a light in darkness to reveal the path of escape

But in an article devoted to the study of the idea of Incarnation as embodied in Kalidasa one must not go further afield It would be more relevant to fix the point at which the Halo round the Infant Christ appears in Christian writings

There is a well established convention in Sanskrit epics and Kāvya poetry that any event of special significance in human affairs such as a royal birth or a victory should evolve a sympathetic response both in the natural and the supernatural world The winds are stilled disease vanishes heavenly flowers fall and heavenly voices are heard etc It is only natural that similar manifestations should mark the birth of Viṣṇu incarnate and it might prove to be more than a mere verbal coincidence that some of them at least are so reminiscent of the Nativity in Christian tradition A few words in the Rāmāyana create in fact an exact Indian counterpart to the angels above the Cradle

जगु कलं च गाधर्वो नन्दुधाप्सरोगणा ।

Ram I 1817

Gandharvas sang and Apsaras danced in the Heavens Kalidasa associates these natural manifestations in closely parallel verses again both with the

birth of Parvatī (Kum I 23) and with the birth of Rama (Ragh X 72)

In the latter case making all allowances for the difference in religious values between the Puranic Svarga and the Heaven of Christianity one cannot miss the import of what may be described as the Christmas day feeling in the thought of Heaven descending with the Godhead to earth

अन्वगादिवहि स्वर्गा मा गत पुरुषोत्तमम् ।

Ragh X 72

Moreover with the excessive formalism characteristic of Sanskrit literature precisely opposite manifestations of natural sympathy mark events of unfavourable significance. The sky rains blood not flowers down at Ravana's birth (Ram VII 9 31) and the sun fails as on Good Friday

प्रवर्धौ नव सूर्या वै ।

The earthly personality of the deity Incarnate in Sanskrit thought whether it be Rama or Kṛṣṇa is so far disparate from its Christian counterpart that comparison is of little value. The essential point to be remembered is that for Kālidāsa as an exponent of classical literary ideas the Viṣṇu Rama story serves the purpose of exciting the emotions primarily of heroism and wonder not tenderness or even peace (if the ninth Rāsa be admitted to the categories of his time)

The characteristic of the deity incarnate in Rama is the divine force

मा गतस्य तव धाम वैष्णवम्

(Ragh XI 85)

with the access of superhuman powers especially in combat to which this gives rise. That was what the Incarnation in Rama meant for classical literature just as it does for the Durwan reading his Ramayan on the doorstep to day. The Bhagavadgita gives a glimpse of the despised and rejected conception (though the verbal coincidence might easily mislead)

अवजानन्ति मा मूढा मातुषीं तनुमाश्रिता ।

Bh G IX 11

But it was not one which appealed to Kālidāsa and the philosophical study of the Kṛṣṇa Incarnation is another matter which does not concern us here.

There remain the aspects of the Transfiguration and the Ascension the self revelation in transcendental form to mortal eye of the deity incarnate and the return from the human to the divine. The Viśvarupadarśanam in the Bhagavadgita in its resemblance and contrast with the Transfiguration in the New Testament offers one of the most striking and instructive counterparts between Indian and Christian ideas. Kālidāsa though closely in contact with Bhagavadgita from which he consciously quotes a line<sup>3</sup>

स्थावराणां हिमालय

B G X 25 Cp Kum VI 67

3 In the Ramayana the supremacy of the Himalaya is one of the several similes in praise of Rama. See Rama IV 11 93

finds no place in the Rāma story for the transfiguration theme during Viṣṇu's earthly abode, though his elaboration of the Iconology of Viṣṇu (for instance in the Stuti verses in Sarga X of the Raghuvamśam) may owe something to this influence. In fact the Rāmāyaṇa itself shows perhaps more consciousness of the mystical sense of Māyā which is predominant in the Bhagavadgītā (e.g.

अचिन्त्यमनन्त स्वमाया साम्प्रतमागतम् ।

Rām V 5437) than will be found in the rather more material conception of the Incarnation in Kālidāsa

Similarly his expression of the return to Godhead is materialistic rather than mystical a matter of change from one body to another

विष्व नः स्वतनुमविशत्सर्वं लोकाग्रतिष्ठाम् ।

Ragh XV 1034

This somewhat materialistic tone is well brought out in one of Kālidāsa's most remarkable similes from religious ideas, with which these notes may end. The fifteenth Sarga of the Raghuvamśa ends with Rāma Viṣṇu's return to his "true body foundation of the world" in the words quoted above. The capital of Ayodhya remains deserted till one night the City personified as a Widow appears to Kusa now resident in Kusāvati, appealing to him to reoccupy the ancient capital. A highly wrought descriptive passage ends in the prayer to return to capital of the Dynasty "as Kusā's Father had abandoned his mortal body to return to his form in the Absolute"

हित्वा तनु कारणमाबुधीं तां यथा गुरु ते परमात्ममूर्तिम् ।

Ragh XVI 22

It will be noticed how the simile acquires its maximum power from the reminiscence of a phrase in the Bhagavadgītā coupled with its appropriateness as an appeal to Rama's descendant. And yet, powerful as the illustration is for its literary purpose, the very fact that it could be used on this worldly plane leaves some suspicion as to the true depth of its religious content in the poet's mind. It is as if some modern Milton had appealed to Lord Hardinge to "take back his Government to the ancient capital of Delhi just as the Redeemer had returned to Heaven", and it is probably not too sensitive a feeling that no poet with Milton's sense of devotion could have forced his pen to such an ornament.

At the end of it all therefore one is left asking what did this Incarnation theme mean to Kālidāsa, the supreme model of the cultured Indian of his

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4 Kālidāsa here uses one of the rarer names of Viṣṇu found in a Stuti Stuti passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (VI 117 14) in conjunction with "Kṛṣṇa" but not in the Bhagavadgītā

age? Does he profess to have given expression to true religious feeling and genuine belief at any point in his use of the Rāma Viṣṇu Incarnation, or is it all to him merely a doctrinaire convention drawn on for its literary values? The question concerns not his ultimate faith in Viṣṇu (as in Śiva), but his immediate belief in the incarnation of the Godhead in this, or other human forms. The only answer that can be given is that, like Shakespeare, Kālidāsa is too great a literary artist to reveal his personal consciousness on any particular article of faith.

# DEVELOPMENT OF TRIPITAKA TRANSLATIONS IN CHINA

By  
MR FACHOW

The institution of translating Buddhist Tripiṭakas into Chinese from both Sanskrit and Pali sources has a long history ever since the formal introduction of Buddhism into China in A.D. 67 when Emperor Ming ti of the Han dynasty accorded his imperial welcome to the first two Indian sages Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmananda at Lo Yang capital of the Han dynasty. It is recorded in several historical and non canonical works that the first Buddhist text translated into Chinese by them was the Sutra of the Forty Two Chapters along with Buddhacarita Sutra Dasa Bhumī Klesacchedika Sutra Dharma Samudrakosha Sutra Jataka and other texts of the Vinaya. However except the first one the remaining texts so far as our knowledge goes were either lost or disappeared without any trace. Under the auspicious inauguration of Matanga the noble sages of both the countries labouring constantly for a long period of fifteen hundred years did perform a great wonder in bringing about the monumental work of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. It may not be an exaggeration if we say that it is a rare priceless relic of Indian culture being carefully preserved and protected in the soil of China. Not only by its highly developed philosophy and literature it did influence the thought and mode of life of the Chinese people to a large extent but also it furthered the intimate and ever lasting cultural relationship between the two great sister nations India and China. To the scholars who toil in the field of ancient Indian history and culture, it will prove to be an inexhaustible mine because it is directly connected with all subjects and branches of Indology. Owing to the misconception that the Chinese language is the most hard one in the world the foreign scholars therefore are barred from reading these translations directly and as a matter of fact they have been ignored blissfully by the outside world.

To have a clear idea of the development of these canonical works the following points may be added here.

## A *The Three Stages of Development*

### I THE FIRST STAGE

The inception for such meritorious enterprise as we have mentioned above is dated back as early as the first century A.D. At that time Buddhist missionaries began to pour into China from different Kingdoms of the Western

Region—Central Asia, viz., An Shih Kao from Parthia (A.D. 148-170), Lokarasha from Yueh Chi (A.D. 164-186), Kang Chu from Kang Ch'u or Ulterior Tibet (A.D. 187), Kumārajīva from Kharajar (A.D. 401), Buddhāyasa from Cabul (A.D. 403) and so forth. During this short period from A.D. 67 to the arrival of Kumārajīva in A.D. 401, it was little more than 330 years yet we had about sixty foreign Buddhist masters whose translations were counted to be over 400 separate works. In these books we find every branch of Buddhist doctrine which belongs to both Hinayana and Mahāyāna schools though the former has been delineated comparatively in a more dominant form. Of course, it is impossible to expect perfect translations at this experimental stage either in accuracy or in style. We are given to understand that they were confronted with great difficulties which could not be easily overcome.

Firstly, they had no manuscripts with them. Probably, it was not their custom to translate a work from a written or printed copy, as we do it to day but simply depending upon their wonderful memory, they did it. Howsoever strong might such memory be sometimes it would betray them and the text thus translated may not be in accordance with the original one. To have the sacred texts written down on paper or other materials was a very late practice. We know the whole collection of the Pāli Canon was committed to writing only in B.C. 25 in the reign of Vattagāmini Abhaya in Ceylon. And there was no written Vinaya text in Northern India till late in A.D. 400. That is what Fa Hsien informed us in his *Travel* and we believe it to be true, if we just compare the following record which states how the Abhidharma vibhāṣā-Śāstra was first translated into Chinese.

'The text' was recited from memory by Sanghabhūti (A.D. 381-385) put down in Sanskrit by Dharmānanda, orally translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa and finally made into a Chinese version by Śramaṇa Ming Chih of the Eastern Chin Dynasty.' (A.D. 317-420)'

Under such circumstances, there would not be the least surprise, if slight mistakes were found in the translations.

Secondly, when the foreign missionaries came to China their first difficulty was the language. They of course in a short time could not hope to speak Chinese correctly, nor the scholars of the country could easily master Sanskrit, especially its most complicated system of grammar. As their urge of preaching and spreading the Buddhist doctrine was very great, so they had somehow or other to get the work done through the co-operation of the Chinese scholars. The result of such translation was partly comprehensible

1 This Śāstra is different from Nanjio Nos. 1263 and 1264.

2 See 'The bibliography of eminent Buddhist teachers,' Ch. I Nanjio No. 1490 Shanghai Tripiṭaka Edition, bundle 35 vol. 2, p. 5.

and partly ambiguous because at that time the Buddhist doctrine and its terminology were absolutely foreign to the mind of the Chinese people

Thirdly at the beginning the translations were not carried out on a grand scale nor in any way critical or systematic. It continued to be a private enterprise of the missionaries for a long time. During such period they had no proper residence to work nor any support or protection from the government. They had therefore to complete their undertakings in a hurried way even at the cost of extracting the essential parts from the bigger works and calling them by their original titles. There were also cases that the translators often forgot to put down their names on the works which they had done. Why it was so is still a puzzle to many of us.

Fourthly we suspect that some of the translations were not directly translated from Sanskrit but indirectly from the language of Central Asia. For instance, the Chinese term for *Upadhyā* is *Ho shang*, which may be a transliteration of *Hua She* in the language of Hsaka and a direct import from Khotan because in Khotan *Upadhyā* is called *Ho Shang*.<sup>1</sup> It would not be improbable if some works in the Chinese Tripitaka were translated from the languages other than Sanskrit or Pāli.

The above facts show how hard it was for the forerunners to proceed with such an important task with the little imperfect knowledge they had at that stage. It is universally recognised that An Shih Kao and Dharmarakṣa were the two great representatives of this period.

## II THE SECOND STAGE

This stage probably began from the arrival of Kumarajīva in China in A.D. 401 and lasted upto the days when Hsuan-chwang returned to China and began to translate the works which he had brought with him in A.D. 645. The rich experiences of the forerunners who toiled in the first period of Tripitaka translating for over three hundred years had certainly facilitated Kumarajīva and his co-workers in their own works so far as Buddhist terminology, idioms and phrases are concerned. As a sign of general improvement the foreign teachers by then could understand a good deal of Chinese and the scholars of the country also learnt sufficient Sanskrit. When setting to work they could proceed very smoothly without feeling any difficulty about the language. However there were occasions for heated discussions over a certain philosophical topic such as: Is an *Icchantika* also possessing the nature of the Buddha? and the like.

Another feature of this period was that the general public especially the intelligentsia took a great interest in Buddhism and Buddhist activities. To undertake any service in connection with translating Buddhist scriptures was

1 See The bibliography of eminent Buddhist teachers of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1127) Ch. III Nanjo No. 1495

considered a meritorious deed and also it used to be a spell of protection for those who were bored and tired of the political chaos at the time. From the political point of view, the history of China from A.D. 302 to 589, was not a very happy one. During this period we had fourteen dynasties which were established in different parts of the country by different rulers, and most of them were 'alien' or 'Hu'—the barbarians in origin, as the historians used to call them. It is interesting to note how Kumārajīva came to China. Fu Chian, the ruler of the former Tshin dynasty (A.D. 350-394) ordered his commander in chief Lu kwang to bring Kumārajīva to Chang an. The latter went to Kharajar, conquered the kingdom, killed the king and brought Kumārajīva with him as a captive. But fortunately or unfortunately, the afore-said ruler was dethroned by another powerful king just before their arrival. In such a state of affairs Kumārajīva had however to put up with his surroundings and could not set to work. It was in A.D. 401 after the capital and headquarters of Lu kwang had been destroyed by the second ruler of the later Tshin dynasty (A.D. 384-417), he arrived at Chang an. This shows the political tumult at that time and the unrest of the country.

In spite of all these the rendering of Buddhist Canon had a good progress and bright prosperity. Under the king's patronage in the later Tshin dynasty, Kumārajīva translated over 50 works in the famous Hsiao yao garden with the help of only one penman who put down the translated sentences in the Chinese language. The most important works of Buddhism such as Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio No. 3) Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra (No. 134) Vimalakīrti nirdesa (No. 146) Śāta Śāstra (No. 1188) Dvādaśamukhāya Śāstra (n. 1186) Prāyamula Śāstra śikā (n. 1179) and Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Śāstra (n. 1169) and others were translated during this period by Kumārajīva. It was his mastery over both the languages of Sanskrit and Chinese, his excellent style and subtle rendering of the texts that had given a new impetus and spirit to the world of translation.

The representatives of great translators in the second stage were Kumārajīva (A.D. 401), Buddhābhaddra (A.D. 398-421) and Paramārtha (A.D. 548-557). Moreover this period is considered to be a period of co-operation between the foreign Buddhist teachers and Chinese scholars.

### III THE THIRD STAGE

Gathering from what has been shown in the previous two stages, it is very clear that the foreign missionaries took the initiative. Undoubtedly they had their own merit so far as their enthusiasm for spreading Buddhist doctrine and their religious aspiration in undertaking such noble services are concerned, yet there was nothing short of defects in the translations which they had done. Even great experts such as Kumārajīva would not escape criticism, if some of his works were compared with the original texts, not to speak of others who were not as critical and efficient as he was. Taking a



distrustful attitude towards the translations, Fa Hsian was the first person among the Chinese Buddhists to come to India in search of Vinaya texts and Sūtras in A D 401. And in A D 518 another Chinese traveller, Sung-Yun by name was sent by the Empress of Northern Wei dynasty (A D 386-534) to India to seek for scriptures of Buddhism. Following their steps a large number of Chinese Buddhists did come to India for the same purpose at different times. The most celebrated among them was Hsuan Chwang who came to India in A D 631 and stayed in the holy land for 15 years<sup>1</sup>. The Indian sages honoured him with the title of Mahāyanadeva. He was a great Sanskritist and used to defeat learned Indian Pandits. While returning he brought with him 520 bundles of 657 separate books and translated 73 of them, consisting of 1330 fasciculi. The most voluminous work among them is Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra. It consists of 600 fasciculi and 200,000 ślokas in verses<sup>2</sup>. By his perfect knowledge of both the Sanskrit and Chinese languages and his deep penetration into the vast ocean of Buddhist philosophy and literature he laid once for all the reliable and authentic foundation for interpreting the Sanskrit scriptures into Chinese. It is he who created a revolution in the field of Tripiṭaka renderings and snatched away, not by force, but by merit the sovereignty of the translation—kingdom from the hands of the foreign missionaries. By this time the rendering of Tripiṭakas had reached its zenith of perfection in truthfulness, in reliability in expression, in excellency of style and in so many other ways.

The table given below will furnish us with a concrete idea regarding the scriptures translated by different persons at different periods

Date	Translators	Works	Fasciculi
A D 67—730	176	986	4507
A D 730—789	8	127	242
A.D 789—1037	6	220	532
A D 1037—1285	4	20	115
Total	194	1335	5396*

### *How the Texts Were Translated ?*

To have more than four persons labouring over a text in the earlier stages of scripture-rendering was not a luxury, but a sheer necessity. Later on, it developed. The number of office bearers was steadily on the increase, from three to four and finally it went up to nine. This very complicated and systematized organization has a characteristic of its own and it claims our attention for the purpose of rendering modern literature into different languages.

In the first period, beginning from the first century A.D. to the fourth century A.D., a translation was generally completed through the efforts of four persons. That is A one recites the Sanskrit text from memory, B one records the recitation in Sanskrit, C one orally interprets it into Chinese and D one makes a Chinese version. And three persons would suffice if a manuscript was available. In that case A and B would be replaced by a person who could read out the text and explain its meaning, and the rest would remain as they were.

When it entered into the second stage with Kumārajīva taking a leading rôle on the scene of action, the translations became critical and refined, and more members were admitted to such translation committee, especially, the works which were complete after Kumārajīva's time. During this period, the new member being added was called Cheng I, whose office was to examine the meaning of the translated manuscript and see whether it would agree with the original text. Between A.D. 590 and 907 we have the following additions: one specialist was appointed to verify the correct significance of the translated text, another to examine it from the linguistic point of view. And also there used to be a proof corrector, a revisor and general directors.

Some time later, by the order of the Emperor Tai Chung (A.D. 976-998) of the Sung dynasty, a Translation Hall was established in A.D. 982. In that hall we are told that there were 9 members who sat side by side in rendering

\* The above statistics are based on the 'Comparative catalogue of the Buddhist sacred books in the Chih Yuan Period A.D. 1264-1294'. See Nanjio No. 1612.

^ Buddhist work into Chinese. Below we shall see the function of each member therein

1 I chu or the translator in chief who took his seat in the centre facing outside and would loudly recite the Sanskrit text

2 Cheng i or the examiner of meaning who sat on the left of I chu and discussed the sense of the text with him

3 Cheng wen or the examiner of text who sat on the right of I chu and listened carefully to his recitation of the Sanskrit text in order to find out mistakes if there were any

4 Shu tzu or the transcriber who listened attentively the recitation of the Sanskrit text and wrote down its pronunciation in Chinese characters viz Ha ri-da ya for Hrdaya

5 Pi shou or the penman who translated the transcribed letters into the Chinese language viz Hsin —mind or heart for Hrdaya

6 Cho wen or the text composer who arranged the translated words in syntactical order and made suitable Chinese sentences

7 Tsan i or the text comparer who compared both the original and the translated texts and saw that there was nothing wrong in the translations

8 Kan ting or the text censor who cut off all the superfluous expressions and would decide finally the doubtful meanings of the sentences

9 Jun wen or the revisor of the composition whose function was to improve the language and made the translations more excellent and refined in style ^

When all these had been properly executed the text then was sent to be printed and later on to be distributed

Having read the descriptions above we cannot but admire the scientific spirit and religious zeal of these workers in engaging themselves in the vast ocean of Buddhist literature. It is said that before their setting to work they had to perform various sorts of rituals which included *homa mandala arghya* and offerings of different kinds taking a bath daily wearing three garments behaving as properly as possible and so forth. No doubt they were supported by the state but they would not take what was more than necessary for their simple life and maintenance. They were self-denied sages for the noble cause of Buddhism.

### *Principles of Translation*

Before Hsuan-Chwang's taking part in the field of translation there was constantly the question regarding stiff translation and paraphrase. As a

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1 See Fu tsu tung-chu or Records of the lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs. Ch 43 Nanjo No 1661

matter of natural consequence during the earlier stages the translations could not be helped to be stiff. In the first place, there was the difficulty of gaining mastery over both the languages. Secondly, they dared not make the style literary on account of religious piety. So they had to let the translations remain in the simple, faithful, straightforward but unpolished state.

Tau an (about A.D. 330-386), a very learned and authoritative Chinese Buddhist scholar was of the opinion that except the following five points the translation should strictly be faithful to the original text.

The points are 1. The syntactical order, 2. The habit of employing literary words, 3. The abridgment of phrase repetitions, 4. The omission of explanatory sentences which could belong to the text proper and 5. The exclusion of paragraphical repetitions.

Besides, he also made remarks on the difficulties of translating a text. Firstly, as he used to say that, a translation should not merely be true to the original one, but also should be an easy approach to the common folks. Secondly, the profound wisdom of the Buddha is rather hard to make out its esoteric meanings. And thirdly, the Buddha who preached the doctrines had passed away long ago, therefore, the controversial views of Buddhism had very little opportunity to get corrected.

The method of translation being employed by Kumārajīva was somewhat different from Tau an. His works are mostly of paraphrastic type. When translating the *Sādharmapundarikā Sūtra* we are told that he was purposely following the phraseology of the Chinese language though he made it a point not to allow the ideas of the original work to suffer any misinterpretation. Such a great Pandit as he was we, of course, cannot expect him to be satisfied with the simple frame of stiff translation.

Hsüan Chwang, the great Chinese Sanskritist was very particular about the transliteration of Sanskrit words. One will find especially in his *Si-yü-ki* or the *Buddhist records of the Western kingdoms* the corrections of proper names and he would point out that such and such transliterations were absolutely defective. While translating he would simply dictate the penman to write down the sentences in Chinese as though he was reading typed sheets of such dictations. It is in no way exaggerating if we say that his translations are perfect in every aspect and naturally the question of stiff rendering and paraphrase would not in any case be applied to them. However, there are rules laid down by him regarding certain Sanskrit words which may not be interpreted but transliterated only. In the first place a word he would not translate, if it were in connection with esoteric doctrine such as 'Dhāraṇī'. Secondly, if a word had many meanings like 'Bhagavan', thirdly, if an article was not to be found in China such as 'Jambu Tree', fourthly, following the terms of the old if it was widely known and adopted and lastly for the sake of producing good faith, viz., the word 'Pañña'—*Prajñā* is much better than

its translated words 'Chih hui —wisdom for, as he expressed that they would awaken the people's faith to believe in Buddhism

Leaving aside what has been stated above there were scholars who upheld the view that the best way of penetrating into the heart of Buddhism was to abandon the institution of translation and learn directly the Sanskrit language. We too approve and agree with such proposal but alas, the dream never came true. And the Chinese Tripitaka in the present day has the fortune of being regarded as one of the invaluable legacies of Sino-Indian culture which will undoubtedly contribute its proper offering to enrich the civilization of the world

Thus far we have been able to gather materials as to how the Chinese Tripitaka translation had its growth and development. It is our sincere hope that the Indian scholars should shoulder the burden in restoring them into Sanskrit or Pali and translate some of them if not the whole collection into the different vernacular of modern India. One day, when this noble object shall fully be attained we are quite sure that China would feel happier, because in preserving this priceless treasure of Indian culture her effort was not in vain

# BUDDHIST SURVIVALS IN BENGAL

By

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F R A S B

In his article on *Religion* contributed by my friend and colleague Dr Prabodh Chandra Bagchi to the first volume of the valuable and authoritative *History of Bengal* published from the University of Dacca under the able editorship of Dr Rames Chandra Majumdar the author has given a very good survey of religion in early Bengal prior to the Turki conquest at the beginning of the 13th century. Dr Bagchi has discussed the question of the introduction of Aryan or Upper Indian culture in Bengal and has treated with full reference to relevant documents the various forms of Upper Indian religion which found a home in Bengal—Brahmanical (in its various aspects or ramifications like Vedic and Puranic the latter in its numerous forms or cults like Vaishnavism Saivism and others) Jain and Buddhist. For these we have fairly abundant materials and the ground of investigation consequently is sure. But there has taken place in both Upper India and Bengal a commingling of cults in both their ideals and theories and their practices and rituals among Puranic Brahmanism (including Tantricism) Buddhism in its numerous later phases and Jainism, and this has led to a tangle particularly by the interaction of the Puranic cults of Brahmanism on the one hand and the various forms of later Buddhism on the other in Bengal which it is well nigh impossible to untie. And the matter has been further complicated by a third and an independent group of cults and rituals entering into this tangle—those of pre Aryan origin which obtained among the Dravidian Austric and Tibeto Burman and other peoples of Bengal recent and prehistoric who formed the original inhabitants of Bengal upon whom Upper Gangetic Aryan Speech and Hindu (i.e. Brahmanical or Vedic Puranic and Tantric as well as Buddhist and Jain) religion and culture were imposed transforming them into an Aryan speaking Hindu people by the end of the first millennium A.D.

We know next to nothing about these pre Aryan cults of the people of Bengal yet a good deal of these have survived to our day as the suppressed religion of the masses being mostly forced to make a compromise with the official Aryan religions Brahmanism and Buddhism and to affiliate themselves to these in a vague sort of way to obtain if not active support from the ruling classes at least a certain amount of toleration (sympathetic and understanding generally and occasionally unthinking and contemptuous) from the upper classes professing the scriptural religions of Upper Indian provenance—a

toleration which was so necessary for its very existence. The original or national cults of the pre Aryan peoples are found in the worship of many caste or tribal deities or village gods who have no place in the official Hindu pantheon of pan Indian acceptance at times they have just succeeded in finding a place in some Sanskrit *Purana* but in other cases they have advanced only as far as the threshold or the ante chamber of the hall of official Hinduism by having their legends rendered in the vernacular only. Thus there are village godlings of the type of *Gabhur Dalan* and *Mochrā Singha* worshipped in the South Bengal Delta who are unknown to any *Purana* and unsung even in the vernacular there are *Daksin Ray* and *Kalu Gaji (Ghazi)* godlings who control the tigers in the Sundarbans of the forest lands of the southern Delta whose exploits are narrated only in Bengali and whose fame has not yet travelled beyond Bengal and finally there are deities of the type of *Sitala* the goddess of the small pox and *Manasa* the goddess of serpents who have received admission into the pantheon of Puranic gods and goddesses honoured although they are newcomers beside *Siva* and *Devi Visnu* and *Lakṣmī*. The nature of pre Aryan religion and ritual in its mythology and its ideas and practices among the various pre Aryan groups of peoples it has not been possible to establish as yet most of it now survives in the rites and cults obtaining in remote villages which are now always under the aegis of official Brahmanical Hinduism. One of these pre Aryan cults that of the God *Dharma* has been connected by Bengali investigators of the last generation with Buddhism the name of the presiding Deity or chief God of the cult, viz *Dharma* being thought to be identical with the second entity in the Buddhist triad *Buddha* *Dharma* and *Sangha* but a detailed study of this *Dharma* cult as it survives in West Bengal villages will clearly show that it is quite independent of Buddhism—even independent of any Upper Indian Aryan association to start with.

The Austriac (Kol and Mon Khmer) and Dravidian peoples and finally the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto Chinese tribes in North Bengal and East Bengal followed the Negritos the oldest people of India and Bengal and the Proto Australoids. So far as these last two peoples are concerned no vestige of their languages and culture remains. They were undoubtedly absorbed among the Austriacs and the Dravidians as well as the Tibeto Chinese who followed them later. About the Austriacs who came next to the Australoids there are two views as to their original homeland. According to one the original Austriacs were characterised with their language and the basic elements of their culture somewhere in Northern Indo China. From there they spread west into India through Assam and occupied the Ganges Valley extending as far west and north as the Himalayan regions upto Kashmir and in the south penetrating all over the Deccan right down to Malabar. In India they became the ancestors of the Kol or Munda and other connected peoples in Indo-China and Assam their speech and culture survived in the Khasi and Mon

Khmer groups of peoples they penetrated into the Nicobar Islands and bands of them pushed down into Malaya and the islands of Indonesia and further to the east into those of Melanesia and Polynesia. The Melanesian, Polynesian and Indonesian languages on the one hand forming an Austro-nesian group of speeches and the Austro-Asiatic speeches current mostly on the main land of Asia like the Kol or Munda speeches of India, the Mon-Khmer speeches of Burma and Indo-China, Nicobarese and the languages of certain primitive peoples in Malaya, on the other form together the great *Austro-Speech Family* which thus originated according to this view somewhere in Northern Indo-China. The other view about the origin of the Austro-speeches would take them to the West to the East Mediterranean tracts according to this view the Primitive Austriacs were just a very early branch of the ancient Mediterranean race which travelled eastward into India through Chaldaea and Iran and their language and culture became characterised in India from where they spread with their language and the basic things of their culture into Burma and Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia and then beyond into Melanesia and Polynesia. Be it as it may there is no doubt that the pre-Aryan people of India was largely of Austro origin (in its two branches of Kol or Munda and Mon-Khmer) they were followed by the Dravidian speakers from the West, and by the Tibeto-Chinese speakers from the North and the East. The Dravidians also had probably a good deal to do in the evolution of the present-day Bengali people and its language as it grew out of the Aryan Prakritic dialects from Magadha and Tibeto-Chinese influences were confined to the Northern and North-eastern fringes of Bengal only.

It is now almost impossible at the present day with the existing materials at our disposal to form a clear idea of the elements contributed by the peoples of these different linguistic groups in pre-Aryan Bengal particularly in religion. The Dharma cult which formed such a strong religious current in Western and Southern Bengal throughout Middle Bengali times finding an expression in a valuable literature of epic narratives (the *Dharma-mangal* poems) and another literature of rituals in Bengali in temples and ceremonies and festivals and which has survived to our day was unquestionably going very strong in pre-Muhammadan Bengal although only as a disorganised popular religion of non-Aryan origin side by side with the much better organised Brahmanical and Buddhistic cults. It is still a living faith in West Bengal although its façade has been embellished with the outward decorations of Brahmanism. (See in this connexion the most recent article on the Dharma cult in West Bengal by Prof. Kshitis Chattopadhyaya in the JRASB for 1942). The late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri (and following him others) thought that this Dharma cult was a relic of Buddhism in present-day Bengal these scholars being put off their guard by the name of the chief deity of this cult Dharma who is however described as the Supreme



Deity Creator and Ordainer of the Universe superior even to Brahma Viṣṇu and Śiva and at times identified with them (particularly with Viṣṇu) and he has nothing of the abstraction of the Buddhist Dharma about him. He is a deity who is white in colour and to him white goats are sacrificed (according to mythology the goat is a substitute for a young boy to be sacrificed to him). Dr Sukumar Sen of the University of Calcutta who is engaged in editing (in collaboration with Mr Panchanan Mandal) the oldest *Dharma mangal* poem so far obtained—that by Ruparama Cakravartī (middle of the 17th century)—and incidentally is collecting data about the Dharma cult with a view to unravelling as far as possible the origin and primitive character of the cult, thinks that very early probably even in pre Muhammadan times this cult of aboriginal (possibly Kol or Austric) origin received influences from Brahmanism both Vedic and Puranic that the story of the sacrifice of Śunahśepa the son of the Brahman Ajigarta in place of Rohita or Rohitasva the son of king Hariscandra who had offered him to the God Varuṇa as narrated in the *Āitareya Brahmana* which is found among the medieval myths of Dharma in its Brahmanised form is probably in itself a myth of Austric origin which obtained a place in the *Brahmana* work in pre Buddhist times.

This deity Dharma was not only a Creator but also a Sustainer of men. He is also a God of agriculture and in Bengal we have a strange conception of Śiva as a farmer a conception not found elsewhere in India which appears to be an extension of this aspect of the divinity Dharma to Śiva when the latter came to be identified with the former. I have to note one very special thing about Dharma his great annual festival is everywhere always accompanied by ritual dances and sometimes by mimicry and drama without these dances by his worshippers (who usually taking up a vow and observe strictly some regulations in living for a month) this annual festival (*gajan* from *garjana* as it is called) cannot be held. These dances are accompanied by songs, and are performed by troupes of devotees. Now dance as a fundamental religious ritual is certainly not Aryan it is neither Buddhistic nor Brahmanical. It may be Dravidian it may also be Tibeto-Chinese but it is emphatically Austric. Then another point which has suggested to me about the name of the god Dharma himself as in this Dharma cult. If there is ground for a reasonably strong suspicion that the cult (with its myths) is pre-Aryan then we may look upon the very respectable Aryan name *Dharma* with equal suspicion and may ask ourselves whether the name is a Sanskritisation of some original non Aryan name which had a similar sound with the Sanskrit word or whether it is just a translation of the native non Aryan name into Sanskrit. The first alternative is the easier and more common one the second one is only a little less likely. We may note how a primitive Dravidian word (as in Old Tamil *an manṭi*) meaning the male monkey was in all likelihood both translated into the Indo-Aryan Ved c as *ṛṣa-kapī* (mean

ing the same thing) and then Aryanised into the Sanskrit *Hanumant-* or *Hanūmant-* as the Great Monkey God; and that *Śiva* and *Śambhu* seem to echo certain Dravidian words (Old Tamil *ciraṇi* = 'red', and *cēmpu* = 'copper, red'), and, further, that *Rudra* may be an approximation to the Aryan God *Rudra*, the Roarer, the Father of the Maruts or the Storm Winds, from an original translation \**Rudhra* of the name of a Dravidian divinity meaning 'the Red God' (the description of Śiva Rudra as 'the Red God with the Blue Throat'—*nīla lōhita*—in the *Śata rudriya* section of the *Yajur veda* is to be recalled)

So *Dharma* may be at its basis just a non Aryan word, either Sanskritised in sound or form, or translated into Sanskrit. Now, I throw in a linguistic suggestion as to its possible origin. The commonest symbol under which this Bengal deity Dharma has been and is still worshipped is the *tortoise*. Many of the images of Dharma are just a figure of a tortoise. The use of this symbol must have arisen among a sea people, or a fisher folk, which the Austriacs appear largely to have been. In the cosmogony of some of the Austric (Kol) and Dravidian tribes the tortoise plays an important part, and the legend of creation centering round the *Dharma* cult in Bengal (e.g. in works like the *Śūnya purāṇa*) agree remarkably with some aboriginal creation legends, e.g. as among the Gonds. One of the dialectal words for 'tortoise' in Bengali, current over a good part of the delta, is *duṛa* or *duro*. This word usually signifies a tortoise of a small species. The word occurs also in Assamese. It is found in Old Bengali as *dulī*—'female tortoise,' and *dulī dulī* are given by Monier Williams as late Sanskrit words meaning 'female tortoise' as well as *dauleya*—young tortoise. A Sanskrit word *dadru*, with a variant *dara*, meaning tortoise also occurs. These presuppose vernacular words in ancient India like \**dadḍa* \**daḍa* and \**dara*. In the Asoka Inscriptions, it occurs in the form *dulī* or *duḍi* (in Pillar Edict No V). For these, a form like \**dul-* \**duṛ-* or \**dur-* or \**dar-* \**dar* would be the basic word. As a widely current Bengali word (beside *kachim* = Skt *kacchapa*, *kasyapa* = Hindi *kachuṃṃ*, and *kaṭhua kāuṭhā* with which compare Santali *kaṭkom* = 'crab', not occurring as far as known in other parts of India), it may be reasonably presumed to be of non Aryan probably Austric origin, although I have not been able to find a similar word in any of the Austric languages. Now in the Kol speeches we have an affix *om* added to nouns both animate and inanimate which is perhaps just an expletive without any special force which has become a part of the word. e.g. *merom* 'goat, he-goat or she goat', *damkom* 'bull calf', *kaṭkom* 'crab', *sadom* 'horse', *madkom* 'the mahua tree', *saṛjom* 'the sal tree', *gorom* 'grand child', *halom* 'father's sister, maternal uncle's wife', *tyarōm* 'insect', *mudom* 'ring', *gōtōm* 'ghee', *datrom* 'sickle' (the last three appear to be early Aryan loans respectively from *mudda* = *mudra*, *ghata* = *ghṛta*, and *datra*), *argōm* 'ladder', *parkom* 'bedstead', *kalom* 'year', etc. Probably connected with this is

another affix *am* *sutam* thread (from Aryan *sutta* = *sutra*) *sakam* leaf *banam* lute, *koṛam* breast (cf Aryan *kroḍa*) *potam* dove etc. Among the pre Aryan ancestors of the Bengali people speaking Austric dialects we can postulate the presence of a word \**dul* \**duṛ* \**dur* *daṛ* *dar* = tortoise as the source of the New Bengali *duṛa* *duṛo* and the Old Bengali and late Sanskrit *dul* *duḥ* and could we further postulate an extension of it into \**dul* *om* \**duṛ* *ōm* \**dur* *om* \**dul* *am* \**duṛ* *am* \**dur* *am* or \**dar* *om* \**dar* *om* \**daṛ* *am* \**dar* *am* as a specialised word or word group meaning also tortoise? So that an easy Sanskritisation of a name like \**duṛom* *duram* or \**daram* \**darom* into *Dharma* (through a vernacular or semi *tatsama* Aryan form like \**dharama* as something intermediate) just after the Upper Indian Brahmanism and Buddhism came to Bengal and began to influence the local non Aryan religion would be quite in the nature of things the god symbolised by the tortoise in this way getting a Sanskrit name meaning 'Law' or 'World Order' only through phonetic assimilation. It is also to be questioned if the translation of the Fish the Tortoise and the Boar into incarnations of Viṣṇu is not the result of the influence of pre Aryan (Austric) religion on Brahmanical Hinduism.

Any way in speaking about Buddhist survivals in Bengal at the present day we have definitely to omit the Dharma cult although it has to be admitted that Buddhist ritualistic elements have modified its ritual. The ideologies and the mythologies of Buddhism in any of its numerous forms and those of the Dharma cult are quite different from each other. Dharma priests of *Dom* and other inferior castes originally were known as *Padit* or *Parit* (*Pamḍit*) a semi *tatsama* from the Sanskrit *Pandita*. Devotees of Dharma were known by various names—one of which was *aman* or *amini* from Sanskrit *amṇayitā* sectarian.

Present day Hinduism in Bengal is the gradual transformation of Puranic Hinduism as it was developing all over India during the first millennium after Christ. Hinduism or Brahmanism started with the Aryan religion and its scriptures the Vedas on the one hand and with the non Aryan religions and their lost or unwritten scriptures on the other. Against Vedism and non Aryan religions both but particularly against Vedism were developed certain philosophical systems prominent among which were Jainism and Buddhism. These themselves did not escape the influence of either the Vedic priests the Brahmins or those who followed the extra Vedic non Aryan religions if not in their philosophical concepts at least in the ordinary religious life of their followers. From about the middle of the 1st millennium B. C. some of these extra Vedic religions with their ideologies their mythologies and their cults began to assert themselves and although they were at first ignored and then reluctantly tolerated by the Brahmins, who knew only the Vedic ritual of sacrifice and the Vedic gods and Upanishadic speculations they gradually were accommodated in the new Brahmanism that was growing up.

in post-Buddhic times. The worship of Viṣṇu of Śiva and of Uma or Devī came in. Śrī was one of the earliest of these extra-Aryan deities to establish her position. The ritual of the *pūja* (of likely Dravidian origin) was given a place beside the Vedic ritual of *homa* or the fire-sacrifice in the *Bhagavad Gītā* as a part of the *Mahābhārata* (which was the great scripture of this later and composite form of Brahmanism in which the Vedic world and the world of the great Puranic gods were sought to be harmonised) we find the following verse (IX, 26)

*patram puṣpam phalam toyam yo me bhaktya pra-yacchati  
tad aham bhakty upahṛtam asnamī prayatatmanah*

He who offereth to Me with devotion a leaf a flower a fruit water that I accept from the striving self offered as it is with devotion (Trans Annie Besant)

Taken in its context it appears to be just a defence of the *pūja* ritual before *homa* performing Brahmans who were still looking askance at non-Vedic rites and ritual.

The first amalgamation that took place of Vedic and non-Vedic (i.e. non-Aryan) religions embraced the two pantheons and the two rituals and the myths and legends of the two religious worlds were also combined. The Brahmans formally and officially always gave the superiority to the Vedas and Vedic cults and ritual but the Puranic cults and the Puranic ritual were also coming to be admitted by them. Then from the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. the Brahmans had to make another big concession by admitting Tantric rites and ideas. The origin of these Tantric ideas and practices is not known but it seems that the esoteric ideology of the *Tantra* and its ritual connected as these were from the beginning with *yoga* practices represented the pre-Aryan probably Dravidian religion *in excelsis*. The mythology of the *Purāṇa* and the simple ritual of the *pūja* were adopted first and then came the esoteric doctrine and the elaborate practices of the *Tantra*. Upto about 800 A.D. the mixed Vedic-Puranic Brahmanism as in the *Purāṇas* appears to have been free from Tantric influences. But after that Tantric ideas and practices were being given greater and greater recognition in Hindu life and in Hindu religion—i.e. life and religion as directed by the Brahmans. (This line of development of Puranic Brahmanism has been very ably indicated by Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra of the Dacca University in his *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* University of Dacca Bulletin No. 22, 1940 which is an admirable work of capital importance covering over 350 pages in the study of the *Purāṇas* as documents in the evolution of Hindu or Brahmanical religion which unfortunately is not as well known as it deserves to be as a work of exact and painstaking scholarship.)

Not only Brahmanism with its great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva (with Uma fully established but also Buddhism fell under the spell of the Tantric ideo-

logy mythology and ritual Mahayana Buddhism with its pronounced bias for mysticism and theism formed an equally fertile field for the seed of Tantric ideas to take root and to have a vigorous growth Saktism adopted in the Brahmanical Śiva and Umā cults of Puranic origin, became equally accepted in Mahāyāna Buddhism of Eastern India (including Bengal) Hīnayāna Buddhism was current in Bengal side by side with the Mahāyāna which appears to have been fully established in Bengal by the beginning of the 6th century, as mentioned by Dr Bagchi on epigraphic evidence The Mahāyāna as known to Huen Tsang in the 7th century was transformed in Bengal with Tantric accretions into the *Tantra yāna* and its ramifications the *Kalacakra yāna* the *Vajrayāna* (this concerning itself mainly with a new and elaborate ritual and ceremonial of worship with *bīja-mantras* or mystic syllables of power and *mudras* or gestures with the fingers which formed a surer and at the same time much easier esoteric path—*sadhana marga*—for the attainment of *Bōdhi* or highest wisdom), and *Sahaja yāna* its latest phase (of which the exponents were the 84 great adepts of mysticism known as the *Siddhas* who discountenanced ritual and outward worship of the gods or cultivation of the virtues and inculcated the culture of hidden powers within the body by *yoga* practices including breath-control, leading to the condition of supreme bliss that is the natural—*sahaja*—state in which man feels that his essential unity with the inner Spirit of things is realised) The language of these later phases of the *Mahayāna* in Bengal which totally eclipsed the earlier *Mahayana* schools of Philosophy and Self culture like the *Madhyamika* and the *Yogacara* or *Vijñāna vada* is replete with the Tantric spirit,—it is language and practice and mystic outlook and symbolism even more than we note in the case of Puranic Brahmanism under *Tantra* influence Till the last there was a certain amount of Brahman opposition to Tantric mysticism and symbolism and to Tantric practices but the Buddhists in Bengal succumbed to these completely and in Tantric Buddhism the Tantric symbolism and practices found another and a potent channel through which it could exert an indirect but nevertheless very effective influence on Puranic Brahmanism Present-day Brahmanism in Bengal may be characterised as more than three fourths Tantric in its inspiration outlook and ritual and less than one fourth Vedic with a Puranic background and the greatest legacy of Buddhism in Bengal in its latest phase before it died out officially or formally has been this Tantric attitude and atmosphere

Buddhism survived as a 'subsidiary religion and under the Senas who were staunchly Brahmanical Hindus Buddhism was dethroned from its high place as the religion of the ruling house which it had enjoyed under the Palas But it continued to flourish even for some centuries after the Turki conquest In the middle of the 13th century a North Bengal Brahman Ramacandra Kavībharatī declared his formal adherence to Buddhism—and he manifested in his *Bhakti śataka śloka*s in Sanskrit an intense personal devotion to

Buddha which was a Buddhist counterpart of the *Bhakti* movement which characterised the later Vaiṣṇava and other theistic schools centering round the figures of Rama and Kṛṣṇa. But Ramacandra Kavibharatī found his own society uncongenial and he went to Ceylon and settled there. Even as late as the thirties of the 15th century Buddhist texts like the *Bodhi carjāvatara* continued to be written in Bengal and we read about Buddhists during the life time of Chaitanya. But after Chaitanya the Buddhists as a religion and community cease to have a place in Bengal. (The Chittagong Buddhists at the present day are to be affiliated to the Hinayana school of Arakan and Burma—even their Pālī learning was derived from Burma before recent reforms through connexion with Ceylon came in)

A good many Buddhists appear to have been at least nominally converted to Islam after the establishment of Turkī Moslem rule in Bengal. Bad blood and want of sympathy between Brahman and Buddhist which manifested in the decadent days before and after the Turkī conquest was largely responsible for this. But Bengālī Buddhists (and Hindus) who adopted Islam did not or could not adapt their mental make up to the atmosphere of Arabic or Iranī or Turkī Islam. Saint worship through their tombs (contemptuously described by the more orthodox or puritanical Bengālī Mussalmans as *pir pirasī* or *gor pirasī* worship of saints worship of tombs) an Islamised version of the Buddhist worship of *stupas* or *cātyas* built over the ashes or relics of great teachers and saints forms an important cult in the Islam of Bengal and India and it can legitimately be looked upon as an inheritance Islamised no doubt from Buddhistic ritual and practice.

Among present day Hindus in Bengal even the name *Buddha* has been lost. Probably the personal name *Budhu* or *Buddhu* is a *tadbhava* survival of the name *Buddha* (cf. *Kanu* < *Kṛṣṇa*). This name we hear as an old fashioned pet name, which is sometimes connected with *Budha vara* or Wednesday but people do not know what it really means. Before the curiosity of the West rediscovered the history of *Buddhist* Buddha for us the average Hindu knew of Buddha only as an incarnation of Viṣṇu who came down on earth deliberately to mislead the sinful into the path of an anti Vedic faith although he was moved to pity for the animals slaughtered at Vedic sacrifices. Sanskrit scholars and persons educated in English know about Buddha but the Buddhist tradition about the master has strangely passed away. Even Buddha images are being worshipped in many places as Hindu gods and goddesses by the Hindu populace. From the 19th century names like *Amṛtabha* *Bodhi sattva* *Śākya sīmha* and *Buddha-deṭa* and *Gopa* and *Yasodhara* are being revived. But two names of late Mahāyāna inspiration although used in Brahmanical or Brahmanised contexts have continued all along. *Lokanātha* or *Lokesvara* believed to be a name of Śiva but really (at least in its origin) it would appear to be the name of the very popular Bodhisattva *Avalokiteṣṭara* and *Tara* usually regarded as the

Tantric goddess who is a form of *Śakti*, but really the name is of the equally popular Buddhist goddess who was the consort of *Ālōkīśvara*. In fact, in popularity, among the Buddhist forbears of a good many present day Bengalis *Ālōkīśvara* and *Tārā* anticipated *Sūa* and *Durgā*—the names have survived, and many of the attributes, only the mythological atmosphere is different.

The old gods never die nor do the rituals. If worship of the saints' graves survives, even the name for these saints lives in translation: the Buddhist *sthavira* > *thera* is succeeded by the Islamic *pīr*, which in Persian means the same thing as *sthavira* (= 'old man'), and the lotus and sandal paste are just changed for the rose and rose water coming from Islamic Iran.

The second name in the Buddhist triad, *Dharma*, came down to Old Bengali in the proper *tadbhava* form *Dharma* > *dhamma* > *dhama*, but it fell into disuse from Middle Bengali times, the Sanskrit word, never lost to the language (either in its *latsama* form or in its *semi-latsama* variants like *dharama dhamma*), taking its place. In Middle Bengali, *dhama* survives in the word *dhāmāl karanī* or *dhāmāl karni*, a title for a priest in the ritual of the Dharma cult (*dharmā + āyanta* or *āpayanta* = \**dhāmānta*, *dhāmāl*). We have the word in a place name like *Dhāmrai* (= *Dharma rājkā*). The Middle Bengali word *dhāmālī* means 'a particular kind of song, a kind of song accompanied by gestures, dance-song, dance-sport, jest and joke'—its Assamese counterpart *dhemali* means 'a division of the musical performance with the Assamese *khol* and *mridang* (drums), and then 'sport', 'amusement'. These words seem to be akin to the Hindi *dhamar* 'a kind of musical mode which appears to be just another form of Hindi *dhamāl*, *dhammāl* = 'jumping into or running through fire (a practice of *faqirs* and *qalandars*), a musical measure—a kind of song (sung during the *Holī* festival), wild and tumultuous merriment, noise, tumult, uproar'. Platts connects the Hindi words with *dharma*. Originally therefore \**dharma* meant 'some religious ceremonial' then 'music and dancing connected with that,' and, finally 'merriment' on the one hand and 'a particular kind of musical or poetic composition' on the other—and the word may be of Buddhist antecedents, which has survived to our day—the meaning having degenerated. We may compare the fortunes of the name *Vasiṣṭha* originally as the priest of Rāma's house, he was the messenger between Dasaratha and Janaka before Rāma's marriage with the latter's daughter, Sītā, as described in the *Ramayana*, and then the Middle Indo-Aryan form of the word *Vasiṣṭha*, must have changed its meaning so that its New Indo-Aryan equivalent in Hindi *basīṭh*, finally came to mean 'a village headman—a master of ceremonies—an agent or messenger' (Amīr Khusrau, c. 1300 A.D., uses *basīṭh* as an equivalent of the Arabic *ra'īl* the Persian *paigham-bar*) and finally to degenerate into the sense of 'a go-between, a tale-bearer, a mischief maker' and even into 'a customer (among harlots)'.

The word *Sangha*, on the authority of the late Mahāmahôpādhyāya Hara prasad Sastri, survived in Middle Bengali in the word *sāṅgā* (or *sanghā*) meaning 'a group of ships or boats sailing together for safety, a convoy' (In Pali also we have the word *sanghāta* to mean 'an array of boats'). We have in Modern Bengali the word *sāṅgāt* 'boon companion, close friend' and at first sight it would suggest a connexion with the Sanskrit *sanga*. But the Hindi equivalent shows *gh* and not *g* *sanghātī* 'companion, friend, ally', *sanghat* 'union, companionship', *sanghatin* or *sanghatan* 'female friend'. We have in Hindi the expression *sang sanghātī* = 'friends and associates', where *sanghātī* is distinguished from *sang* in a synonym compound. So here we have a folk survival in Bengali and Hindi of the Buddhist *sangha* *sangha* + *vanta* = Bengali *sāṅgāt*, and *sangha tta* = Hindi *sanghat*, from which the nouns. We have here thus a generalisation of the specialised Buddhist term.

*Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha* have thus not been able to retain any hold on the popular or mass-consciousness of the people of Bengal. On the other hand, some Puranic deities and other figures have been able to do so, e.g., Bengali *Kānu* < *Kṛṣṇa*, *Rāt* < *Rāhī* < *Rādhika*, *Āyān* < *Āihana* < *Ahivāruṇu* < *Abhīmanyu*, *Ind* or *Id* < *Indra*, *Dūgī* < \**Durgikā*, *Śāth(ī)* < *Śaṣṭhī*, etc.

In some place names we have naturally enough reminiscences of Buddhist religious foundations or locations e.g., *Dhāmarai* which has been noted above *Pānc thupī* (= *Pañca-stupika*) *Bajaṣan* (= *Vajrāsana*) *Dharma doha*, *Dhām sar*, *Uārī* or *Warī* (*Upakārikā*, 'pavilion temporary pavilion for religious festivities decorated with flowers and festoons'), *Nabāsan* (= *Natā sana*), *Mahāsthān*, and a few more. It may not be insisted upon, but it is very likely that the annual festivities centering round the worship of some god or goddess *Dūgī* < *Durgikā* which are held all over Bengal and are known as *Bār uārī pūjā*, is of Buddhist origin. The main item in these festivities is the erection of a temporary structure, a common gathering place, in wood, bamboo and matting, with flags foliage and festoons the *uārī* of Old Bengal, in which the performance of dramas and singing of songs for the people are held, and the image is installed in a corner if there is no permanent temple. The cost is met by public subscription the community taking active part in the whole thing. The word *bār* in *Bar uārī* appears to be added to the original word *uārī* in later post Muslim times as an honorific embellishment from the Persian (cf. Persian *bār* 'country *barah* wall cf. *dar-bar* king's audience or levee').

The Brahman tradition was to wear long hair and beards—wearing long hair may have been an Indo-European inheritance among the Aryan Brahmins of India. In contrast to that the Buddhist monks were clean shaven in both head and face. In post Muslim times, the clean shaven Buddhist monks and nuns were contemptuously known as *Naḍa* (or *Nēḍā*) and *Nāḍī* (or *Neḍī*), and these terms came to be applied by the orthodox Hindus for Vaishnava monks and nuns who also followed this practice of shaving the head from post



Chaitanya times when Chaitanya Vaishnavism admitting monks and nuns became a strongly organised force in the country. The Brahmans particularly laymen were accustomed to be clean shaven in the face and in the head save for a long tuft at the top (the *sikha*) and for this hygienic practice the example of the Buddhist monks may have been responsible in post-Chaitanya times as we gather from a 16th century literary reference it was uncommon for a Brahman to wear a beard—more so when the Turks and other Muslims were cultivating this hirsute appendage to the face. Ordination of Vaishnava monks and nuns which was a very simple ceremony came to be described by an old word which would appear to be a relic of Buddhist practice the monk's status of a *bhikṣu* (*bhikkhu*) or Buddhist monk with the yellow garb and the begging bowl was known as *bhikṣya* (*bhekkha*) and from this we have the vernacular (Bengali) word *bhekk* meaning the status of the Vaishnava monk with his *tulasi* beads round his neck his begging bag made of a knotted cloth and his *kaupina* or loin cloth.

Certain cults which were going very strong in Middle Bengali times and have continued a moribund existence even to our day form an undoubted continuance of Tantric Buddhism more or less mixed with other cults. Of these the medieval Bengali *Sahajya* cult is one later it affiliated itself to Chaitanya Vaishnavism. The Natha cult with the Siddha Gorakh nath at its head is another it appears to have been the result of a fusion of Tantric Sahaja yāna of the late Mahayāna Buddhism with Sivaite Yoga. Gorakh nath is one of those elusive persons who are claimed by more than one religious sect. The *Avadhutas* are another order of religious devotees frankly Sivaite who appear to have emerged from *Sahaja yana*. The Bauls are another group of Sahaja yana origin or affinity which until recently kept itself aloof from Brahmanical sects and followed its own ideologies and its own life now it is slowly Vaishnavising itself. The *Karta bhaja* or the Creator i.e. Master-worshipper sect is a very late form of the non-descript extra Brahmanical sects which grew up in a Vaishnava background.

The present day Tantric leaven in Bengal Hinduism largely came to it via the Buddhistic *Kala cakra yana* the *Vajra yana* and the *Sahaja yana* schools of the *Tantra yana*. One matter in which there has been a very subtle influence from Tantric Buddhism upon Bengal Brahmanism would seem to be this the rather exaggerated importance of the *guru* from whom Tantric initiation is received. The Brahman has his proper Vedic initiation when he is invested with the sacred thread by the *upanayana* rite and is taught the *Gayatri* prayer from the Veda theoretically he does not require any other initiation. But in practice all good Hindus in Bengal should have a *guru* who will give him the *mantra* a Śaiva Śakta or Vaishnava mystic syllable and a name of a divinity to repeat and the *guru* becomes almost as a god to him after this initiation. This mentality has become so thoroughly ingrained

in the Bengali mind, Hindu and Muslim (the Muslims have developed in India and particularly in Bengal a similar *Pir Murīd* or *Murshīd Murīd*, i.e., *Guru-Śiṣya* relationship) that it directs the activities of even otherwise normal people to the extent of blindly following a master, in intellectual as much as in spiritual matters. Now, the *guru* has always had an honoured place in Brahman Society, but he was never an object of divine honours in Vedism. Whereas, as we see in Nepal, where the Tantric Buddhism as in Bengal of the 10th-13th centuries still survives among the Newars, although the strong Śākta or Śaiva cult of the Gurkhas has been profoundly modifying it, a Buddhist is known as a *Gu bhāju* or 'a Guru worshipper,' and a Brahmanical Hindu as a *De bhāju* or 'a Deva worshipper' (The late MM Dr. Haraprasad Sastri noted these words in Nepal and explained them in the above way, connecting them with the Sanskrit root *bhaja* 'to adore, to worship'. R. L. Turner in his *Nepali Dictionary*, however, gives *Gubhāju* or *Gubhājyu* as meaning 'a Newari Buddhist priest', but not *De bhāju* and explains *Gubhāju* differently, as possibly being from Sanskrit *guru* and a Newari *bhāju* 'master').

Some of our middle class non Brahman surnames have a Buddhistic ring. *Pālita Dhara*, *Rakṣita*, *Kara* etc. may be equally Brahmanical and Buddhistic but *Pān* may be Buddhistic (*Prājña* or *prajña* = Middle Indo Aryan *Pañña*, *panna* = Bengali *Pān*). A good few surnames occur in both the fuller Sanskrit form and in the modified Prakritic form: the former may be due to a Brahmanical context, the latter Buddhistic. But this is, it must be confessed, too theoretical: nevertheless we may contrast *Canda* with *Candra*, *Āc* (from *Aicca*) with *Āditya*, *Hui* for *Bhūti* (= *bhuti*) *Gui* (*Guin*) for *Gōmika* or *Gomin* (Cf. *Candra gōmin* = Bengali *Cād Gui*), *Da* besides *Dām* (= *Daman*), etc.

The above are a few aspects of the very meagre survival of the Buddhist world (at one time so wide and so all embracing) in the present day Hindudom of Bengal as they suggest themselves to a student of language. Closer and more specialised investigation is bound to reveal many more venues of Buddhist survival.

# KOKĀMUKHASVĀMIN

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An obscure deity called *Kokāmukhasvāmin* is mentioned in a Damodarpur inscription of Budha Gupta<sup>1</sup> Dr R G Basak, who originally edited the record referred in this connection to Kokāmukha a form of the goddess Durga and to the Kokāmukha *tirtha* both mentioned in the *Mahabhārata*. He did not, however, suggest any satisfactory identification of the god Kokāmukhasvamin. My friend and pupil Dr D C Sircar recently came to the conclusion that Kokāmukha is a form of Śiva<sup>2</sup>. This theory is based on the supposed connection of the name *Ādya Kokāmukhasvamin*, as given in the Damodarpur inscription with the appellations *Ādyā* and *Kokāmukha* used in reference to Durgā the consort of Śiva and on the term *nama linga* which according to Dr Sircar occurs in the epigraph in the sense of 'a *Linga* established after someones name' and points to the god Kokāmukhasvāmin. The land donated in favour of the deity according to the Damodarpur grant was situated on the Himavacchikhara<sup>3</sup>. Dr Sircar rightly points out that the expression *Himavacchikhara* literally means 'a peak or summit of the Himālayas' but he adds 'Here however it appears to refer to a territorial unit (called a forest in [Inscription] No 39)'. The situation of the land granted to the gods suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. There is as yet no proof that the Kotivarṣa district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal<sup>4</sup>.

Fresh light on the identification not only of Kokāmukhasvamin but also of Himavacchikhara, where apparently the god's temple was situated is thrown by chapters 219 and 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa*<sup>5</sup>. The evidence furnished by the above sections of the Purana prove beyond doubt that like Śvetavarahasvamin with whom he is associated in the record Kokāmukha is a form of the Varaha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu and that the Kokāmukha *tirtha* was in the Himalayan region on the northern fringe of Bengal.

1 Basak *Ep Ind* Vol XV p 138 ff Sircar *Select Inscriptions* p 328 ff

2 *Op cit* 329 n cf *Ind Cult* April 1939 (Vol V), p 432 f

3 Cf *Himavacchikhare Kokāmukhasvaminah catvarah kuljatapah* etc

4 Sircar *Select Inscriptions* p. 329 fn 2

5 Baṅgabāsī edition pp 860 ff 928 ff

In chapter 219 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* we have a legend about the origin of the place of pilgrimage styled Kokāmukha *tīrtha*. It is unnecessary here to enter into the details of the story. In short it relates how Viṣṇu in his Boar form rescued the divine *pitṛs* who had been engulfed in the waters of the Koka, a stream that dashed through the Himalayan rocks (*śīśir adrt*). Cf

Verse 3 —

*Pura Kokajale magnan pitṛnuddhṛtavan bibhuh*

Verse 17 —

*Koketi prathitā loke śīśirādrisamasṛita*

Verse 36 —

*KOKĀMUKHE pitṛganam salile nimagham*

*Devo dadarsa sṛasātha silam iahantam*

Verse 39 —

*VARĀHADamṣṭrāsamlagnah pitarah kanakojjvalah*

*Kokāmukhe gatabhayah kṛta devena Viṣṇuna*

Verse 114 —

*Kokapī tīrthasahita samsthita GIRIRAJANI*

It is added that the sanctity of the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* was due to the presence of the Varaha form of Viṣṇu. Cf

Verse 106 —

*Koka naditī vikhyata girirajasamāsṛita*

*tīrthakoṣṭmahapunya MADRUPAparipalita*

Verse 107 —

*asyamadya prabhṛti vai nṛvatsyamiyaghanasakṛt*

*VARĀHADarsanam puṇyam pujanam bhuktimuktidam*

Verse 116 —

*evam mayoktam iṛadasya Viṣṇoh*

*KOKĀMUKHE dīvyā VARAHARŪPAM*

It may be noted in this connection that according to the same legend Narakasura, who sprang from the union of Viṣṇu in his Boar form with the goddess Mahi or Chaya and was made lord of the city of Pragjyotiṣa by his Divine Father was born in the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* in the Himalayas<sup>6</sup>. The

6 Cf

Verses 114-115

*Chaya mahimayī kroḍi pṇḍaprasanaśmṛita*  
*garbhamadaya sastraddhā Varalasyaiva sūdanī*  
*tato syah prabhāvat putro Bhaumastu Narakasurah*  
*Pragjyotiṣanā nagarāmasya dāṭṭanā Viṣṇuna*

story apparently points to the proximity of the holy spot in question to Pragjyotiṣa in Kāmarūpa (Lower Assam and North Bengal to the east of the Karatoyā) In the Gupta period the sacred site is known to have fallen within the limits of the Koṭivarṣa *viśaya* (district) of the Puṇḍavar dhana *bhukti* (province) in North Bengal

Chapters 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* also dilates on the Kokāmukha *īrtha*, but it hardly adds much to the stock of our knowledge This section only corroborates the information gathered from chapter 219

Cf

*ityevamuktva pīṭaram pranamya  
gatva ca Kokāmukhamagratīrtham  
Viṣṇum samarādhya VARĀHARŪPAM  
avapa siddhim manujarṣabho'sau*

Ch 229, Verse 86

In passing it may be pointed out that the Damodarpur inscription noticed above is of great importance for the study of the religious history of ancient Bengal In the first place, it points to the prevalence of the cult of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu in Bengal during the Gupta age<sup>7</sup> Secondly, it demonstrates the existence, even in that early period, of a belief in different varieties (Śveta varāha, Kokāmukha) of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu It is clear that as early

7 Cf my remarks on the disappearance of the independent worship of the *vyūhas* except Vasudeva and the growing popularity of the *avatāras*, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect* 2nd ed p 176 The votaries of the cult of Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* were doubtless styled *Bhāgavata*—a sectarian designation that was known to Indian epigraphy from the time of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus to the age of the Guptas and their successors. Another designation *Pāncarātra*, is met with in the Epic the *Pañcarātra Saṃhitās* the *Harṣacarita* of Bana the *Brahma Purāṇa* and other works A suggestion has been offered in recent times that Bhagavatism was completely different from the *Pañcarātra* cult in the Gupta period, and that while the former was specially associated with the *avatāravada* the latter stood for the *vyūhavada* But the existence of the *Pañcarātras* as a sect distinct from the *Bhāgavatas* in the Gupta age is extremely problematical The epithet *Pāncarātra* is not prefixed to the name of any personage of importance in Gupta inscriptions or coin legends in the same way as *Śaiva* or *Bhagavata* thus casting doubt on its prevalence as a rival sectarian designation in the Gupta age The *Harṣacarita* which does make separate mention of *Bhagavatas* and *Pāñcarātras* is a post Gupta work The commentator on the words regards both the sects as Viṣṇuites, but he never suggests that the line of demarcation between the two follows the supposed cleavage between the upholders of the *avatāravada* and the *vyūhavada* respectively In the *Padma Tantra*, *Bhāgavata* and *Pāncarātrika* are referred to as synonymous terms, and the *Pañcarātra Saṃhitās* pay devotion to the *avatāras* as well as the *vyūhas* Even in the *Caṭanyacaritāmṛta* there is no suggestion that the *avatāravada* is the doctrine exclusively of the *Bhāgavatas* and the *vyūhavada* of the *Pāñcarātras*. In the *Brahma Purāṇa* the *Mahābhagavata* Akura pays homage to the four *Vyūhas* (ch. 190-192) The *Pañcarātra-vidhāna* contemplates worship of the *Vyūhas* as well as the *avatāras* including *Mahāvarāha* (Ch. 48-49)

as the fifth century AD not only were *avatāras* worshipped in Bengal, but the conception of different variations of the same *avatāra* had developed<sup>8</sup>

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8 Gopinatha Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, pt 1 p 132 ff) notices three different conceptional types of the Varāha *avatāra* namely, (i) Bhūvarāha Adivarāha or Nṛvarāha, (ii) Yajñavarāha and (iii) Pralayavarāha. The relation of these types with Śvetavarāha and Kokāmukha cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Eran inscription of Toramana (Fleet, *Corp Ins Ind*, Vol III, p 159) refers to the Boar form of Viṣṇu "who in the act of lifting up the earth (out of the waters) caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (his) hard shout, (and) who is the pillar (for the support) of the great house which is the three worlds." Cf.

jayati dharmayuddhanē ghanaghaṇāghaṭhāghāṇāmahāddhrah  
 deo Varāhamūrttistatlokayamahagghastambak

The reference here may be to No (1) of Gopinath. The cult of the boar may have been, like that of the divine apes, snake gods and goddesses, etc., of folk (popular) origin later engrafted on Vaiṣṇavism and other important creeds.

## THE PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL\*

By

Dr. S N SEN, M A , PH D , B LITT

Vasco da Gama did not sail for an unknown land when he left Belem with his valiant band in the summer of 1497. India was not a terra incognita to the people of the west. For countless ages the route overland had been used by scores of travellers and traders. Only ten years earlier Cavilhão<sup>1</sup> a compatriot of Vasco, had sailed from Aden to Cannanore, to find a passage across the sea, from Calicut to Africa where he gathered valuable information about Madagascar and a wide stretch of the coast opposite. He was not destined to see his country again, but the results of his labours were not lost to his countrymen. A faithful friend carried Cavilhão's report to Lisbon. The once dreaded waters beyond Cape Non had no longer any terror for the Portuguese seamen. Sailor after sailor had dauntlessly defied the perils of the unknown for six decades and more, and crept along the west coast of Africa from cape to cape, creek to creek, carefully noting the prominent landmarks, rivers, islets and harbours as they pushed on further and further, until the southernmost limit was reached, and the eastern shores espied. The success of Gama's voyage had been amply assured by the exploits of his precursors. The task set by Prince Henry the Navigator was accomplished when Vasco cast his anchor off Calicut.

Knowledge for its own sake, adventures for their perils alone, had no appeal to Vasco and his friends. They were after the good things of this world and would secure, if they could, the blessings of the next. They came to this country in quest of commerce and Christians. Of Christians there were but few in this pagan land and that mysterious prince, Prester John of the popular legends, was not to be found in India. But the Portuguese were not disappointed. If their evangelical zeal met with a set-back, their acquisitive instincts were more than gratified in the rich marts of Malabar. Vasco da Gama had his own standard of business morality. If peaceful traffic proved less profitable, he readily indulged in the use of sword and fire. Human beings and their handicrafts were to him equally lucrative and legitimate articles of commerce. What he and his countrymen wanted was a monopoly of the eastern trade, and for twenty years Gama and Cabral, Almeida and Albuquerque, ruthlessly exploited the region of their first visit.

It was not long before that other areas claimed their greedy attention

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1 Danvers *The Portuguese in India* Vol 1 pp 29-32

\* This paper, written for the Dacca University History of Bengal, has been contributed to this volume with the kind permission of the Editor

The goods of Bengal were not unknown in the markets recently captured by them, but they found their way to Malabar in crafts other than Portuguese, and the profit went to swell unchristian pockets. Albuquerque had already dwelt upon the bright prospects that trade with Bengal offered in a letter to his King and master, but it was left to his successor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, to send an expedition to the Bay, and in 1518, Dom João de Silveira appeared with four ships before the bar of Chittagong. He had been shortly preceded there by João Coelho, another Portuguese agent. In 1517 Fernão Peres d'Andrade had been commissioned to explore the Bay of Bengal and the neighbouring country, but lured by the reported wealth of the Far East, he sailed first to Sumatra and thence steered his course for the ports of the Celestial Empire postponing his visit to Bengal for a future date. On the return journey, he sent João Coelho to his original destination, and Coelho arrived at Chittagong, a passenger in a Moorish boat, a few days earlier than Silveira. The first Portuguese mission to Bengal, however, proved a failure. Barros and other Portuguese historians found a satisfactory explanation of Silveira's ill success in the habitual treachery and innate wickedness of the Bengalee character, but the Portuguese had to thank themselves alone for the cold reception they met with in Bengal.

Silveira had encountered two merchant-men on his way to the Maldives, and promptly made prizes of them. One of the captured boats belonged to a Muslim merchant, Golam Ali (Gormalle), known to be a relative of the governor of Chittagong, who himself was interested in the other. As he was apparently unfamiliar with the waters he was to navigate, the Portuguese captain pressed into his service a pilot from the boats he had seized and took into his confidence a young man, who introduced himself as the pilot's brother-in-law. No wonder that his strange misdeeds on the high seas, which ill accorded with the peaceful character of his professed mission, were no secret to the governor of Chittagong when Silveira arrived there, and the appearance of two Portuguese agents in quick succession, from opposite quarters, gave ample room for suspicion. The Muslim captain with whom Coelho found a passage, gave him a good character but Silveira's action, as reported to the governor, had all the appearance of piracy. He was accordingly considered to be an undesirable visitor, though Coelho experienced nothing but kindness and courtesy during his brief residence in Bengal. It will be unfair to assume that the high handed dealings of Gama and Cabral had not been reported by the merchants of Western India to their friends and partners in Bengal. The consequence was inevitable. Silveira was suspected to be a pirate and treated as such, and he had to fight "desperately," as we learn from a Portuguese official report, against the "perverse" people of Bengal, who obstinately refused to do any business with him. Silveira found himself in an



unenviable plight. He dared not leave the inhospitable shores until the monsoon was over, and he could not find the provision he needed by fair purchase.

It may very well be asked why the Portuguese captain began his voyage with a highly indiscreet if not positively unfriendly proceeding which was liable to be unfavourably construed by the very people whose good opinion it was apparently his interest to cultivate. The answer is not far to seek. The sovereignty of the eastern seas pertained by virtue of a Papal grant to the Portuguese crown and the King of Portugal had solemnly assumed the title of 'Lord of the Navigation Conquests and Trade of Æthiopia, Arabia Persia and India'.<sup>3</sup> According to the Portuguese way of thinking every Portuguese captain was not only competent but obliged to exercise the authority that the title connoted. It never occurred to them that the Papal Bull might not possibly have any legal or moral sanctions in countries outside His Holiness's spiritual jurisdiction. But in the Portuguese eyes there was an additional justification for the policy pursued by their officers in the east. Nothing was unfair to a fanatical Christian and fanaticism was the order of the day, particularly in the comparatively less civilised lands of the west when a Moor or Muslim happened to be the victim. They had waged a long and bitter war against the Moor in their native country and Portuguese patriotism and Portuguese piety equally demanded the extermination of the hated Moor in the neighbouring tracts of Africa. Commercial rivalry added further zest to racial hatred and religious aversion and a Moor was considered to be a fair prey wherever encountered. The Indian export trade was in those days mostly in Muslim hands and the Portuguese captains made it their business to sweep the Muslim merchantmen out of Indian waters. Moreover the tradition left by the early Portuguese explorers had a sinister influence on the naval practice of their successors, who willingly emulated their pernicious example. While navigating the eastern waters of the Atlantic the Portuguese captains often found it necessary to requisition the unwilling services of the natives of the neighbouring coast. Raiding parties were usually sent to bring captives of all ages and sexes, and the more intelligent of the unfortunate prisoners were employed as pilots, guides and interpreters while the rest were sold into slavery.<sup>4</sup> In justice to the Portuguese it must be admitted that some of the Negroes were converted into Christianity given a good education married in Portuguese families and more or less imperceptibly absorbed in Portuguese society. But it cannot be doubted that the great majority suffered all the afflictions of exile and slavery for no fault of their own. Silveira was therefore, behaving according to the moral code of Cadamosto and Cao Gomes and Dias when he made

3 Danvers *The Portuguese in India* Vol. I p. 77

4 Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* p. 101

prizes of the Gujrat bound boats from Bengal and pressed into his service the pilot and his youthful relative not suspecting for a moment that they might not prove so submissive and obliging as the less sophisticated and more helpless people of Nigeria and Gambia. With a strange and perverse consistency, the Portuguese continued to offend the susceptibilities of a civilised society and a cultured court by their failure to conform to the higher standard of international conduct prevailing in India and most of their misfortunes in Bengal were due to lawless habits contracted with impunity in the congenial climes of the 'dark' continent.

To return to our story, Silveira sailed back after a season of futile fighting and useless hostility, and nothing notable happened until 1526 when Ruy Vaz Pereira visited Chittagong and captured a galliot owned by a rich Persian merchant Khwaja Shihab ud din (Coge Sabadim) with all its cargo. It was alleged that piracy was committed by vessels built and fitted up after the Portuguese pattern and the blame was fastened on the unoffending Portuguese while the real culprit went scot free. Khwaja Shihab ud-din's boat had all the appearance of such a corsair and Pereira professed to have acted in the interest of his own countrymen and all honest traders when he seized the wolf masquerading in a lamb's garb.<sup>5</sup>

Ill winds brought the next Portuguese visitor of note in 1528. Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte was cruising off Ceylon with a squadron of eight vessels when a violent storm scattered his fleet, and drove his boat to the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. De Mello found himself shipwrecked on the coast of Pegu and made his way in a frail barque to a sandy bank where he and his men suffered the extremes of hunger and thirst. At last some fishermen offered to guide them to Chittagong but either by design or by mistake took them to Chakaria (on the Matamuhari river 50 miles from Chittagong under the Head Quarters sub-division Chakaria still claims some importance having a police station sub-registry and telegraph office) where Khuda Bakhsh Khan (Codovascam) the local chieftain unceremoniously threw them into prison. According to the Portuguese accounts Khuda Bakhsh offered them liberty in lieu of their military services in a feud he had with an unfriendly neighbour. The battle was fought and won but there was no improvement in the lot of the unhappy prisoners. Khuda Bakhsh transferred them to his headquarters further inland in breach of his plighted word. Meanwhile two of de Mello's lieutenants arrived at Chakaria but their efforts to ransom him proved of no avail while an attempted flight resulted in greater rigours and de Mello's nephew an immature youth of charming looks was permitted to be brutally sacrificed by the local Brahmans. When things looked their ugliest relief came from an unexpected quarter Khwaja Shihab ud din that Persian merchant of whose ship Pereira had made

a prize at Chittagong now interceded with the chieftain of Chakaria rightly expecting that success would be rewarded with the release of his boat and chattels. It was through his good offices that de Mello was at last ransomed at the not inconsiderable price of £1500 and sent to Goa where he arrived in 1530 after two years of misery and misfortune.

One good turn deserved another and Nuno da Cunha the Portuguese governor readily agreed to send another trading and diplomatic mission to Bengal when Shihab-ud din approached him with a request to that effect. The Persian had some difficulties with the court of Gaur and would fain shake off the dust of Bengal. He proposed to take a berth in a Portuguese boat bound for Ormuz and offered in return to use his influence with the grandees of Gaur to secure for his Portuguese friends the much coveted license for building factories and forts at Chittagong and other sites. Da Cunha appointed Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte to head the expedition and he sailed with five ships and two hundred men to reach Bengal for a second time in 1533. He was received well by the governor of Chittagong and started unloading his cargo. But it appears that all his past experiences had been completely lost on him and instead of trying to win the confidence of the local authorities by fair dealing de Mello did his best to alienate them by fraudulently smuggling his goods to avoid paying the excessive custom duties levied at the port. He was equally imprudent in the choice of his presents for the Sultan. Duarte de Azevedo his envoy did indeed take with him fine horses, rich brocades and other gifts to the value of £1200 to Mahmud Shah's capital. If it was his intention to create a sensation by the variety and wealth of his presents he achieved an astounding success. Rarely is a king expected to accept stolen goods and among the presents offered to the Sultan were found several bottles of scented water known to have come from a Muslim merchantman recently plundered by a notorious Portuguese pirate Damiao Bernaldes and neither de Mello nor Azevedo had deemed it necessary to take the elementary precaution of removing from the offensive packets the labels of the original owner.<sup>6</sup> The Sultan drew the obvious conclusion and ordered the buccaneers for as such Azevedo and his colleagues had appeared to him to be beheaded. The pleading of a Muslim saint is said to have saved the Portuguese from that dire end and they were consigned to a dungeon which Barros likens to the Inferno (hell). At the same time the governor of Chittagong had been instructed to seize the Portuguese and their goods. He would have been perfectly within his rights if he had called de Mello and his associates to account for the fraud they had practised but instead of placing them under arrest in a straightforward manner the governor preferred to resort to the safer but more dubious methods of those days. The unsuspecting offenders were invited to a banquet and all but a few who

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6. Whetway—*The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* pp. 232-234

preferred the diversions of a hunt to the pleasures of a feast readily stepped into the trap. Despite the desperate defence they offered thirty of the Portuguese including de Mello were neatly secured after ten had lost their lives and the prisoners were sent to Gaur to share the fate of the envoy and his staff. The Portuguese historians are loud in their denunciation of what they in their wrath describe, as a treacherous massacre of innocent guests but it cannot be gainsaid that de Mello and his colleagues had richly deserved incarceration though the questionable method of apprehending the culprits and the consequent casualty gave an altogether different colouring to the incident.

The masterful spirit of Nuno da Cunha would not brook such an insult to the Portuguese power and Antonio da Silva Menezes was promptly sent to Bengal at the head of a powerful fleet to demand an explanation of the extraordinary treatment that friendly envoys had received at the court of Gaur and to obtain the release of Martim Affonso de Mello and his men by peaceful persuasion if possible, and by force if necessary (1534). On his arrival at Chittagong da Silva Menezes sent an envoy to Gaur with his master's message, but when a month elapsed before a reply arrived he set fire to Chittagong and put a large number of the Sultan's people to the sword. Violence was not calculated to improve the embittered relations and Diogo Rebello who arrived at Satgaon shortly afterwards (1535) tried a peaceful blockade. His representatives received a better hearing at Gaur not because the Sultan had repented of his past policy or the naval demonstrations of the Portuguese had made any impression but because Mahmud Shah had for sometime past been anxiously looking for new allies against the powerful aggression of Sher Khan Sur. Drowning men clutch at straws. The Sultan promptly released his prisoners and Martim Affonso suddenly found himself in the honoured position of a trusted military adviser of the King of Bengal. In the war that followed the Portuguese are said to have performed wonders of valour but neither their bravery nor their skill vitally influenced the course of events and Mahmud Shah had to purchase peace on the terms dictated by his inexorable enemy. Everybody knew that Sher was not likely to rest on his oars longer than was necessary and Bengal would once again have to experience the terrors of a cruel invasion in the near future. Affonso Vas de Britto who visited Bengal in 1538 brought the disappointing news that the Portuguese were too much embroiled in Gujarat to be of any service to the King of Bengal. The inevitable followed. Mahmud Shah was chased out of Gaur and died of his wounds. Humayun was outmanoeuvred and worsted. Sher became the King of Delhi and sovereign of Bengal. But the Portuguese had gained their end before the final discomfiture of their ally. Mahmud Shah in his anxiety to enlist their support had permitted the Portuguese to build factories at Satgaon and Chittagong the *porto pequeno* (little port) and the *porto grande* (great port) of the

Portuguese historians The conclusion of the war which proved so disastrous for their allies found the Portuguese securely established at both the places with custom houses of their own In fact when the local nobles contended with Sher Shah's nominee for the possession of Chittagong Nuno Fernandes Freire the officer in charge of the Portuguese custom house conceived the bold project of seizing the town and the harbour in the name of his King and Castanheda holds that had Freire received the support he deserved from Vasco Peres de Sampayo (who had arrived with nine vessels in 1538 too late to defend Mahmud Shah's cause) his scheme might have been successfully carried out After an armed skirmish with some Moors Sampayo left for Pegu and died there With his passing away ends the first chapter in the history of the Portuguese infiltration in Bengal

## II

The next twenty years form a blank in our history Not that the restless spirits of the Portuguese knew any respite Their trading vessels continued to visit the ports of the east and their captains doubtless made up for any deficiency in their legitimate profit by their usual filibustering operations The Portuguese historians found nothing worth recording during these two decades and the chroniclers of the country did not as yet take any notice of the new comers But something must have happened in the meantime to demand a revision and reorientation of commercial policy of the Portuguese in Bengal for in 1559 we find a deliberate attempt on their part to divert the trade of Chittagong to another port Quite likely the Portuguese were not pulling on well with the new masters of Chittagong Some light is thrown on this obscure point by a treaty rescued from oblivion by the industry of that great archivist, Julio Firminio Judice Biker The document was signed on behalf of a Bengali prince, the Raja of Bakla (Paramananda Ray) by Niamat Khan (Nematcao) and Gannu Bysuar (Kanu or Ganu Biswas?) who seem to have made a journey to Goa to negotiate a subordinate alliance on the part of their master with the Portuguese Viceroy of India (Dom Constantino de Braganza) The treaty of the 30th April 1559 provided for a mutual military and commercial alliance The Raja was to throw open his port of Bakla or any other suitable port of his principality to the Portuguese trading fleet, treat the Portuguese tradesmen who might visit his country with kindness and consideration provide the visiting fleet with a full cargo of the produces of the coast land stretching from Bakla to Paigão and refrain from raising the custom duties of his ports The Portuguese in their turn, offered to discontinue their trading voyages to Chittagong to pay the lawful duties levied at the Raja's port and to grant licence to four of his trading boats for visiting Goa Ormuz and Malacca every year The alliance obviously placed the Raja in a subordinate position While he was precluded

from dealing with their enemies in any way, the Portuguese retained the right of concluding similar treaties with other ruling princes of this region. In lieu of the military co-operation, which the Portuguese promised him in his wars against his neighbours Paramananda agreed to pay an annual tribute in a specified quantity of rice, butter, oil, tar, sugar and finer products of the loom. Obviously the Portuguese wanted to secure the monopoly of the trade of the country through the agency of the local Rajas whose weakness and ambition readily lent them to the new plan.

The port of Bakla exists no more, we do not know where Paigão was. It was not within the limits of Paramananda's domain, for the treaty refers to other princes of this coast, nor is it certain whether Paigão was situated on the Bay of Bengal. Bakla was a riverside port far from the sea. It may not be unreasonable to identify Paigão with Paigram in the modern district of Khulna. The place is near the Bhairab river which might have been flowing by it four centuries ago. If the Portuguese expected that Bakla with their backing, would one day rob Chittagong of its preeminence as a centre of inland and overseas trade, they were sorely disappointed. But they had no reason to repent of the alliance of 1559 for in Paramananda and his successors they found unfailing friends in the darkest days of their adversity.

From Paramananda let us turn to one of his successors. Forty years after the conclusion of the treaty a Christian missionary of the Society of Jesus Melchoir da Fonseca visited the court of Bakla on his way to Chandikan (Ciandecan). His account of his interview with the king is worth quoting. 'I had scarcely arrived there when the King (who is not more than eight years old but whose discretion surpasses his age) sent for me and wished the Portuguese to come with me. On entering the hall where he was waiting for me, all the nobles and captains rose up and I a poor priest was made by the King to sit down in a rich seat opposite to him. After compliments, he asked me where I was going and I replied that I was going to the King of Ciandeca who is 'the future father in law of your Highness, but that as it had pleased the Lord that I should pass through his kingdom it had appeared right to me to come and visit him and offer him the services of the fathers of the Company trusting that his Highness would give permission to the erection of churches and the making of Christians. The King said 'I desire this myself because I have heard so much of your good qualities' and so he gave me a letter of authority, and also assigned a maintenance sufficient for two of us'. The boy king of Bakla or Chandradwip has been rightly identified by Henry Beveridge with Raja Ramachandra son in law of the great Pratapaditya of Jessore.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note here that his friendship for the Portuguese drew upon him the wrath of the

8 Beveridge *District of Bakarganj* p 31

9 Beveridge *District of Bakarganj* pp 175 177

King of Arakan who suddenly threw himself upon that of Bacola, of which he possessed himself without difficulty as the king of it was absent and still young

Fonseca's mission supplies an apt illustration of the faith following the flag. But the missionaries were not alone in the field. Fonseca's prayer for the erection of churches and the making of Christians was so readily granted because the boy king of Bakla had in his service a captain and other people of Portuguese extraction and Christian faith. Nor was he the only prince to enlist these foreign adventurers in his army. His father-in-law for instance, and the powerful chief of Sripur welcomed these daring sailors and employed them to command their fighting fleet. Whether the Portuguese adventurers in the service of the Bhuiyans of Bengal tried like their French and English successors of the eighteenth century to further the political interests of their country while improving their own fortunes we do not precisely know. But some of them certainly made the most of their opportunities and earned by their exploits a permanent place in the history of their times. Of these Domingo Carvalho was by far the ablest, and he did not miss any opportunity of serving his country's cause when one was available.

Carvalho was a native of Montargil in Portugal. We do not know when he came to India and in what capacity. He must have entered the service of Kedar Ray, the famous chief of Sripur sometime prior to 1602. He distinguished himself by the conquest of Sandwip which if Du Jarric is to be credited belonged of right to the Sripur prince. The island was in those days an important centre of salt industry and formed a battle-ground for the Moghuls, the Maghs and the Portuguese. Situated off the coast of Chittagong its strategic advantages could not be overlooked either by the Moghul rulers of Bengal or the Magh Raja of Arakan. When Caesar Frederick visited Sandwip in 1569 the island was inhabited by the Muslims and he found the king a very good man of a Moore king.<sup>10</sup> How it was annexed by Kedar Ray and when it passed into Moghul hands remain yet to be ascertained. In 1602 Domingo Carvalho conquered Sandwip in his master's name but unable to hold it against the natives of the place he invited the co-operation of Manoel de Mattos, the Portuguese captain of Dianga. The island was then completely reduced and divided between Carvalho and Mattos. The annexation of Sandwip was hailed as a great feat of Portuguese arms and the two heroes were rewarded by the King of Portugal with the knighthood of the Order of Christ and the rank of the gentlemen of the royal household (*Fidalgos da Casa real*). Their triumph, however proved shortlived. The King of Arakan who had extended his dominion to Chittagong led an expedition against Dianga and inflicted a defeat on

Mattos Carvalho hurried to the rescue of his colleague and captured the Arakanese fleet with all its arms and ammunition (Nov 1602). The Mugh king wreaked his vengeance on the Portuguese citizens living under his jurisdiction and fitted up a second fleet to retrieve his honour. Carvalho did indeed achieve a second victory but this pyrrhic success rendered his position in Sandwip utterly untenable. He abandoned the island and retired to Sripur with some of his followers, while the rest of the Portuguese and native Christians betook themselves to the friendly courts of Bakla and Chandikan. While at Sripur Carvalho had to fight a Moghul fleet of hundred masts. With thirty armed *Jalia* boats Carvalho put the invading armada to flight and saved Sripur from Moghul subjugation. We next find him at Hughli where the Portuguese had a flourishing settlement. Obviously he wanted to enlist the support of his countrymen of that colony in another enterprise against Sandwip. While sailing up the Hughli river his fleet was without any provocation assailed from the batteries of a neighbouring Moghul fortress. Carvalho retaliated by storming the place and putting the garrison to the sword. This was the last battle that the famous veteran was destined to fight. Shortly afterwards he visited Chandikan (Dhumghat?) where he was treacherously put to death by Pratapaditya in order it is said to propitiate the King of Arakan whose conquest of Sandwip and Bakla had brought him perilously near the territories of the Jessore prince.

Sandwip naturally recalls the exploits of a romantic ruffian whose name has been writ large in letters of blood in the unhappy annals of that island. His courage, cruelty and cunning placed Sebastiao Gonsalves Tibau (better known as Gonzales in Bengal) in a class by himself. Born in an obscure village near Lisbon of peasant stock, Gonzales came to India in 1600 and enlisted as a soldier. Before long he gave up the less remunerative profession of arms for the more lucrative trade in salt. He seems to have prospered in his new venture and his profits soon enabled him to purchase a *Jalia* of his own. We find him and his boat at Dianga in 1607. He somehow survived the massacre of that year and set up as a free booter with a few dozens of his more daring countrymen.<sup>11</sup> The small islands of the deltaic region provided suitable bases of operation from where he carried on plundering raids against the Arakan coast, not missing such defenceless merchantmen as came his way. The Government of Sandwip had in the meantime passed to Fateh Khan, a Muslim captain formerly in Portuguese employ. Unwilling to brook any rival, he murdered the Portuguese and the Christian inhabitants of his island and set out with a fleet of forty sails in search of Gonzales and his pirates. While busy dividing their spoils in the island of Dakhin Shahbazpur

11 According to Faria Y Sousa "Some few escaped into the Woods, and 9 or 10 vessels got to Sea whereof one was that of Sebastian Gonzales" *Asia Portuguesa* Tr. by Captain J. Stevans Vol. III p. 154.



(in the District of Bakarganj) they were surprised by Fateh Khan.<sup>12</sup> Better seamanship however prevailed over greater number and Fateh Khan was defeated and slain. The victory gained for Gonzales the unquestioning obedience of his companions and he was formally elected their leader. Success added to his ambition and he next made himself the master of Sandwip (1609). In this enterprise as in his earlier buccaneering exploits he relied not a little on the support of the friendly Raja of Bakla. The spoils of his piracy used to be disposed of in the Raja's country though the treaty of 1559 had positively provided against such a misuse of his ports. The Raja sent two hundred horsemen and some armed boats to help Gonzales in the conquest of Sandwip on condition that the revenue of the island would be equally shared by the two allies. Gonzales was not the man to honour his promise once his object was gained. He ruled Sandwip as an independent ruler and his fame soon attracted fresh adherents until his forces swelled to one thousand Portuguese, two thousand Indian soldiers, two hundred horsemen and eighty armed boats. The unfortunate Raja of Bakla was now to feel the might of his faithless friend and was forcibly dispossessed of the islands of Dakshin Shahbazpur and Patelbhanga. Fortune continued to favour the bold bad man and the arrival in Sandwip of a princely fugitive of the Arakanese royal house Anaporam after an unsuccessful bid for power considerably added to the prestige of Gonzales. His intervention in favour of his new friend proved futile and his troops had to beat a retreat before the superior forces of Arakan. The death of Anaporam paved the way for peace and the progress of Moghul arms in the south-eastern districts of Bengal provided the motive for a close alliance between the rulers of Arakan and Sandwip. Fidelity however was not one of the failings of Gonzales, and the narrow straight course of rectitude was not to his taste. He not only betrayed the King of Arakan while engaged in fighting the Moghuls but seized his fleet and ruthlessly massacred his men. This treachery cost him only his nephew's life. The unfortunate youth had been sent to the Arakanese camp as a hostage for his uncle's good faith and the king avenged his wrongs by driving a stake through him. But he who had no Honour valued not at whose loss he advanced his own Interest.<sup>13</sup>

But the good stars of Gonzales were already on the decline. His tyranny and oppression had alienated most of his adherents but his ambition knew

12 Faria Y Sousa says that the surprise was not complete as the pirates were forewarned by Sebastian Pinto who had quarrelled with them over the division of the spoil and leaving them in a River of the island of *Varaspur* met *Fatekan's* fleet and gave them notice. They engaged and fought desperately all night, the morning discovered 80 *Portugueses* victorious over 600 *Moors* and *Patanes* and 10 vessels over 40. Stevens *op cit* Vol III pp 150 156.

13 Stevens, *op cit* Vol. III p. 161. Faria Y Sousa calls Gonzales a monster. Stevens Vol III p 153.

no satiety as yet. In 1615 Gonzales felt that he could add Arakan to his conquests if his plan was supported by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. He immediately offered to return to the allegiance of the King of Portugal and to pay him an annual tribute if his proposals were favourably accepted. The Viceroy Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo readily agreed and a fleet of sixteen sails under the command of Dom Francisco Menezes Roxo appeared in the Bay of Bengal (October 1615). Unfortunately for the Portuguese the King of Arakan was not so helpless as they had imagined and Menezes Roxo unexpectedly found himself confronted with a Dutch squadron of superior number. The fight continued for two successive days in which the Portuguese Commodore lost his life. His successor in command Dom Luiz de Azevedo sailed to Sandwip while the battle was still undecided and in spite of all the importunities of Gonzales left him to his fate and returned to Goa. He was accompanied by many of Gonzales' followers who were glad to be rid of their hard hearted master. Next year the King of Arakan conquered Sandwip and Gonzales faded out of history. His infamous career covered a brief period of ten years. Gonzales had the making of a great leader but his training and environments made of him a pirate of the lowest type. For unrelieved cruelty and treachery his record has hardly any parallel but with better education under more favourable circumstances he might have been a Raleigh or a Drake.

Here we may bid good bye to the buccaneers of the Bay though Gonzales was by no means the last or the worst of them. The story of the Feringhee pirates of Chittagong is to be told at another place by another writer.

### III

The loss of Sandwip did not mean the loss of Bengal trade. The Portuguese had many settlements of greater or lesser importance scattered all over the province. The prowess and professional skill of their seamen had won for them positions of trust and responsibility at the courts of the more prominent chieftains (Bhuiyans) and small Portuguese colonies flourished under their patronage at Bakla (Bakarganj), Chandikan (Jessore), Sripur (Dacca), Bhulua (Noakahali) and Katrabo (Dacca and Mymensingh). Some of these settlements had been visited by Fonseca, Fernandes and Sousa in the closing year of the sixteenth century. The King of Chandikan provided funds and a site and the first Christian church in Bengal was constructed in his principality<sup>14</sup>. The Jesuit fathers had full freedom to preach the Gospel wherever they went and if their flock did not live a truly Christian life, it was no fault of the local rulers. The Portuguese however had not limited their commercial and martial enterprise to the semi-independent region under the government of the Bengali princes. They could not possibly ignore the principal

trading centres of the country and had their factories at Dacca Tamruk Hijili and other convenient places. Two ports however demanded their attention most and absorbed the major part of their investments. Despite the abortive attempt of 1559 to rob it of its commercial eminence Chittagong remained the leading place of Portuguese trade in Bengal. From the beginning to the end it was their Porto grande the great port. Next in importance was Porto pequeno the little port in west Bengal. When Cæsar Frederick visited Bengal in 1567 Satgaon was the little port of the Portuguese. As early as 1537-38 the Portuguese built their factory and custom house at Satgaon with the permission of the King of Bengal and within thirty years it attracted sufficient business to keep thirty to thirty five merchant men fully employed.<sup>15</sup> The Venetian merchant informs us. In the port of Satgan every yeere they lade thirtie or five and thirtie shups great and small with Rice Cloth of Bombast and of divers sorte Lacca great abundance of Sugar Mirabolans dried and preserved long Pepper Oyle of Zerzeline and many other sorts of merchandise. The prosperity of Satgaon however proved short lived and when Ralph Fitch came to this country barely three decades later (1583-91) Hugeli had become the Porto Pequeno<sup>16</sup> of the Portuguese though he found Satgaon a faire Citie for a Citie of the Moores and very plentifull of all things.

It is not difficult to guess why Hughli was preferred to Satgaon as an emporium of west Bengal trade. Satgaon owed its rise and fall not to the whims of man but to the freaks of nature. The big river that made it a convenient meeting place for the merchant fleets from far and near<sup>17</sup> had gradually silted up and trade dwindled as the stream diminished. Even in 1563 the Portuguese found it necessary to build temporary quarters at a village down stream during the trading season as their bigger boats were unable to reach Satgaon. Says Cæsar Frederick. A good Tides rowing before you come to Satagan you shall have a place which is called Buttor<sup>18</sup> and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe because that upwards the River is very shallow and little water. Every yeere at Buttor they make and unmake a village with Houses and shops made of Straw and with all things necessarie to their uses and this Village standeth as long as the Ships ride there and till they depart for the Indies and when they depart, everie man goeth to his plot of Houses and there setteth fire on them which thing made me to marvaile. For as I passed up to Satagan I saw this Village standing with a great number of people with an infinite number of Ships and

15 *Purchas His Pilgrimes* Vol. X pp 113-14

16 *Purchas His Pilgrimes* Vol. X p 182

17 According to Kavi Kankan Mukundaram so much foreign trade it used to attract that merchants of Satgaon never left their home town.

18 Bector near Calcutta has been twice mentioned as a place of importance by Kavi Kankan Mukundaram in his *Clants*.

Bazaars and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last Ship for whom I tarried I was all amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, and nothing left but the signe of the burnt Houses Making and unmaking of temporary villages do not lead to comfort or economy, and the Portuguese were naturally anxious to shift their ' little port ' to a convenient place on a navigable river with sufficient anchorage and Hughli replaced Satgaon as the principal Portuguese settlement in west Bengal

The Portuguese settlement of Hughli is associated with the name of the greatest Moghul ruler of India A serious student of comparative theology Akbar wanted a competent interpreter of the Christian faith at his court and naturally turned to the Portuguese of Bengal about whose commercial enterprise he had heard so much At his request a Portuguese missionary Father Juliano Pereira and a Portuguese man of affairs Pedro Tavares (Partab Bar Feringui of the *Akbar Nama*) made their journey to the imperial court Although we do not know whether Tavares preceded Pereira to Agra it will not be unreasonable to assume that the worldly interests of the merchant were suitably reinforced by the spiritual influence of the missionary and a *Farman* was in due course obtained and the Portuguese removed their factory and custom house from Satgaon to Hughli about 1580 Tavares was in all probability the first governor of the new settlement The new ' Porto Pequeno ' quickly rose in importance and became a flourishing business centre before long The settlement expanded and the Portuguese merchants acquired landed property on both banks of the Ganges if Father Sebastian Manrique is to be credited The main articles of trade that Hughli provided were rice, sugar silk and cotton goods Rice in particular was exceptionally cheap in Bengal during the sixteenth century

Akbar doubtless expected that the Portuguese would devote their energy and resources entirely to the improvement of their commerce and their armed fleet would prove a better instrument for policing the Bay than any his government had so far been able to provide Jahangir shared his father's hopes and left the Portuguese in undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and privileges at Hughli Shah Jahan however found it necessary to revise the policy of his father and grandfather Within five years of his accession to the throne Hughli was seized (1632) and a large number of prisoners were sent to Agra where they suffered great misery

The Portuguese had their own explanation of the implacable hostility of the new emperor As a law abiding people they had sternly repulsed all the approaches made by Prince Khurram then a rebel against his father an insult which he neither forgave nor forgot According to Father Cabral Shah Jahan became incensed with the entire Portuguese community because in the days of his adversity one individual had been guilty of faithless desertion It is also said that the Portuguese of Hughli had failed in the common

courtesy expected of the Emperor's subjects and did not send the usual message of loyal congratulations when he ascended his father's throne. The enormous loss in men and money in his war against Bijapur was also supposed to have been attributed by Shah Jahan to Portuguese co-operation with Adil Shah and a quick retribution was the result. All these causes singly and collectively would hardly account for the strong measures taken against the Portuguese of Hughli. Shah Jahan could afford to forgive any incivility of the ordinary type, but he could not possibly tolerate the lawless conduct of the Portuguese without prejudice to his sovereign authority.

Far from suppressing the piracy in the Bay the Portuguese of Hughli were themselves accused of kidnapping and purchasing poor children and sending them as slaves to other parts of India. Their commercial policy had according to the local authorities totally impaired the prosperity of the ancient port of Satgaon to the detriment of the emperor's revenue derived from the customs of that place. Nor could they look upon the Portuguese practice of levying duties on all boats passing by Hughli with indifference or equanimity. Above all the Portuguese of Hughli were suspected to be in close alliance with the Maghs of Arakan and their own countrymen of Chittagong who had rendered life and property absolutely insecure by their piratical activities in lower Bengal. Moreover the missionary activities of the Portuguese priests could not be to the liking of the Muslim zealots and the Emperor did not yield to anybody in his zeal for the faith of his fathers.

A modern apologist argues that the Portuguese of Hughli were neither in league with the pirates of Chittagong nor guilty of piracy themselves.<sup>19</sup> But it cannot be gainsaid that the Portuguese of west Bengal shared the evil reputation of their confreres of the east for their lawless habits and predilection for piracy. A Bengali poet of note pointedly referred to the dread with which a journey along the Feringui coast was commonly viewed when he said that the boatmen rowed ceaselessly night and day in fear of the *Harmad*<sup>21</sup> or the pirate fleet. The Portuguese empire had expanded with phenomenal rapidity and the mother country had not the necessary surplus population for the development of the far flung colonies. Convicts were therefore given the option of serving their terms at home or seeking their fortune in the east and it is no wonder that some of the worst criminals found their way to Bengal. It is to be noted that contemporary European travellers had not a good word for the Portuguese and Van Linschoten likened them to wild men and untamed horses. If some of the bad characters of Portugal were annually drafted to India the worst of them according to Linschoten left the more orderly and better governed settlements on the west coast for the ports of

19 Campos *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* pp 130-131

20 Kavi Hankan Mukundaram Chakravarti

21 Portuguese *armada*

the Bay of Bengal which knew neither order nor discipline." Fernandes says that many of them lived in Piracie and loose lusts. It is therefore futile to argue that the Portuguese settlers of Hughli were orderly people with a healthy respect for law who would scrupulously avoid any dubious method of making money. It is admitted by all that if Hughli was not a nest of pirates it was a slave market to which both Mugh and Portuguese pirates had free access. It is there that they disposed of their unlucky prisoners. Slavery it is true was an institution recognised by Muslim and Hindu law but it is the elementary duty of every state to provide for the security of life and property of each and every one of its members. Shah Jahan could not permit his subjects to be bought and sold like cattles in the slave market of Hughli simply because his officers had proved unequal to the task of defending their persons against the rovers of Chittagong and Arakan. The Portuguese of Hughli undoubtedly shared their guilt morally and legally when they trafficked with them in their offensive spoils. If Shah Jahan found it impossible to clear the Bay and the rivers of Bengal of these human sharks the least he could do was to close the market where they brought their victims and to eliminate their partners in this dismal business.

Into the military details of the capture of Hughli we need not enter. Suffice it to say that the Portuguese had no chance against the superior forces of Qasim Khan but they stood their ground with courage and resolution worthy of a better cause. The prisoners should have been more humanely treated but the standards of the seventeenth century required that an example should be made of these unfortunate people because some of their compatriots had made slaves of Muslim women and children of noble birth. But it was not long before the Emperor relented. The Portuguese were permitted to return to their old settlement in 1633. They had felt the full weight of the Emperor's displeasure and might be reasonably expected to have a wholesome respect for his authority in future. No miracle was needed to convert Shah Jahan to a more merciful policy.

The fall of Hughli marked the beginning of the end. The pirates of Chittagong were exterminated in the next reign but the Portuguese community still survives in Bengal. Even in the eighties of the eighteenth century (1786) they claimed special rights and privileges on the strength of the established custom and their contention was accepted by the Government of the day.<sup>2</sup> The later rulers sometimes found their services useful and Raja Rajballabh settled a small Portuguese colony at Padri Sibpur in the district of Bakarganj.<sup>3</sup> At Calcutta and Hughli Dacca and Chittagong the Luso-Indian citizens still form a link with the past though they enjoy neither the prestige nor the prosperity of their adventurous fore fathers.

22 *Purchas His Pilgrimes* Vol X p 205

23 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol VII pp 199 201

24 *Beveridge District of Bakarganj* p 106

## IV

Our review of the Portuguese relations with Bengal has been so far greatly to the discredit of that nation. Their courage was vitiated by cruelty, their inquisitiveness was marred by greed and their progress in the province was ordinarily marked by disorder and lawlessness. But in fairness to the Portuguese we cannot leave the credit side out of account.

In spite of all their shortcomings the Portuguese did not suffer from the colour prejudice so common in the west and freely intermarried with the natives of the country. Some of them permanently settled in this land and if they failed to make any marked contribution to our civilisation and culture they tried their best to improve the agricultural resources of the country of their adoption. Good peasants at home they had a keen eye for the useful plants of other lands and a wonderful knack for acclimatizing exotic flowers and fruits in countries far from their original home. It is seldom realised that many of our common flowers and fruits were totally unknown before the Portuguese came. The noxious weed that brings 'solace' to many and now forms a staple product of Rangpur was brought by the Portuguese as was that common article of food—potato which is relished by princes and peasants alike. Tobacco and potato came from North America. From Brazil they brought cashewnut (*Anacardium Occidentale*), which goes by the name of *Hijli badam* because it thrives so well in the sandy soil of the Hijli littoral. The cultivation of this valuable nut is limited to a narrow strip of the sea coast, but the papaya (*Carica Papaya*) and the pine apple have taken more kindly to the soil of Bengal and few are aware that they are aliens of comparatively recent domicile. We are indebted to the Portuguese for *Kamranga* (*Aterrhoa Carambola*) which find so much favour with our children. To this list may also be added *Peyara* (*Psidium Guava*) which found an appreciative poet in Monomohon Basu. The little *Krishnakali* (*Mirabilis Jalapa*) that cheers our countryside in its yellow red and white is another gift of the once dreaded Feringui. This does not exhaust the list of plants that the Portuguese introduced in Bengal but incomplete as this inventory is it fairly illustrates their zeal for the art and science of Agri horticulture.

No less important is the Portuguese contribution to our vocabulary. About fifty Portuguese words have found a permanent place in the spoken language of Bengal. Articles of common use often go by their Portuguese names (e.g. *Chabi Balti*, *Perek*, *Saban Toalia*, *Alpin* etc.) and such Portuguese words as *teranda* and *janela* have completely replaced their indigenous synonyms. It is no wonder that chairs and tables should have once been known as *Kedara* (Port. *Cadeira*) and *mej* (Port. *Mesa*) for these furniture were originally introduced into Bengali homes by the Portuguese. They have not only enriched our orchards but added to the wealth and vigour of our mother tongue.

When two races or nations intimately associate with each other as the

Portuguese and the Bengalees did, they naturally borrow from each other's vocabulary, and it is no wonder that so many Portuguese words found currency in our language. But the Portuguese did something more substantial for the development of our prose literature. For the first printed book in Bengali we are indebted to a Portuguese. It was a Portuguese who wrote the first Bengali prose work and it was left to another Portuguese to compile the first Bengali grammar and dictionary, an achievement of no mean merit, an achievement of which any people might feel proud. About 1599 Father Sosa translated into Bengali "a tractate of Christian Religion in which were confuted the Gentile and Mahumetan errors" to which was added a short Catechisme by way of Dialogue, which the Children frequenting the Schoole learned by heart.<sup>25</sup> Sosa's tractate has been unfortunately lost, but another dialogue written by a Bengali convert has been preserved for us. Dom Antonio do Rozario belonged to the landed aristocracy of east Bengal. In his early youth he was carried by the Magh pirates to Arakan where he was sold as a slave (1663). A Portuguese missionary Manoel do Rozario ransomed him and later converted him to his own faith. It was under Portuguese inspiration that the new convert wrote a dialogue the first Bengali work of its kind that has come down to us.<sup>26</sup> Dom Antonio's work might have shared the same fate as that of Sosa but for the devoted care of Manoel da Assumpção and George da Apresentação. Manoel had Antonio's manuscript transcribed in Roman script and sent the transcript to Evora, probably with a view to publication. He himself wrote a Dialogue in Bengali and compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Bengali language for the benefit of his fellow workers in the province. Manoel da Assumpção was for many years the head of St Tolentino mission of which Dom Antonio was the founder. *Crepar Xastrer Orth Bhed* for such was the title of Manoel's dialogue, was printed by Francisco da Sylva at Lisbon in 1743. The same year witnessed the publication of his grammar and vocabulary.<sup>27</sup> The Portuguese had therefore to their credit two dialogues a grammar and dictionary long before any of our countrymen had attempted anything of this kind. Even in recent times the Luso-Indian community has produced teachers and scholars of De rozio and Percival's eminence.

If their literary and scientific achievements in other parts of India are taken into consideration we cannot withhold our ungrudging tribute to the valuable pioneer work done by the Portuguese. The first printing press in India was set up by the Portuguese at Goa as early as 1556.<sup>28</sup> It was at Goa that the

25 *Purchas his Pilgrimes* Vol. X. p. 205

26 Sen *Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad* introduction

27 Sen *Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad* also Sen *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other Papers* pp. 125-128

28. J. B. Primrose *The First Press in India and Its Printers* (The Library, December 1939) pp. 241-265



first scientific work on Indian medicinal plants by a European author (Garcia da Orta) was published<sup>29</sup> The Portuguese discovered the all sea route to India they explored the western and eastern coast of this country they demonstrated the superiority of the western methods of warfare they experimented in empire-making by commercial penetration and subordinate alliance, they exploited the resources of the small indigenous states through Portuguese sailors and soldiers in Indian employment In short they anticipated the great pro-consuls of the East India Company in many respects and they may fairly claim that where Portugal led other European countries followed where they sowed others reaped where they laid the foundation others built a magnificent superstructure.

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<sup>29</sup> The first edition of Garcia da Orta's *Coloquios Dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Medicinans* was printed at Goa in April 1563 by Joannes de Endem

# KIMVĀDĪ SAMMĀSAMBUDDO ?

B<sub>3</sub>

Rev'd A. P. BUDDHADATTA, Colombo, Ceylon

"Kimvādi, bhante, Sammāsambuddho" ti ? "Vibhajjavādi, Mahārājā" ti Pañha-vissajjanam Samantapāsādikāyaṃ Vinayaṭṭhakathāyaṃ dissati *Vibhajjavādo* ti pana na koci pāṭekko vādo sassatavādisadiso ; ekappahāren' eva 'āmā' ti vā 'no' ti vā avatvā vibhajitvā bhajetva vyākaraṇam 'Vibhajjavādo' nāma Yattakā imasmim loke vādā sassatuccheda adhiccasa muppannādivasena, tesam ekam pi Bhagavā na paṭiggaṇhīti Kasmā ? Sabbe pi' ime vādā sassatapakkhe vā ucchedapakkhe vā patanti Sassatapakkho nāma : ayaṃ loko attā ca nicco avināsadhammo, sadākaliko ti gahaṇam Ucchedapakkho nāma, ayaṃ loko attā ca uddham jivīpariyādānā vinassati na punaruppattim upeti ti gahaṇam Na pana Bhagavā imaṃ antadvayaṃ angikaroti Attā ucchiyissati vinassissatīti vā, attā nicco dhuvo sassatoti vā so na pakāseti

Atha kiṃ so pakāseti, deseti ? 'Anattavādi Sammāsambuddho "Anatavādo Buddhadhammo" ti bahavo paṇḍitā vadanti Na mayaṃ taṃ paṭik khupāma Atha ca pana "Attā ce natthi puggalo ce natthi, kathaṃ punarupatti hoti ? Ko sīlam rakkhati ? Ko visujjhati ? Ko nibbānam pāpuṇāti ? ti ime dubbijāṇiṃ pañhā āpātham āgacchanti

Sabbe va pan' aññe satthāro titthakarā *attānaṃ* anugacchimsu pariyesimsu . pariyesitvā attano attano paṭibhāṇurūpena "Idiso attā, Idiso attā" ti paka sayimsu Bhagavā pana Sammāsambuddho aññam maggaṃ gaṇhi *Attā* pana lokiyasattehi lokiyabhāsāya kathañci pi kadāci pi na vitthāriyo na vyākaraṇū pago, na bodhaniyo ti so aññāsī, tasma so anatta-dhamme nidassesī Lokikā pana mayaṃ cakkhusotādi indriyeh' eva ārammaṇam gahetvā tad anusāren' eva cintetum anuvitakketum samatthā homa, na pana mayaṃ indriyavisayam atikkamutvā cintetum va takketum va pahoma Atha ca pan amhākaṃ indriyā bāhira-visayam eva gahaṇasamatthā na pana te attano yathāsabhāvaṃ jānanti Bhagavā pan' aññāsī imāni sabbani pi indriyāni anattā, aniccadhammatāya, rūpavedanā saññā sankhāra viññāpasankhata pañcakkhandhā pi anattā, anucātāya Yattakā sankhārā imasmim loke vijjanti anantāparimāṇa cakkavāḷa-dayo yattaka sattā deva brahmādayo sabbe pi' ime anattā, addhuvatīyāti aññāsī Yavatadhammā anattā sabbe te "attena vā attaniyena vā suññā" ti pakāsesī So nānappakarena anattadhamme vitthāretvā tesu attasāro vā sukhasāro va natthi ti dassesī. Tesu anattadhammesu pajahutesu dūnka tesu nīcasukhaṃ laddhum sakkā ti vadanto tesam pajahanāya sāvakanam nīrantaram ovadī "Cakkhum, bhikkhave na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha, taṃ vo paḥiṇaṃ dīgharattaṃ hitaya sukhāya bhavīsaṭi" ti ādinā nayena

Ke pana dhammā anattā ? Cakkhu sota ghāṇa jivhā kāya manā, rūpā dayo pañcupādānakkhandhā sabbe cakkavaḷā, sabbā lokadhātuyo anattā Yattakā sattā saviññāpakā devā vā mannussā vā tiracchānā vā āpūyikā vā, sabbe te imehichahi indriyehi pañcahi ca khandhehi sangayhanti Sabbā pi anantaparimāṇā lokadhātuyo rūpakkkhandhena sangayhanti Sabbe pīme saviññānaviññāpaka sankhārā anatta uppādavaya dhammatāya Yam pan' aññasatthārehi attā ti pakāsitaṃ taṃ sabbam pi aniccatāya anattā ti Bhagava pakāsesi Tasmā so *anattatādi* ti pakāto ahoṣi

Imāni chaḷindriyāni pañca ca khandhe vajjetvā kim aññaṃ loke avasiṭṭhaṃ ? Natthi kiñciṭṭi vattabbam Yadi kiñci indriyaṃ vā indriyavisayaṃ vā nāvasissati pañcannaṃ khandhānaṃ eko pi nāvasissati tada sattassa ucchedo bhaveyyā ti ekacce vadeyyuṃ Napana Bhagavā taṃ anujānāti Satto ucchiyati vinassatīti so na vadati Yāva satto pañcakkhandhavasagato chaḷindriyavasagato, tāva so panappunaṃ uppajjamaṇo saṃsāre saṃsarati dukkham anubhavamaṇo ti Tathāgato pakāseti Yadi pana so saṃsāradukkhato muccitukāmo tena chaḷi indriyāni pañca pi khandhā pahātābhā Atha yaṃ cakkhundriya mūlakaṃ dukkhaṃ taṃ sabbham nirujjhati Sesindriyesu pi es'eva nayo Yaṃ rūpakkkhandhamūlakaṃ dukkhaṃ anantaṃ aparimāṇaṃ āhāraga vesanādivasena taṃ sabbaṃ nirujjhati Sesakkhandhesu pi es'eva nayo Sabbasmiṃ dukkhe sabbathā niruddhe amussaṃ anākulāṃ sukhaṃ avasissitabbam Idaṃ vuccati *nibbanaṃ*

Cakkhusmiṃ avijjamāṇe sotadisu avijjamāṇesu manasmīṃ avijjamane kiṃ sukhaṃ atthi ti lokiyajānā puccheyyūṃ Te pana dukkham eva sukhaṃ ti kaṇhanti cīrakaḷaparicittataya Mayaṃ cakkhuṃ nissaya subharammaṇaṃ pi asubharammaṇaṃ pi passāma, subharammaṇe rajjāma, asubharammaṇe dussāma Sabbadā va subhārammaṇaṃ laddhuṃ na sakkoma, subhārammaṇalabhaya ussahanta punappunaṃ nānavidham dukkhaṃ pāpunama Sesindriyesu pi es'eva nayo Na pan'etassa ārammana gahaṇassa anto paññāyati tasmā dukkhassa pi nivutti na hoti Yada pana ārammanagahaṇaṃ tassānu vitakkanam pi nivattissati dukkham pi tadā nivattissati

Kasma mayaṃ idaṃ arammaṇaṃ subhaṃ idaṃ asubhaṃ ti gaṇhāma ? Ka pana yutti tathā gahaṇe ? Ko paricchedo tesam ? Kiṃ mṃṃanaṃ va tulaṇaṃ vā ? Sabbam pi ārammaṇāni mahā bhuta ( dhātu ) sambhūtāni, tesu eka ccaṃ subhaṃ ekaccaṃ asubhaṃ tu gaheṭuṃ yutti paramatthavasena natthi Avijjaya sammūlhaṃ mayaṃ yathasabhavam ajananta tathā karoma Yadā pana avijjā vīdaḷetva yathabhutañānaṃ labhāma tada mūhakaṃ subhaṃ ti vā asubhaṃ ti vā gahaṇaṃ na paññāyati Subhāsubhavasena gahaṇe avijjamāṇe rajjana dussanaṃ pi na vijjeyya, rajjana-dussane avijjamane dukkhaṃ nirujjheyya, dukkhe niruddhe kevala sukham eva avasisseyya

Na y idaṃ yathāviṭṭhasukhaṃ lokiyaṃ lokayattaṃ na indriyavisayaṃ na amhākaṃ lokaṃ bhūcāya vittharetabbāṃ Tam pan' idaṃ sukhaṃ lokuttaram (= lokato uttaraṃ), nīccaṃ dhuvāṃ aviparīyamadhammaṃ 'Satto' ti

lokavohāro, 'attā' tī lokavohāro tam lokavohāram atikkamitvā, lokato utta  
ritvā lokuttarasukhalābhāya Bhagavato anusāsanā Tattha satto atthi, natthi  
tī, attā atthi, natthi tī pañhānam okāso na vijjati

Pañcasu pi khandhesu avijjamānesu ko nibbānasukham labhati tī ce?  
Pañca pi khandhā aniccā, tasmā dukkhā, dukkhattā anattā Tasmā ekanta-  
sukhakāmena te pahātabbā va honti Pañcakkhandha vinummutto puggalo  
nibbānam adhigacchati Tadā yeva sattassa yathātathabhūto lokuttaro cāro  
avasissatīti ātābbam

Katham idam lokuttarasukham adhigantabbam? Ariye aṭṭhangikamagge  
paṭipajjanena Tappaṭipajjanam kimatthanā? Dukkahetu bhūta ya tanhāya  
jahāpatthanā Kā pan 'esā tanhā? Rūpadassane tanhā, saddasāyane, gandha  
ghāyane, rasasāyane, phoṭṭhabbagahane tanhā, diṭṭha suta mutānam anuvita  
kkane tanhā attano dehe, puttadāresu khattavatthusu, vatthābharānesu,  
yāna vāhanesu, hatthi gavassādisu, dāsī dāsādisu tanhā, rajasampattiyā deva  
sāmpattiyā, brahmasāmpattiyā punaruppattiyā tanhā Imāsam tanhānam hetu  
na punaruppatti hotī, punaruppattiyā indriyapaṭilābho, indriyapaṭilābhena  
rajjana dussanam, rajjana dussanena dukkhuppādo Yadi panāyam tanhā  
sabbaso pahinā uccinnamulā, tadā punaruppatti na bhāveyya tāya asati  
indriyapaṭilābho tammulakam rajjana dussanañ ca na saṃvijjeyya Tadā  
lokuttaram avyāmisam anuttaram nibbānasukham avasisseyya

Atisankhittā panāyam katha "Kimvādī Sammāsambuddho?" tī puttāhe  
'Idam vādī' tī ekaṃ vadam nīdassetum na sakkoma Vadapathātīto pana so  
Bhagavā, tasmā "vibhajjavādī atha va vibhajitva tadā tī vattabbam Kim  
tassa vibhajitvā vacanam tī upari vuttanayena ātābbam paṇḍitehi

Bahū pan 'idāni Sugatanikāya hīnayāna mahāyanādi vasena Aparimā  
nā tesam āyattāgantha Bahusu pi nikāyesu bahusu pi matabhadesu vijjamā  
nesu ayam eva Buddhadhammassa saramso na panāyam kenaci nikāyikena  
paccakkhātābbo tī vadāmi

Vangadese Kalikātā nagare vasantassa Buddhasamayopatthambhaka  
anekaganthānam kattubhūta Vimalacarana Lāha namassa paṇḍitavarassa  
pañcapaññāsa vassapāranam nimmitam katvā sampādita yaṃ līpī Lankādīpe  
Ambalangodanagare Aggarāmaवासिना Buddhadattattherena

Vimalacarana yutto Lahu nāmo sudhiso  
Vidita-Sugatadhammo Vangadese vasanto  
Suvidita Jinadhammāyatta ganthāna kattā  
Jayatu sucirakālam sabba ātānkamutto

# SOME ASPECTS OF THE OVERSEAS TRADE OF VIJAYANAGARA FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

By

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The Vijayanagara age (1346 A.D. 1646 A.D.) witnessed not only great political activity but also continued commercial enterprise. We are concerned in this paper with one phase of the commercial history of Vijayanagara—that relating to the contact of Vijayanagara with the lands beyond the seas to the East and South East of India. Elsewhere I have shown that so far as internal trade was concerned the Vijayanagara Empire could boast of very many good harbours through which a prosperous trade was conducted<sup>1</sup>. I shall add here further details to the same subject with a view to make the account more complete. The following remarks are based on the writings of foreign travellers—Portuguese, Dutch and English—many of whom had intimate dealings with the Vijayanagara Empire.

But before I proceed with the subject it may not be out of place to note a few facts concerning the limits and longevity of the Vijayanagara Empire. Founded in 1346<sup>2</sup> the Vijayanagara kingdom expanded into an empire which survived the tremendous shock of the battle of Raksasa Tangadi (1565) and continued uninterrupted till the flight of Sri Ranga Raya in 1646 to Ikkeri<sup>3</sup>. The Ikkeri or Bednur chiefs who had planted themselves on the western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire continued to be called as the feudatories of the Vijayanagara rulers till 1650<sup>4</sup>. In the centre a Vijayanagara viceroy ruled over Srirangapatana till 1610 when that city fell into the hands of the rising chiefs of Mysore<sup>5</sup>. In Madura and Tanjore the Vijayanagara viceroy called Nayakas became independent in 1602<sup>6</sup>. But on the Coromandel coast the Vijayanagara Emperors still maintained their hold although in certain places like St. Thome they had allowed the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch to build factories in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

1 Saletore *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* I pp 58-59  
69-82

2 Saletore *ibid* I pp 18-19

3 Saletore *ibid* I pp 141-142

4 Sewell *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar* p 220

5 Rice *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* p 124

6 Sewell *ibid* p 220

According to European witnesses the overseas trade of Vijayanagara began to increase in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and reached its highest level in the first quarter of the sixteenth century when it showed signs of decline which marked it till the first quarter of the seventeenth century. That is to say roughly speaking we see the overseas trade in the ascendant from about 1414 till about 1514—which age it may be noted marks the highest point in the political history of Vijayanagara—and it continued to exist although decreased in volume and profits from 1514 till about 1614. This latter period we may likewise observe marks the downward curve in the political fortunes of the Empire of Vijayanagara.

Certain factors which will not be discussed in this paper necessitated the shifting of commercial gravity from the western parts of the Vijayanagara Empire to the eastern shore in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Geographically this meant closer relations of Vijayanagara with the great centres of trade in the East and South East notably with Tennesserim, Siam, Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Borneo. I shall take one by one these centres of foreign trade, so that we may be better able to appreciate the remarks of European travellers and historians.

*Tennesserim* Fernao Nuniz in his *Chronicle* writes thus about Tennesserim. At his (i.e. of a king of Vijayanagara whom he calls Visarao identified by Sewell with Vijaya Raya) death he left a son called Deorao (Deva Raya) who reigned twenty five years. He determined to collect great treasures but owing to constant warfare he could not gain more than eight hundred and fifty millions of gold not counting precious stones. This was no great sum seeing that in his time the king of Coullao (identified by Sewell with Quilon) and Ceyllao (Ceylon) and Paleacate (Pulicat near Madras which according to Sewell was an important province of Vijayanagara in later years) and Pegu and Tenaçary (Tennesserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him.

Nuniz's testimony may be verified with the help of the evidence supplied by other Portuguese travellers. Although he is by no means an infallible chronicler<sup>7</sup> yet in this instance he has given among others two details which are of significance in our estimate of the overseas trade of Vijayanagara. These two details are firstly that relating to precious stones and secondly the reference to Tennesserim.

In another context Nuniz mentions the precious stones of Vijayanagara. This is when describing the successful campaign of Sultan Ismail Adil Shah in the opening years of Emperor Acuta Deva Raya's reign. The Bijapur Sultan had come to the well known suburb of the great capital of Vijaya

<sup>7</sup> Sewell *op cit* p 302 and nos 1-4

<sup>8</sup> Saletore *Indian Antiquary* LXI pp 23

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Albuquerque recommends to his royal master the necessity of clinging fast to the ports of Cochin and Calicut, which places were capable of supplying cargoes to the Portuguese fleets "until the Day of Judgment" Albuquerque goes on to say thus "Now that that treacherous coward, the Zamorin, is dead, is the opportunity to cultivate a trade with those two ports which are the emporium of ginger, of the whole of the pepper of Malabar, and of the precious stones of Narsinga"<sup>14</sup> The name "Narsinga", we may note by the way, was the general appellation which the Europeans gave to the Vijayanagara Empire.

A striking testimony to Affonso de Albuquerque's statement that Calicut and Cochin were the export centres for the diamonds of Vijayanagara is provided in a set of instructions from Hugh Frayne to Nicholas Downton in the Red Sea These instructions, which relate to the trade in the Moluccos and which are undated, but which are assignable to 1610-1611, contain the following "At Malabar you shall buy pearls, rice, sapphires diamonds for which you shall sell tin lead, iron, "s of 8, powder, rapiers and head pieces"

Both the Portuguese and English accounts are silent about the volume of the diamond trade of Vijayanagara It cannot be understood at the present stage of our investigations why the diamonds from Vijayanagara should have been exported from the two well known Malabar ports when the Vijayanagara Empire itself possessed excellent ports through which they could have been sent to the different markets of the East and the West We may conjecture that the Vijayanagara diamonds found their way to the two great ports of Malabar because these latter were then under the influence of the Portuguese and were far away from the Muslim danger of the north And the Portuguese were as much interested in the Vijayanagara diamonds as the Flemings (the Dutch) and the English were in those from Sukadama near Borneo<sup>16</sup> What ever that may be the fact remains that by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the precious stones of the Vijayanagara Empire had received a sort of an international interest, and that one of the greatest of European states men of that age in the East—Affonso de Albuquerque—was very keen in securing for Portugal control over the two prominent centres that exported them

Let us now pass on to the next point mentioned by Nuniz that relating to Tennesserim Historians of Vijayanagara have not understood till now why Nuniz should have mentioned Tennesserim in the list of places which

<sup>14</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* I p 285

<sup>15</sup> Foster *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* I, 1602 1613 p 73 (London 1896)

<sup>16</sup> In fact according to the English, the diamonds found at Sukadama (or Succadama) near Borneo were the best in the world This place yielded a great store of diamonds of the best quality Foster *op cit* I pp 22 79



nagara by name Nāgalūpura, which he razed to the ground. The Vijaya nagara Emperor at once sued for peace, and accepted the humiliating terms of Ismail Adil Shah. Nuniz proceeds to relate these details thus:—"The King (Acyuta Deva Rāya) accepted these terms, and the Ydallcāo departed well pleased with this money; and after all was done the King sent to him a diamond stone weighing 130 *mangellinis* (= 162 carats) with fifteen other similar ones weighing fully a *lakh*""

Then, again, Nuniz relates the following, while describing the great barons of the Vijayanagara Empire in the reign of the same Emperor Acyuta Deva Raya (1530-1542). Concerning a great noble, whom he calls Adapanayque (Adapa Nāyaka, Hadapada Nayak?), Nuniz writes thus:—"Another captain, called Adapanayque who is the chief counsellor of the King, is lord of the country of Gate, whence come the diamonds, and many other territories which yield him three hundred thousand gold *pardaos* excluding the precious stones which form a revenue by themselves. He pays to the King every year forty thousand *pardaos*, with the condition that all diamonds which exceed twenty *mangellinis* (about nineteen carats) in weight shall be given to the King for his treasury." 10

That Nuniz is correct in his estimate of the supply of the precious stones in Vijayanagara is proved by Paes, who writes thus about the wealth of the great capital of Vijayanagara: "In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has and many precious stones there, principally diamonds." 11

Sewell, who has a valuable note on the diamonds of the Vijayanagara Empire, has amply corroborated the evidence of these two travellers with that given by other European writers and has identified the place which supplied diamonds to Vijayanagara with Vajra Karūr, otherwise called "the mines of Golconda." 12

From the chronological point of view we may note that the remarks of Nuniz refer to the reign of a king whom he calls "Deorao" who may be identified with king Deva Raya II. This monarch ruled from A.D. 1419 till A.D. 1446. 13 It is during the reign of this monarch that precious stones figure very conspicuously in the accounts of foreign travellers. The question with which we are concerned is—Which was the outlet through which these precious stones were exported? Almost a century later we get the answer from a letter written by the great Affonso de Albuquerque to the king of Portugal. In this letter dated the 11th December 1513, Affonso de

9 Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 368, and note (1)

10 Sewell, *op cit.*, pp. 388-389

11 Sewell *ibid.*, p. 256

12 Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 388, n. (71) and App. A. pp. 399-401

13 Rice, *op cit.*, p. 112.

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15 Foster *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* I 1602 1613 p 73 (London 1896)

16 In fact according to the English, the diamonds found at Sukadama (or Succadama) near Borneo were the best in the world. This place yielded a great store of diamonds of the best quality. Foster *op cit* I pp 22 79

are supposed to have paid tribute to the Vijayanagara Emperor. But the accounts of European traders enable us to explain why Tennesserim figures in Vijayanagara history. I believe it was from that place that tin, a commodity that does not seem to have been produced in India, was imported into the Vijayanagara Empire. But the port which controlled the tin trade was Masulipatam which lay on the borders of that Empire. The English factors enlighten us on the importance of Tennesserim for India. John Gourney in his letter dated the 28th July 1614 and addressed to the East India Company writes thus — Store of tin is brought yearly from Tannassary (Tennesserim) to Musulipatam and sold at betwixt 60 and 80 pagodas per candy but whether our sort not being accounted so good may pass well I know not some therefore to try were not amiss.<sup>17</sup>

*Borneo* The next chronological reference to an overseas trade centre is to Borneo. The Portuguese captains inform us that Vijayanagara had direct dealings with that distant island. Dom Jorge de Albuquerque writes thus in his letter dated January the 1st 1524 to the king of Portugal from Malacca concerning Borneo — The King of Borneo has written to me to say that he is and wishes to continue a true friend of the King of Portugal sending his letter by a Biscayan the sole survivor of an expedition under Fernao Magalhass which the Castilians sent against Borneo. What I have ascertained about Borneo is as follows. — It provides nothing but camphor for which there is a ready sale in Bengal, Paleacate (Pulicat), Narsinga (i.e. Vijayanagara) and other Malabarese territories, Cochun and Calicut and a little in Cambay. This camphor is very different from that which comes from China and does not belong to the King of Borneo but is the property of another king in the island who is a Caffre whereas the King of Borneo and his subjects are Moors. These Caffres cultivate this camphor and exchange it with the Moors of Borneo for cloth from Malacca which is imported there from Cambay and Bengal.<sup>18</sup>

Unlike the Portuguese and English travellers the Dutch are not so explicit in their descriptions. Nevertheless the Dutch accounts help us to confirm the statements made by other European observers that Vijayanagara had commercial relations with the East Indies in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Thus for example in 1596 while sailing in the south eastern seas under their captain Cornelius Houtman and others they refer to Bantam and write thus — They trade very much in *Camphire* at Bantam. They call it *Casar* or *Camphire*. There are two sorts of it the first came from the island of Borneo and is considered the best the second sort comes from Chuncoo in China but not to be compared with the other. The Trees which produce Camphire, are as big as Walnut Trees the Gum grows in the inside

17 Foster *ibid* II p 86. See also *ibid* III pp 9-301.

18 Danvers *op cit* I pp 358-359.

of the trunk and comes out of it like sweat by drops, no bigger than a Barley corn

"The *Camphire* of China comes forth in lumps, and is cheap enough, but one pound weight of that of Borneo, is as dear as a hundred pounds of China *Camphire*. But the Indians who know how to mix them, adulterate the best, as they do all other Merchandise, being as dexterous at that Work, as any People in the World, so that one must be very cunning and have a great deal of experience not to be deceived"<sup>19</sup> Since we know from the Portuguese sources that Borneo camphor was in great demand in the Vijayanagara Empire, we have to assume by the term "Indians" given here by the Dutch that it refers to the people of Vijayanagara as well as to those of Bengal and Cambay. We may note incidentally that the Dutch in the above passage do not give a favourable account of the honesty of Indian traders.

The same Dutch expedition under Cornelius Houtman and others saw in January 1596 pepper which grew like "a bunch of Grapes, though not quite so big" in plenty in Sumatra. They had seen the same kind of pepper in Malabar, Onor (Honnar), Barcelor (Basrūr), Mangalur (Mangalore), Calicut, and several other places in India. One quality of pepper which they noticed in Sumatra is specially noteworthy. "The pepper which they call the *Canarins*, or the Boors Pepper, because none but the poor People use it, groweth in Goa and Malabar, and is like *French Wheat* but Ash coloured, and hollow on the inside with kernels"<sup>20</sup> We can only suppose that this (poor) quality of pepper came from the coast of Kanara which in those times was under the Vijayanagara Empire. It was evidently because of this that it was called the *Canarins* by the Dutch.

We may likewise suppose that the pepper trade of Vijayanagara was extended to Java and Malacca. The following passages in the same history of the first voyage of the Dutch will be of some interest here. The same Dutch travellers describe the pepper grown in Java thus — "We said before, that the Pepper Plant which grows in Java runs upon great Reeds called by the Inhabitants *Manbus*, the inside of which is full of a Substance called *Tabaxir*. However, the Dutch having cut some of them found nothing in these Reeds. The reason why the *Manbus* of Java have no *Tabaxir* is yet unknown perhaps it hath not been well examined.

"However, it is certain that abundance of those Reeds grow along the Coast of *Malabar*, especially in *Coromandel Bisanagar*, and *Malacca*, which produceth a substance called by the Indians *sacar membur*, sugar of *Membur*, which is much valued by the Arabians, Persians, and Moors, who call it

19 *A Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company for the Improvement of Trade and Navigation* Etc, p 218 (London 1703)

20 *Ibid* pp 135 142

*Tobaxir*, that is to say, white juice, for it resembles curdled milk (Here follows a description of the reeds)

"The Indians make us of it against Claps cancers, and other venereal Distempers as well as burning Feavers Cholicks and Bloody Fluxes They make also their little Boats of the body of a Tree which holds but two People, they leave a knot at each end and excavate the rest. Men who row the Boat are all naked, one at each end with a pair of little oars, and row extremely fast even against the Currents They are so Superstitious as to believe that those Boats are never attacked by the Crocodiles" <sup>21</sup>

Besides pepper there were three other commodities which were articles of trade between Vijayanagara and Java They were *lac*, water melons and sandal wood Concerning *lac*, the same Dutch travellers inform us the following — "Among other Merchandise that are sold in Bantam you find *Laque* or *Lack* so called by the Moors and *Tieck* at Pegu where there is a great sale of it (Here follows a description of how *lac* is produced by flying ants) It (*ie*, the matter deposited on the branches of trees by the flying ants) is of a red brown colour but the Indians make a powder of it, and mix with it what colours they fancy or make little sticks of it which are sold in Europe under the name of Spanish Wax to seal letters with They also make of it several other very curious and well wrought Manufactures" <sup>22</sup>

About water melons of Java the same source continues to relate thus — "The Water Melons that grow at Java are of an extraordinary good taste Their outside is of a green brown colour, but their inside is white they are as long as our Pumpkins The Indians regale one another with them in company as we do with Fruit in Europe" <sup>23</sup>

That the Dutch travellers had evidently the people of Southern and Western India that is to say, of the Vijayanagara Empire, in their mind when they talked in general of the Indians is proved when we cite their remarks concerning sandal wood an article grown extensively in the forests of Malabar and Karnataka from very early times The Dutch travellers have the following observations to make on this point — "You find in the Woods of Java red *Sanders* Wood but the yellow and the white, which are much better come from the Islands of Timor and Solor situated to the East of Java *Sanders* trees are like Walnut Trees They bring forth a fruit resembling Cherries which is green at first, but black afterwards without any manner of taste

"The Indians use a great deal of *Sanders* wood they bruise it and beat it with Water till it comes to Pap and then anoint their Body with it which cools and perfumes it all over The red *Sanders* Wood is of no use in the

21 *A Collection of Voyages* pp. 211 212

22 *Ibid* p 217

23 *Ibid* p 217

Indies so they only transport it to other Countries It is also Physical but not near so good as the White ' 4

Which were the outlets through which this trade with Java Borneo and Sumatra was carried on? These outlets were evidently situated on the Coromandel coast—the home of commercial enterprise which dates back to centuries before the great Empire of Vijayanagara came into existence I have already mentioned quite a number of these Coromandel ports in my work referred to above<sup>24</sup> While the overseas trade of the Vijayanagara Empire on its long western coast suffered an eclipse due to the political vicissitudes that followed the wars between the Vijayanagara monarchs and the Deccan Sultans and more specially the advent of the European traders notably the Portuguese and the English that on the eastern coast—which geographically was removed from the storm centres of the belligerent nations—continued to thrive for nearly a century after the decisive battle of Rakṣasa Tangaḍi (1565) It is to this part of India that the English who were the bitterest rivals of the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century turned their attention and it is from the early English factors that we get some interesting details relating to the overseas trade of Vijayanagara during a period which witnessed the gradual decline of the political might of the monarchs of Vijayanagara That Coromandel had ever been a vital part of the Empire of Vijayanagara there can be no doubt Even when Nuniz wrote about the Emperor Acyuta Deva Raya (1530 1542) Coromandel was an important province over which was placed one of the most important viceroys of Vijayanagara Thus writes Nuniz — The King has no controller of the revenues nor other officers nor officers of his house but only the captains of his kingdom of whom I will here mention some and the revenues they hold and of what territory they are lords Firstly Salvanayque (Saluva Nayaka) the present Minister he has a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *pardaos* He is the lord of Charamandel (Coḷamandala Coromandel) and of Negspatao (Negapatam) and Tamgor and Bomgarin and Dapatao and Truguel and Caullim and these are cities their territories are very large and border on Ceylon<sup>25</sup>

Nuniz mentions two cities which deserve some comment—Nagapatam and Caullim When another European traveller Cæsar Frederick had visited the former in 1567 it was a Countrey of small trade<sup>26</sup> That is to say till the end of the sixteenth century Negapatam while it remained a fairly

24 *A Collection of Voyages* p 218 The people of Vijayanagara must have also imported frankincense from Java about which the Dutch have some remarks to make *Ibid* p. 217 But the Dutch do not implicitly ment on the Indians as importing it into India

25 Saletore, *S P Life* I pp 78-79

26 Sewell *op cit* p 384

27 Saletore *op cit* I p 79

well known town had not yet risen to the dignity of a great port. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Nagapatam had assumed large proportions as a port to which European ships called. This is proved by a letter written by Captain Anthony Hippon and the merchants of the VII Voyage to the East India Company. This letter is imperfect, but assignable to August 1611. Captain Anthony Hippon relates in it that from Ceylon they sailed to the mainland. "From thence (Ceylon), keeping our course under the Island of Zeilon until the 6th then coming in the road before the town of Negapatam, where was a great ship, riding at an anchor with divers other small barques, and following our order without doing any violence unto any, but followed our course north and by east until the 8th ditto. Then being not far from St Thome then did we see a small boat bearing right with us which was bound for Negapatam" and which the English captured because it belonged to the Portuguese.

By 1615 Negapatam had established its reputation as one of the largest ports on the Coromandel coast. We infer this from the letter dated the 24th of November 1615 and written from Achin by William Nicolls to John Millward and John Yates at Tikou. In it Nicolls writes thus:—"So I could wish that you Mr Millward had left three or four bales of that sort with me, then could I have engrossed certain commodities of the Coast (Coromandel) which are here now arrived viz four ships from Meslepotan, Negapatam, and Collimatt." In the next year (1616) Negapatam again figures as an important port in a letter dated the 15th of January, and written by the same William Nicolls to the Agent at Bantam and also from Achin. "Since which time (i.e., the 16th of July 1615) here hath arrived four ships from the Coast (Coromandel), viz from the 1st of October to the 10th two from Negapatam one from Cullimat and one from Meslepotam (Masulipatam), all fraught with rice and many sorts of white cloth steel and paintathas (pintadres)." 30

In the above passage Negapatam ranks after Masulipatam and before a port which is called Collimat. Of these we are not concerned here with Masulipatam which was outside the Vijayanagara Empire. For it belonged to the Qutb Shahs of Golkonda. The port called Collimat has to be identified. It figures in another letter dated November the 24th 1615 written by William Nicolls to John Millward cited above.<sup>31</sup> Again in another letter written by the same English factor but dated the 23rd of March 1615 (1616)

28. Foster *op cit* I p 132

29. Foster *op cit* III, p 233

30. Foster, *ibid* IV, p 6. In the same year 1616, we may note in passing the Portuguese had massed from 1,500 to 2,000 soldiers for a certain exploit, obviously against the Dutch, who had built a fort at Pulicat and manned it with 130 or 140 soldiers. Foster, *ibid* p 39

31. Foster had doubtfully identified it with Quilon. *Ibid* III p 334

and addressed to the Agent at Bantam we are informed that For the Coast (Coromandel), as Meslepotam Collimat or Negapatam here is goods to be bought profitable likewise, those merchants of those parts having here bought the same *viz* brimstone worth here 2½ taylor the baharr sold at Meslepotam per the Hollanders for this King's account <sup>32</sup>

This port of Collimat or Cullimat was identified by Foster with Conimere in the South Arcot District eleven miles north of Pondichery. The Tamil name of the village is Kunimeḍa which according to the same authority may have been changed into Collimat just as Palavelkaḍu was changed into Pulicat. The foundations of an English factory are said to be still visible at Conimere where the English established themselves in 1682 <sup>33</sup>. It was perhaps this same port of Collimat or Conimere which Nuniz referred to when he wrote about Cullim in a passage mentioned already in this paper <sup>34</sup>.

There is another port in the Coromandel coast which may be mentioned here, and which deserves to rank with those we have just now enumerated. This was St. Thome near Madras. It belonged to the Portuguese but was subject to the Vijayanagara Empire. The first Portuguese settlement in St. Thome was in 1522 but the Vijayanagara Government did not allow foreigners to build any fort there <sup>35</sup>. All the same the Portuguese seem to have maintained a stronghold at St. Thome. This accounts for the successful expedition which Rama Raya conducted against St. Thome in 1558 <sup>36</sup>. The Vijayanagara viceroy erected a fort near St. Thome in 1615 but the Portuguese captain Manoel de Frias captured it along with the cannon which was in it <sup>37</sup>. When Caesar Frederick visited St. Thome in 1567 towards the end of the reign of Emperor Sadasiva Raya it was although it be not very great yet in my judgment it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies <sup>38</sup>.

According to the same traveller the port of St. Thome was however dangerous and the Indian sailors loaded and unloaded merchandise in a most marvellous manner <sup>39</sup>. The anonymous author of the life of St. Francis Xavier tells us that St. Thome traded with Pegu and Malacca in coloured cloths <sup>40</sup>. The English in about 1610 traded in the stuffs or cloths called by the Dutch Kleetghees obtainable at that place and took them to the East

32 Foster *ibid* IV p 70

33 Foster *ibid* V p 295 n (1)

34 Sewell thought it was probably Kayal. Sewell *op cit* p 384 n (2). It cannot be made out whether Sewell meant by Kayal the port of Kavalpatnam in the Tinnevely district. Could Coullimat be the same as Bartholomeo's *Calapada*? *A Voyage to the East Indies* p 71 (London MD CCC)

35 Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasties of Vijayanagara* I pp 64-67

36 Sewell *op cit* pp 193-194 Heras *ibid* pp 67-69

37 Danvers, *op cit* I p. 173

38 Purchas, *Pilgrims* IX p 109 Hera *op cit* p 67

39 Read Purchas *ibid* p 109 Heras, *ibid* pp 69-70

40 Heras, *ibid* p 70



Indies<sup>41</sup> But the share of the English in this trade was small, because the Portuguese controlled the largest part of the trade at St. Thome<sup>42</sup>

Without going further into the history of the growth and development of commerce on the Coromandel coast, we may, so far as the subject of our paper is concerned note very cursorily a few facts which show that that part of the Vijayanagara Empire continued to have commercial dealings with Sumatra Maluccos, Siam and even with distant Japan It is true that by the first quarter of the seventeenth century the English had already arrived on the Coromandel coast, and that the Dutch had laid their plans for building factories on the same coast The arrival of the English on the Coromandel coast may be dated to September the 10th 1611 when Lucas Antheunis and Peter Floris arrived at Petapolay and at Masulipatam, 'in which two places we had our residence this 10th of September 1611'<sup>43</sup> In about the same year the Dutch wrote to the Dutch East India Company that Amboyna and Banda and again Jamby, and the west coast of Coromandel to wit Sumatra are the places of pepper Acthun (Achin) is a place which cleaveth to the trade of Coromandel Surat, Arabia and many western places where there is sometimes great vent of cloth and other merchandise and in return there is much goods to be had and other things needful for the aforesaid coasts They give good advance for there is brimstone pepper, Bournesh (from Borneo) camphor pewter from Perack gold for the coast of Coromandell and more other wares<sup>44</sup>

A Sumatra product greatly in demand on the Coromandel coast in 1610 was brimstone This we learn from an advice given by Augustine Bradshaw dated September 1610 concerning the demand for certain Indian goods in Achin and other parts of the Island of Sumatra I think there may be yearly sold at the place aforesaid of these coarse Bastaus 2000 or 3000 corge in truck for pepper gold benjamin camphor brimstone pitch and saltpetre which commodities are for the most part very vendible in divers parts as Suratt Cambaia Masulipatan Araccan and most parts of Bengala and Chormandale<sup>45</sup> Later on in the same advise the same merchant writes thus — From Sumatra at any of the places abovesaid you may send for Suratt, Muslipatam and other parts of Bengalal and Choromandle great quality of brimstone which is worth in Pryamana and Tecoo from 3 masse to 9 10 and 12 masse, and the highest prices is sold to great profit at the places abovesaid<sup>46</sup>

Coromandel itself exported a particular kind of stuff or cloth as our men (Englishmen) call them and by the Dutchmen called Kleetghees being

41 Fo. cr op cit I pp 69 70 op cit

42 Foster *ibid* VI pp 67 83

43 Foster *ibid* I p 136

45 Foster *ibid* I p 74

44 Foster *ibid*, I p 79

46 Foster *ibid* I p 75

the same and such like stuffs as Sir James Lancaster took which are made at Bengala Mesopotamia Cheromandle and St Thome. 47 What was meant by the Kletghees is related in the same advise written by Hugh Frayne to Nicholas Downton in the Red Sea which is undated but is assigned to 1610

Cloths as our men use to call them and by the Dutch Kletghees being linen and made of cotton wool or the same stuff that Callicow cloth is made of, made to cast about their bodies as cloaks or mantles or a girdle and scarf about their loins named as followeth and for which the Amboyneses do give cloves in barter Tooria Baffata Keykam, Sallalo Pattala Sarassa Tzier Malayia Patta Mora Tanknyla (These are white cloths with red stripes at the end) 48 So that we may better understand the various kinds of cloths manufactured in the Vijayanagara Empire, we may note their details as given by the same merchant in the same advise. *Tzinde* (evidently the same as *Tzier*) are silk cloths with red stripes *Patta Katuynen* with red stripes overthwart through *Dragon* black and red *Sallalo* blue and black *Bastan* are white and black starched and folded up four square *Kassa* are white unstarched lawns *Kreyakam* are red starched *Kantekey* black starched *Mossafy* is black of the same starched *Toorya* not starched are painted like as the *Sarassa* but very coarse *Bornelaya* are white and black quarls like checkerd such a *Polingknysty* are *Paw* are silk cloths with frings on the end with the quarls of checkers through The same source tells us that These foresaid cloths are always to be had at Bantam yet sometimes better than at othersame, but they be made at Bengala Mesopotamia St Thome and Chormandle. 49

Coromandel seems to have exported another commodity—iron—to the same regions in the south east This we gather from a letter dated the 20th February 1614 and written by Captain David Middleton to the East India Company from Bantam There is good iron brought hither from Corramandell by Mr Floris and good cheap 50

There was considerable trade from 1614 onwards between Coromandel and the Maluccos This was in all sorts of goods as is related in a letter dated the 24th April 1614 and written by George Cokayne to John Jourdain. 51 But the articles mostly in demand were cassamera (?) steel and cloths. 52 By the same date (1614) the Dutch had already hampered the English trade between Coromandel and Bantam John Jourdain and others wrote in a letter dated the 2nd January 1614 to the East India Company thus — Whether they (the Dutch) doth it (selling the same goods to be paid for the

47 and 48 Foster *op cit* I p 70

49 Foster *ibid* I p 72 Many more examples could be given of the demand for Coromandel cloth in the Islands of the South East. See for instance Foster *ibid* VI pp 45 45 (n) 71 71 (n) 144 257 (n) 258, 264

50 Foster *ibid* II p 326

51 Foster *ibid* II p 31

52 Foster *ibid* II pp 31-34 78 274 323

next year at 100 per cent less than the James goods were rated at ) to cross us in our trade of Choromandell or not we know not but sure we are that the losses remains on themselves <sup>53</sup>

And so that our remarks concerning the intercourse between Coromandel and the lands adjoining Tennesserim may be complete we may give some details relating to the state of affairs in Siam The Coromandel cloth was much in demand in Siam John Johnson and Richard Pitts from Yudea (Ayuthia the capital of Siam till it was destroyed by the Burmese) wrote to Richard Cocks at Firando in Japan in their letter dated the 23rd of May 1617 thus — If we be supplied with good sorts of clothing of the Coast (Coromandel) or Seratt (Surat) coming in time whereby sales may be made (as we make no question to the contrary) we would not care whether you sent a penny of money or not <sup>54</sup>

The following letter dated the 20th of December 1617 written by William Eaton to Sir Thomas Smythe further substantiates our statement that the cloth manufactured in Coromandel was in great demand in Siam As concerning your trade at Syam it is a place that will vent great store of India cloth and likewise other cloths that comes from the coast of Choromandell and to great profit The names of the Coromandel cloths sold in Siam are given in detail in a later context in the same letter thus The commodities that are vendible at Syam are as also cloths (that comes) from the coast of Choromandell viz tallepines painted ginnes jeckand (anus or painted) dupaties woven tanpie painted tanpie white bettils red bettils se(lampores) red yarn which is there in great request and much sought after there will vent of it greater quantity

As to the exports from Siam to the Coromandel coast the same letter relates that if the trade with Jangamay (i.e. Kiangmai or Zimmai) is opened it would be of much advantage to the English For it is a place that will vent much clothing as I am given to understand and for great profit as six or seven of one besides the returns that may be made from thence which is gold rubies and other precious stones as also benjiamen (Benjamin or bezen) sealing wax (which commodities are in great request at the coast of Choromandell) besides deer skins which are there very cheap <sup>55</sup>

The importance of Siam on the India Japan route was recognized by the English even in the first quarter of the seventeenth century Ships from the Coromandel coast touched at Siam and Petania (of Petania or Patani) in the course of their eight or ten months voyage from Japan to India <sup>56</sup>

53 Foster *ibid* II p 269 See also *ibid* pp 274 308 323

54 Foster *op cit* V p 269

55 Foster *ibid* VI pp 256 258

56 Foster *ibid* p 256

57 Foster *ibid* III pp 148 178 179

Coromandel cloth was much in demand also in Japan, as we learn from a letter dated the 16th of January 1616 (1617) written by Richard Cocks from Firando in Japan to the East India Company.<sup>58</sup>

The bearing of this continued trade between Vijayanagara and the East Indies on the political history and culture of the former country, I shall discuss in a subsequent paper. Suffice it to say here that these commercial relations open an altogether new chapter in the annals of the Vijayanagara Empire.

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58. Foster, *ibid*, V, p. 46 See also pp 48, 72.

# EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA HISTORIC SURVEY OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN DIFFERENT AGES

*By*

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The rise and fall of a civilisation is intimately connected with its educational system and achievements. As long as the educational system of a nation is sound and comprehensive and its achievements brilliant and remarkable, society continues to prosper. The decay starts when education is neglected or ceases to train efficiently the youths of the rising generation in the different departments of national activity. We propose to take a survey of ancient Indian Education in this paper to see how far Indian history confirms the truth of the above observation.

**FOUR HISTORICAL PERIODS** For the purpose of our survey we shall divide ancient Indian history into four periods. The first period will be from pre-historic times to c. 1000 B.C. It may be conveniently described as the Vedic age, as most of the Vedic literature was composed during this period. The second period will extend from c. 1000 B.C. to c. 200 B.C. It may be described as the age of the Upanishads, the Sutras and the epics, as these works can be assigned to this period. The Barhadrathas, the Śiśunagas, Nandas and the Mauryas were the leading political powers of this period, and so the age may be conveniently described also as the age of the Nandas and Mauryas. The third period will extend from c. 200 B.C. to c. 500 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Dharmaśāstra, as most of the leading works on this subject were written during this period. It can also be described as the age of the Śungas and the Satavahanas, the Vākatakas and the Guptas, as these were its leading political powers. The fourth period will extend from c. 500 A.D. to c. 1200 A.D. It may be described as the age of the Puranas and digests (Nibandhas), as society was guided mainly by the theories and practices recommended in these works. Politically, India was divided into many small kingdoms during this age. Kings Harṣa and Bhoja were the most prominent rulers during the period. The age therefore may be described as the age of Harṣa and Bhoja.

We shall now proceed to describe the condition of education as a whole in each of these four periods.

**THE VEDIC PERIOD UPTO C. 1000 B.C.** This age marked the beginning of Indian culture, literature and science, and so the Indians had just started their progress in the different departments of knowledge during this early

period its literary and scientific achievements were therefore naturally much less dazzling and comprehensive than those of the succeeding age. People of this period however had a very keen desire to make progress in the realm of knowledge. They had realised that it was intellectual efficiency and equipment that was most essential for progress in culture and knowledge. It was emphasised that gods would befriend only those who are wise and learned. Those only were regarded as learned who could not only recite the texts but also understand and interpret them. Every householder of the age therefore naturally regarded the education of his children as a sacred duty. No distinction was made in this connection between boys and girls. The education of both received the same attention even during its higher stages. Ordinarily the guardian discharged his duty to teach his wards so regularly and successfully that no necessity was felt for a long time either for the professional teacher or for the public school. Secular literature was yet to be developed and so the literary course was predominantly religious. People however had an open free and enquiring mind and were eager to explore new realms of knowledge. Great emphasis was laid on the proper development of debating powers. Boys and girls who were successful in debates were highly honoured. Education however did not produce mere talkers but transformed its recipients into men of action as well. This would become quite clear from the successful manner in which the Aryans of the age spread their culture and extended their political influence. The Aryan community was a compact and homogeneous one during this period and there was not much difference in the educational level of the different classes. Priests however generally used to specialise in literary and religious education. Warriors and agriculturists also received some literary education but it was not naturally so deep or wide as that of the priest or the poet. They used to devote the greater part of their educational course in mastering the arts of war or the methods of agriculture or the processes of arts and crafts. The followers of the latter were held in high esteem. Some of them like Aśvins and Ribhus were even deified. The educational system of the age was successful in forming character, developing personality, promoting progress of the different branches of knowledge and achieving social efficiency and happiness.

**THE UPANISAD-SUTRA PERIOD c. 1000 B.C. to c. 200 B.C.** This period can justly be regarded as the most creative period of Hindu culture and literature, arts and sciences. The foundations of whatever is the best in Hindu culture and glorious in Hindu achievements were laid down during this period. Metaphysics made remarkable progress as is evidenced by the Upanisadic, Jain and Buddhist works. The foundations of almost all the later systems of philosophy were also laid down. Philology and grammar were well developed and the work in the sphere of legal literature was commenced. Speculations in the sphere of political thought were original and fruitful. Astronomy and mathematics, medicine and surgery, mining and metallurgy

began to be cultivated and sculpture and architecture recorded remarkable progress, especially towards the end of the period. Effort was also made to popularise culture and knowledge by transforming the epic of the Bharata war into an encyclopaedia of religion and ethics.

These manifold achievements in different spheres became possible because Indians had still a free open and enquiring mind and were making strenuous efforts to extend the bounds of knowledge and to ensure its transmission to posterity. With a view to enlist the help of the whole society for this work Upanayana ritual was made obligatory for the whole Aryan community at about the beginning of this period. This gave a great impetus both to the spread of literacy and of higher education. As learning became more and more extensive in course of time education in the family became impracticable and society began to encourage distinguished scholars to become regular teachers. They used to organise private schools for higher studies relying mainly on the voluntary contributions of students taking their advantage. Brahmacarya discipline was still rigorous but towards the end of the period the marriageable age of girls began to be gradually lowered which adversely affected female education. During the earlier part of this period however there was no dearth of women philosophers and scholars some of whom used to organise schools and hostels for girls. Co-education was however not unknown. Majority of girls received their education at home, as was the case with boys also during the earlier period. The educational system paid as much attention to the cultivation of the Vedic literature as to that of grammar and philology, mathematics and astronomy and epic and legal literature. Professions became specialised towards the end of this period and society began to feel it advantageous that they should become hereditary in order to facilitate further efficiency. The ordinary soldier or agriculturist used however to receive a fair amount of cultural education. The training imparted to the doctor and the sculptor was fairly practical and efficient and the average intelligence of the artisan class was fairly high. The skilled worker was also respected by society. Education was regarded as a serious proposition and society was anxious that its benefits should be extended to as large a class as possible. Various steps were being proposed and adopted to see that studies of students did not terminate at the end of their courses. Educational system continued to be successful in forming character building up personality extending the bounds of knowledge and preserving the heritage of the past. It undoubtedly promoted social happiness and efficiency. It enabled India to be at the vanguard of progress in the contemporary world and repel and subjugate the Greek enemy.

**THE AGE OF THE DHARMAŚASTRA C. 200 B.C. TO C. 500 A.D.** This period may be described as the age of critical reflection and specialisation. The achievements of the preceding creative period were critically examined and special systems like the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga the Nyāya and the Vai

śeṣika, the Vedānta and the Mahāyāna Buddhism were evolved, which marked considerable progress in accurate thought. The creative vein was still active, though in a less marked degree than before. Its activity was particularly noteworthy in the realm of classical literature and sacred law, painting and sculpture, mathematics and astronomy. A considerable part of the religious literature was now canonised, but Hindus still had an open free and enquiring mind. Philosophical systems continued to be called orthodox though they had no place even for God. Heterodox systems like the Jainism and the Buddhism were studied by the Hindus and theories and dogmas of Hinduism were analysed and examined by the Jains and the Buddhists. Thus led to considerable progress in logic and metaphysics. Greeks were no doubt regarded as unholy foreigners (*Mlecchas*), but nevertheless their achievements in the realm of sculpture, coinage and astronomy were carefully studied, examined and assimilated which led to considerable progress in all these sciences.

There was however a distinctive setback to the cause of education as a whole during this period. Child marriages became the order of the day towards the end of the period and so female education suffered very considerably. Only daughters of high class families used to receive education during this period. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls naturally involved the corresponding lowering of the marriageable age of boys. Brahmacarya discipline consequently became slack and nominal and the educational system could produce only a limited number of young men possessing a developed personality, characterised by self-confidence and self reliance. During this period Upanayana in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas first became a mere formality, this development gave a severe blow to the general and cultural education of the warrior and the farmer, and the trader and the artisan which reduced their general efficiency. Their education gradually began to become too much specialised and narrow. The same defect arose in the course of time in liberal education also. There was too much of specialisation in logic and philosophy astronomy and mathematics. There was no broad based secondary course of education. The educational system was still able to promote social efficiency and happiness and secure the preservation and spread of national culture, it enabled society to absorb and assimilate a number of foreign tribes whom it could not drive out by military force. Towards the end of this period, the higher education of the cultured classes received a great impetus and encouragement by the rise of organised public schools and colleges, on account of the liberal support which these institutions received from the state and society they were able to impart free education. Several colleges for higher education became famous centres of education which in the course of time began to attract students from abroad as well. The training in practical sciences like sculpture and architecture, medicine and metallurgy was still very efficient if somewhat narrow.

THE AGE OF THE PURĀNAS AND NIBANDHAS C. 500 A.D.—1200 A.D.



India continued to enjoy the reputation of an international centre of education during this period also. Down to c. 900 A.D. Tibetan and Chinese students continued to flock to her eastern Universities and her doctors used to be summoned in Western Asia for curing patients and organising hospitals. Education had not become mere book learning, Indian teachers excited admiration of foreign students by their remarkable powers of explanation and exposition. Graduates of this period were remarkable for their logical acumen and mastery in Sanskrit, though the latter was no longer the spoken dialect. Facilities for free higher education continued to be ample, if with the decline of Buddhism the number of monastic colleges decreased the loss was more than compensated by the rise of numerous temple colleges. Brahmacharya discipline no doubt became nominal owing to early marriages, students however showed commendable perseverance in pursuing protracted courses of studies. Poor students continued to maintain themselves by begging if necessary, the number of teachers eager to follow the high code of the profession which enjoined free tuition still continued to be very large. Society's earnestness for education was thus remarkable.

Though thus higher education continued to prosper, the education of the masses suffered during this period. Upanayana now completely disappeared from Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas, this gave a serious blow to their cultural and literary education, reduced the percentage of literacy among them and made their education narrow. Useful arts and professions began to be regarded as plebeian and were boycotted by the higher sections of Brāhmaṇas, as the services of the best intellect of society were no longer available for the development of arts and crafts they ceased to make any progress worth the name. Growing orthodoxy of the age disapproved of dissection and condemned the pursuit of agriculture on the ground that it involved the killing of insects at the time of sowing and reaping. Medical education in the course of time therefore became less efficient, surgery disappeared and agriculture became a neglected and plebeian profession. The marriageable age of girls was further lowered during this period, girls were ordinarily married at the age of 8 or 9. This naturally gave a death blow to female education. A few ladies no doubt appear as poetesses during this period, they were exceptions rather than the rule. Education could not reach the masses as the medium of higher instruction was Sanskrit, which was no longer the spoken tongue. No serious or concerted effort was made to develop literature in vernaculars in order to facilitate the infiltration of knowledge to the masses. In the sphere of higher education specialisation was carried to too great an extreme, the logician, the mathematician and the Vaidika, for instance, did not possess much knowledge of the problems and achievements of one another. The preservation of the ancient literature and culture was the main concern of the educational system, it was unable to produce many scholars who could substantially enrich it. The creative vein in the Hindu intellect could still be seen in the

# HISTORICAL MATERIALS IN GILGIT MANUSCRIPTS

By

Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.

The Gilgit Manuscripts, recently edited by Dr. N. Dutt and Mr. Shiv Nath Sarma, are a valuable addition to the Buddhist literature and throw interesting light on the origin and development of the Buddhist Canon. These aspects have been fully dealt with in the learned introduction. But some of these texts also contain valuable data for the study of political and social history. As a specimen I propose to deal in this paper with the first section of the *Cīvaravastu*, in the *Vinaya Texts* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*s published in Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III, Part 2, (pp. 1-52).

## § 1. SUMMARY

It may be summarised as follows :

The King of Videha had 500 *amātyas* with *Khaṇḍa* as their chief (*agrāmātya*). He married in a family of equal status (*śaḍṛṣa kula*) and had two sons, Gopa and Sindhya. *Khaṇḍa* gradually acquired great power and authority in the state and the other ministers, becoming jealous, conspired to destroy him. They approached the king and poisoned his ears by representing that "Khaṇḍa is the real king and may, if he so desire, seize the throne." The king gradually grew suspicious and looked for an opportunity to bring about his downfall. *Khaṇḍa*, coming to know of this, became afraid and thought thus "Where shall I go? If I go to Śrāvastī, it is under a king, and so there would be the same troubles. So would be the case in Vārāṇasī, Rājagṛha and Campā which are all subject to the authority of one person (*ekādhipa*). Vaiśālī is under a *gana* (*gaṇādhipa*). What is desired by ten is disliked by twenty. So by all means I must go to Vaiśālī." So he sent a messenger to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī saying "I wish to live in Vaiśālī under your protection (*vāhu-cchāya*). The Licchavis cordially invited him, and so he went to Vaiśālī with his goods, cattle and attendants.

Vaiśālī was at that time divided into three quarters, having respectively 7,000, 14,000 and 21,000 turrets (*kūḷāgāra*) with gold, silver and copper pinnacles (*niryūha*). They were inhabited respectively by the high, middle and low classes. The Vaiśālī *gana* (republic) set up a convention that a girl born in any of these quarters should be married to a boy born in the same or in a higher quarter, but never to one born in a lower quarter. The best girl (*śrīratna*) in Vaiśālī should not be married to any one but would be an object of enjoyment by the *gana* as a whole (*ganasāmānyam paribhojyameva*).

to it. If you do not agree we shall select another." Śiṃha, considering it to be highly undesirable that the post should go out of the family, accepted the offer and was anointed Commander-in-Chief with great pomp and ceremony.

The official despatches of Vaiśālī hitherto commenced with the phrase : "Thus commands the *gaṇa* with Khaṇḍa as their head (*Khaṇḍa-pramukha gaṇa*)." When Śiṃha became the Commander-in-Chief his name was substituted for that of Khaṇḍa in the above phrase. In course of time a letter with this phrase was sent to the village where Gopa was residing. Having learnt from it that his brother had succeeded his deceased father in the post of Commander, Gopa grew angry, went to Vaiśālī, and asked Śiṃha whether it was fair on his part to supersede the claims of his elder brother. Śiṃha having narrated in detail all the circumstances, Gopa grew angry with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and proceeded to Rājagṛha. There he was appointed chief minister (*agrāmātya*) by king Bimbisāra.

In course of time the chief queen of Bimbisāra died and Gopa wrote to his brother proposing the marriage of the latter's second daughter Upacelā with the King. Śiṃha wrote back accepting the proposal. But he reminded his brother that it was the convention of the *gaṇa* of Vaiśālī that the daughters of the city should be married only to its own citizens. He, therefore, proposed that Gopa should come to the garden and he would send Upacelā there to be taken away secretly by his brother.

When Gopa arrived at Vaiśālī Śiṃha asked Upacelā quickly to dress herself and put on her ornaments. But the elder daughter Celā, coming to know of this, also dressed herself. In the meantime the presence of a foreign enemy in Vaiśālī became known by the sound of the Yakṣa's bell<sup>1</sup> and caused great uproar. In the hurry and confusion Śiṃha mistook Celā for Upacelā and took her to Gopa, who at once placed her in the chariot and proceeded towards Rājagṛha. Some people of Vaiśālī followed them, but were repulsed by Gopa.

Arrived at Rājagṛha Gopa discovered his mistake and went sorrowfully to the King. He told the King about the astrologer's prediction that the son of Celā would kill his father. The King was, however, fascinated by the beauty of the youthful Celā, and said : "The son kills the father on account of the throne. If I get a son from her I shall anoint him (*paṣṭavandhan kariṣyāmi*) as soon as he is born." So he married Celā with great ceremony, named her Vaidehī as she was brought from Videha country (*viśaya*), and a son was born to them.

1. It is related that a gate-keeper of Vaiśālī, having died, became a Yakṣa. He directed the citizens of Vaiśālī to build a house for him (*yakṣasthāna*) and to place a bell there, so that he might strike it whenever any enemy of Vaiśālī entered the city.

About this time Mahānāma a rich citizen of Vaiśālī had a daughter named Āmrāpālī (*her supernatural birth from a plantain grove is described in details*) When she grew of marriageable age princes, sons of minister, *sreṣṭhis sārthatāhas* and other rich suitors from Krauñca Śākya and other countries came to ask for her hand Mahānāma afraid of incurring the displeasure of these, brought the matter to the notice of the *gana*. A session of the assembly was held to discuss the matter. When the daughter was seen by the members they decided that she was a *stri ratna* (jewel of a woman), and so according to the convention already laid down, she was not to be married to anybody but was to be enjoyed by the *gana*. Āmrāpālī thereupon asked for five privileges *i.e.* (1) She would be given residence in the quarter inhabited by the high class, (2) No one will enter her house so long as another was there, (3) Any one who enters must give a fee of five hundred *kārṣāpanas*, (4) In times of general house search her house would be inspected on the seventh day, (4) Exit from and entrance to, her house should not be observed or discussed. The *gana* argued thus (1) Being the jewel of a woman she deserves residence in the best quarter, (2) It is meet and proper that only one should visit her at a time as otherwise there may be quarrel between the citizens, (3) The fee of 500 *kārṣāpanas* is also reasonable for she is in need of dress and ornaments, (4) As regards the search on the seventh day it does not matter whether it is conducted earlier or later, (5) She is a public woman, no one will visit her if he is observed at the time of entrance or exit. So the *gana* granted her all the five privileges she had asked for.

Āmrāpālī invited painters from various countries and asked them to paint on her walls the figures of kings, traders, merchants etc. seen by them. When this was done she asked for their names and was told that 'this is King Pradyota, 'this is Kosala King Prasenajit', 'this is Vatsa King Udayana' this is Śrenya Bimbisāra King of Magadha' etc. She became enamoured of Bimbisāra.

One day King Bimbisāra engaged in conversation on good topics with his ministers (*satkathayā tīrthahatī*) asked them what sort of courtesan each of them had seen. Gopa said that the courtesan Āmrāpālī in Vaiśālī was exceedingly charming and accomplished in all the sixty four arts and is fit to be enjoyed by the king. The king replied "If so I shall go to Vaiśālī and visit her." Gopa told him that the Licchavis of Varsālī were hostile and may do him harm. But the king said that a man must have the courage of a man and went with Gopa in a chariot to Vaiśālī. Leaving Gopa with the chariot in the garden Bimbisāra entered the house of Āmrāpālī. Immediately the yakṣas bell was sounded and loud shouts came from the angry citizens of Vaiśālī. Bimbisāra having asked Āmrāpālī was told that they were searching the houses to find him out. 'Shall I then fly?' asked the king. 'Don't be dejected,' replied the courtesan 'my house won't be searched till the

to it. If you do not agree we shall select another. Śmha considering it to be highly undesirable that the post should go out of the family accepted the offer and was anointed Commander-in-Chief with great pomp and ceremony.

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Rājagṛha, to both of whom frequent references are made mention is made of the kings Pradyota and Udayana kingdoms of Videha Vārāṇasī and Campā, and the tribal states of Śākya and Krauñca. Thus it presents the political condition such as we find in other Buddhist canonical texts. It evidently refers to the period before Anga and Kāśī were conquered respectively by Bimbisāra and Prasenajit. The mention of Videha as a kingdom is important. Rhys Davids includes Videha among the tribal republics<sup>6</sup> and translates the epithet Vedehiṣputta applied to Ajatasatru as the son of the queen of the Videha clan<sup>7</sup>. Both these views are opposed to the testimony of the present text. For, apart from the mention of Videha as a kingdom it is clearly said that Ajātaśatru's mother was not a queen of Videha but the daughter of a citizen of Vaisālī and she was called Vaidehī as she was brought from Videha country.

The story of Ajatasatru's treatment by Jivaka brings out the fact that the king had a son named Udāyibhadra. This is in conformity with the Ceylonese tradition and opposed to the Purāṇic statement that Ajatasatru was succeeded by Darsaka and the latter by Udāyin. It is thus evident that the Ceylonese Chronicles were based upon a common Buddhist tradition and this considerably weakens the argument of V. A. Smith with reference to the Purāṇic account of Darsaka that "traditions preserved in Magadha should be more trustworthy than those recorded at a later date by monks in distant Ceylon"<sup>8</sup>.

The king of Videha is said to have five hundred *amātyas* with Khaṇḍa as the chief or *agrāmātya*. This post of *agrāmātya* is also mentioned in connection with the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala though there is no mention of five hundred *amātyas* in either case. Whether the body of five hundred *amātyas* denotes a sort of deliberative assembly cannot be determined. But although its exact nature cannot be defined it seems to be an interesting feature of the government.

6 *Cambridge History of India* Vol I p 175

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8 *Early History of India* 3rd Ed p 47

democratic spirit which animated the citizens of Vaiśālī. Every important matter was discussed<sup>4</sup> in the assembly and 'what was desired by ten was opposed by twenty'. That the executive authorities were controlled by the assembly even in minute details appears from the change in the tone of official despatches brought about by Khaṇḍa's taking part in the deliberations of the assembly and his application to it for the grant of a garden.

It would appear that Senapati was the head of the state. Śmha was elected to this post by the assembly and we must presume the same procedure in the case of Khaṇḍa though the election by the assembly is not specifically referred to.

This democratic constitution however did not mean social equality. The division of the capital-city of Vaiśālī into three residential quarters based on wealth and the restriction of marriage between equals in each quarter prove clearly the existence of class distinctions of a fairly rigid character. But that even a foreigner like Khaṇḍa and the courtesan Āmrāpalī were assigned residences in the highest quarter shows the flexibility of the social rules.

The convention actually put into practice by the *gana* in the case of Āmrāpalī that the most accomplished woman (or women) in the city of Vaiśālī should not be married but remain an object of enjoyment by the public, throws an altogether new light on the social and moral ideas of the age. It is interesting to note that in the Pālī Vinaya texts a pointed reference is made to the courtesan Āmrāpalī as having added lustre and distinction to the city of Vaiśālī<sup>5</sup>. What is more in order that Rājagṛha might not lag behind Vaiśālī a similar courtesan is installed there with the consent of King Bimbisāra.

The personal character of this king is fully in keeping with this spirit. He gravely discusses with his ministers the type of courtesans each had seen and insists upon visiting Āmrāpalī. He had also no scruple in having a love affair with the wife of one of his own subjects whom he manages to keep at a safe distance by the exercise of his own royal authority. It is also worthy of note that the issues of both these illegitimate connections are reared in the palace and receive high distinctions in life.

### § 3 GENERAL POLITICAL SETTING

The general political history of N E India envisaged in the text is also not without interest. In addition to Prasenajit king of Kosala with his capital at Śrāvastī and Bimbisāra king of Magadha with his capital at

<sup>4</sup> That discussion formed an important feature in the working of the assembly is proved by the request to Khaṇḍa to express his opinion. Even the question of marrying his daughter was placed by Mahanama before the assembly.

<sup>5</sup> Through that person Vesālī became more and more flourishing (Maha vagga VII 1 1).

Jivaka returned after having acquired great efficiency in all kinds of medical treatment<sup>3</sup> and was twice consecrated as *Vaidyārāja* by the king

When Ajātaśatru, prejudiced by Devadatta and Kalyānamitra, killed his father, the virtuous king (*dhārmika dharma-rāja*) Bimbisāra, he was attacked with the disease called *gulma*. The royal physicians, when asked to attend the king, said in one voice: "your brother Jivaka is unrivalled in his knowledge of medicine. When he is present how can we undertake the treatment?" So Jivaka was sent for. He thought thus: "A *gulma* is burst open by either excessive delight or excessive anger. He is a sinner, and cannot feel much delight in any case. So his anger must be provoked." He then told the king that he would undertake his treatment if he (the king) would eat the flesh of his son prince Udāyibhadra. The king at first got very angry and refused, but had ultimately to consent to the proposal. Jivaka concealed Udāyibhadra and offered a dish of meat to the king saying that it was the flesh of the prince. When the king was about to take it, Jivaka struck him on the forehead saying: "Thou hast killed the father and are now eating the flesh of thy son, O sinner." The king got excessively angry and his *gulma* was burst open. Then Jivaka brought out Udāyibhadra and told the king the artifice he had to adopt for curing him. The king was pleased and consecrated Jivaka as *Vaidyārāja* for the third time amid great ceremony.

As Jivaka got exceedingly proud, the Buddha humiliated him by showing his greater knowledge of medicinal plants. Jivaka thereupon became a devoted disciple of the Buddha.

## § 2 THE LICCHAVIS

It will be observed, on a comparison with the corresponding section of the Pāli Vinaya texts, that practically the whole of the story, as given above, is new. The scene in the Pāli Vinaya is also laid in the court of Bimbisāra, and the names of Abhaya and Jivaka also occur there. But the story concerning the birth of the former is lacking and a different account is given of the parentage of the latter. So far, therefore, as the narrative portion is concerned there is very little in common between the two versions of the Vinaya texts. It will appear from the above summary that the Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādin contain important and interesting information regarding the history and social life of the Licchavis and Varsālī. In the first place we get a vivid contrast between the republican and the monarchical forms of government, the former being called *gaṇādhina*, and the latter *ekādhina*. The context in which Khandā makes the contrast leaves no doubt about the true

3 This is treated in great detail and various diseases and their remedies are incidentally discussed. The twenty two pages devoted to it (pp 27-48) throw very interesting light on the medical science of those days and deserve full treatment by one conversant in the old Ayurvedic system.



seventh day and so you may stay on till then. On the seventh day the king left Amrapali's house giving her a thin piece of cloth and a signet ring and saying if a girl is born to you keep her with you but if a son is born cover him with this cloth tie the ring on his neck and send him to me. Bimbisara was pursued by the people but as on the previous occasion of taking out Cela Gopa fought and defeated them. The citizens of Vaisali resolved as on the previous occasion that they would retaliate on the sons of Bimbisara.

Amrapali gave birth to a son and sent him to Rajagṛha along with some merchants who were allured by the prospect of taking their goods duty free by having stamped them with the signet ring. The child as directed by the mother went straight to the king seated in court (*arīhadhikarāṇa*) and sat on his lap. On account of his fearlessness he was named Abhaya.

King Bimbisara was not above adultery. Once while going on an elephant in the streets of Rajagṛha by the house of a *sreṣṭhin* who had gone abroad with merchandise the latter's wife became enamoured of him and threw a garland from the window towards the king. The king looked up and invited her to come. She said My Lord I feel shy you had better come in. So the king visited her and she conceived. About this time her husband sent news that he would reach home in a few days. The king sent a messenger to him asking him to bring some jewels from far off countries. Having thus contrived to keep off the *Sreṣṭhin* for a sufficiently long time the king had the satisfaction of welcoming the son born of her. He was named Jīvaka and Kumārābhṛtya.

Abhaya and Jīvaka when grown up reflected thus. Ajatasatru as predicted will ascend the throne. So we should learn some arts in order to earn our livelihood. One day a chariot maker (*rathakara*) clad in white and attended by persons in white clothes entered the palace. Having learnt that he would get a fee (*vr̥tti*) Abhaya also wanted to follow this profession and placed his desire before the king. The king having demurred Abhaya told him that all the arts (*sarva śilpāni*) were worthy of being learnt by a prince. Thereupon the king permitted him to become a chariot maker. Similarly Jīvaka seeing a physician asked the royal attendants about him and was told that he used to tend upon the sick. If they recovered he was paid a fee but if they died nobody cared for him.<sup>2</sup> He accordingly asked for and obtained permission of king Bimbisara to learn the medical arts. Having mastered medicine he wanted to learn the *kapālimocanā vidyā* from a renowned physician named Ātreya of Takṣaśīla. Bimbisara sent him to Takṣaśīla with a letter to king Puṣkarasarin.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the passage which runs thus *śady = aturo jatyabhisaram labhate | Atha preto na marjya na pṛecjya*

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It would appear that Senapati was the head of the state. Smiha was elected to this post by the assembly and we must presume the same procedure in the case of Khandā though the election by the assembly is not specifically referred to.

This democratic constitution however did not mean social equality. The division of the capital-city of Vaisali into three residential quarters based on wealth and the restriction of marriage between equals in each quarter prove clearly the existence of class distinctions of a fairly rigid character. But that even a foreigner like Khandā and the courtesan Amrapali were assigned residences in the highest quarter shows the flexibility of the social rules.

The convention actually put into practice by the *gana* in the case of Amrapali that the most accomplished woman (or women) in the city of Vaisali should not be married but remain an object of enjoyment by the public, throws an altogether new light on the social and moral ideas of the age. It is interesting to note that in the Pali Vinaya texts a pointed reference is made to the courtesan Amrapāli as having added lustre and distinction to the city of Vaisālī.<sup>5</sup> What is more in order that Rajagṛha might not lag behind Vaisālī a similar courtesan is installed there with the consent of king Bimbisara.

The personal character of this king is fully in keeping with this spirit. He gravely discusses with his ministers the type of courtesans each had seen and insists upon visiting Amrapali. He had also no scruple in having a love-affair with the wife of one of his own subjects whom he manages to keep at a safe distance by the exercise of his own royal authority. It is also worthy of note that the issues of both these illegitimate connections are reared in the palace and receive high distinctions in life.

### §3 GENERAL POLITICAL SETTING

The general political history of N E India envisaged in the text is also not without interest. In addition to Prasenajit king of Kosala with his capital at Śrāvastī and Bimbisara king of Magadha with his capital at

<sup>4</sup> That discussion formed an important feature in the working of the assembly is proved by the request to Khandā to express his opinion. Even the question of marrying his daughter was placed by Mahanama before the assembly.

<sup>5</sup> Through that person Vesālī became more and more flourishing (Maha vagga VII 1 1)

in contact with India from remote antiquity. It is therefore, no fault of the Western writers if they ignore the ancient Hindu knowledge of our sciences as reflected in the literary and other sources now available for study. In view of the unsatisfactory character of the history of Indian plant sciences as pointed out by Dr. Sahni I have thought it advisable to note down and record as many facts about the history of different Indian plants as I can gather during the course of my other studies pertaining to the history of Indian Culture in all its manifold aspects. As one such effort in the field of this history I shall deal with the antiquity of *Holcus Sorghum* (*Jawar* or *Jondhla*) which is supposed to be the earliest of the wild plants to be domesticated according to SWANSON and LAUDE<sup>4</sup> who record the following points regarding its antiquity —

- (i) *Holcus Sorghum* is indigenous of Equatorial Africa and Asia
- (ii) Evidence of its existence about 2200 B.C. is furnished by one of the Egyptian tombs of this date
- (iii) In the *Bible* (Book of Ezekiel) the word *dochan* occurs. It is translated by the word *millet* but it is possible that it signifies the *Sorghum*
- (iv) The cultivation of *Sorghum* in Asia particularly in India is very old
- (v) *Sorghum* was grown as early as 3rd Century A.D. in China where it was probably introduced

Watt in his *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*<sup>5</sup> devotes some space to the history of *Sorghum*. I note below some points from his remarks —

- (1) Some of the cultivated *Sorghums* had been developed in India
- (2) Sir Water Elliot pointed out that the most general Sanskrit name for the crop *yavana* denotes in other connections a Greek, Muhammadan or stranger while its Persian name *juar* : *hindi* shows that it reached Persia at least from India
- (3) De Candolle lays a certain amount of stress on the absence of a Sanskrit name as rendering the Indian origin doubtful
- (4) Some writers have given *Zurna* or *Zura* as the Sanskrit for this grain but if that be the case, neither *Dhura* or *Zura* has given origin to any of the Indian names. *Zura* or *Zurna* is moreover clearly derived from the Arabic *Dhura*. The Arabic word has on the

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Bulletin No. 266* (1934) by A. F. SWANSON and LAUDE— *Varieties of Sorghum in Kansas* (Kansas State College of Agriculture and Allied Science U.S.A.). This *Bulletin* was not accessible to me but the pertinent information was supplied to me by my brother Mr. R. B. Gode M.Sc. Assistant Investigator Govt. Dry Farming Scheme (1933 to 1943) and now Bio-Chemist to Govt. for the Bombay Province

<sup>5</sup> Vide pp. 291-292 of Vol. VI Part III London and Calcutta, 1893

# STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PLANTS — ANTIQUITY OF JAWĀR OF JONDHLĀ (HOLCUS SORGHUM) (FROM B C 2200 TO A D 1850)

By

Mr P K GODE M A

In July 1941 I published a short paper<sup>1</sup> on the *History of the Fig* (*Ficus Carica*) recording its history from c B.C. 1000 to A D 1800. My main object in preparing this paper was to record the history of this plant from foreign and Indian sources and to point out how it was gradually assimilated by the Indian *Materia Medica* like many other plants of foreign origin. This paper of mine has received better appreciation<sup>2</sup> from Sanskrit scholars, botanists and medical men than I expected. Dr Birbal Sahni F.R.S. Dean of the Faculty of Science, Lucknow University directed my attention to a recent book on the *History of Plant Sciences*<sup>3</sup> by Howard S. Reed which has two chapters on the history of the plant lore of the ancients where Egypt and Assyria, Greece and Rome, China and early America are all adequately treated but one looks in vain for a bare mention of ancient India which was certainly well abreast of the times and gave much that the West has assimilated though not always gracefully acknowledged. Dr Sahni rightly observes that the Retrogressive Period (Chap. IV of Reed's book) was retrogressive only so far as the occidental nations were concerned.

The study of Indian culture in all its aspects of which the history of Indian plants is but one aspect has not yet been properly carried out in spite of the wealth of material in Jain, Brahmanical, Buddhist and foreign sources.

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1 Vide pp 125-136 of *New Indian Antiquary* Vol IV (1941-42)

2 Dr P M Mehta M.D. M.S. Chief Medical Officer, Jamnagar State, who is deeply interested in Indian Botany and Ayurvedic System of Medicine suggested that I should take up a systematic study of other plants of medical and nutritive value. His constant correspondence with me during the last 3 years has been responsible for maintaining my interest in the history of Indian Medicine. I am thankful to him for supplying me extracts from works on medicine and botany not easily accessible to me in local libraries.

3 Vide p 369 of *Current Science* 1942 XI No 9 where Dr Sahni's interesting review of Reed's book appears. A copy of this review was kindly sent to me by Dr Sahni who wrote to me on 12th January 1943 — I have read with much interest your Notes on the *History of the Fig* (*Ficus Carica*). I think you would be doing a great service to Indian Botany if similarly you were to work out the history of our knowledge of other common Indian plants of medicinal or nutritive value. Our own ignorance concerning this subject is colossal and we can scarcely blame the western writers if they ignore the ancient Hindu knowledge of the plant sciences.

in contact with India from remote antiquity. It is therefore, no fault of the Western writers if they ignore the ancient Hindu knowledge of our sciences as reflected in the literary and other sources now available for study. In view of the unsatisfactory character of the history of Indian plant sciences as pointed out by Dr Sahni I have thought it advisable to note down and record as many facts about the history of different Indian plants as I can gather during the course of my other studies pertaining to the history of Indian Culture in all its manifold aspects. As one such effort in the field of this history I shall deal with the antiquity of *Holcus Sorghum* (*Jawar* or *Jondhā*) which is supposed to be the earliest of the wild plants to be domesticated according to SWANSON and LAUDE<sup>4</sup> who record the following points regarding its antiquity —

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5. Vide pp 291-292 of Vol. VI Part III London and Calcutta 1893

other hand passed into the Egyptian and perhaps also the Hebrew so that it seems almost justifiable to say that the aboriginal people of India knew of and perhaps cultivated their indigenous *Sorghum* long anterior to the Aryan invasion. Indeed it may be assumed that the Sanskrit people first learned of this grain in India but gave themselves very little concern regarding it. But indeed the absence of any allusion to it in the classic literature of the Sanskrit people can hardly be advanced as proof positive that it was unknown to them. The religious associations of the grain the observances of cultivation and the multiplicity of forms of the crop all point to an antiquity quite as great as can be shown for most other articles of the humbler phases of life. The absence of any historic indications of an ancient importation and the presence in India of an abundant wild species that affords a large conspicuous edible grain seem when taken in conjunction with the arguments already advanced *conclusive evidence in support of the opinion that many of the forms of this millet are beyond doubt natives of India*

- (5) SMITH (*History of Bible Plants* p 214) has endeavoured to show that the stalks of this millet were very probably the reed of *St Mathew* and that the spikelets on its top were very likely the hyssop of *St John* mentioned at the crucifixion. The hyssop (*Esob* of the Hebrews) of *Moses* was a word used to denote any common article in the form of a broom or a material suitable for that purpose. If this view be accepted the cultivation of *Sorghum* in Palestine may be regarded as very ancient.<sup>6</sup>

The foregoing scholarly collection of facts and views bearing on the history of the *Sorghum* though illuminating is not conclusive so far as the antiquity of *Sorghum* in India is concerned. It is the purpose of this paper to record some useful data bearing on this antiquity so that the whole problem should be clarified by the application of the chronological method of recording textual evidence adopted by me in my present study of the problem. In recording my evidence I shall follow the method of proceeding from the present to the past so that readers may know how far I have penetrated the mist of

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6 *Ibid* p 295 These remarks read in conjunction with the existence of *Sorghum* in an Egyptian tomb of 2200 B.C. may tend to confirm the belief that the *Sorghum* has very great antiquity say of more than 5000 years and if the theory of its importation to India from Africa is accepted we have to suppose that this importation took place in remote antiquity prior to the Christian Era. The evidence recorded in this paper shows its existence on Indian soil for the last 2000 years. It is for the students of the pre-historic Culture of India to investigate the exact period of the suggested importation. In the meanwhile we may accept Watt's conclusion that the *Sorghum* and its varieties are natives of India.

antiquity gathered round this important grain the *Sorghum* the sustainer of life in different parts of India even in its worst quality now rationed out to millions of my countrymen consequent upon the exigencies of the present world war

JOHN GRAHAM published in 1839 his book on *Plants growing in Bombay and its vicinity* in which he refers to *Jowaree* and *Bajree* as follows —

Page 237—*Holcus* (From *Helko* to draw in allusion to the supposed emollient properties of a grass to which this name was given

Page 238—*Holcus Shicatus*—*Bajree*—extensively cultivated and forms a very important article of food along *Jondhā*

*Holcus Sorghum*—JOWAREE—Jondia the great millet a well known cerealia The straw called *Kurbee* is reckoned very nourishing for cattle and is a substitute for forage for horses when grass is not obtainable

EDWARD MOOR one of the founders of the Royal Asiatic Society London served with the Maratha army against Tipoo Sultan in A.D. 1790-91 In his *Narrative of the Operations* etc published in London in 1794 he refers to *Jawary* as follows —

Page 278—In Chapter XXI Moor gives historical and descriptive particulars of Canara and the Canarese In this connection he states —

We learned that in times of plenty the ordinary price<sup>7</sup> of provisions was in this proportion a bullock load of *jowary* for a rupee or four sheep or twenty fowls sheep we have frequently picked at half a rupee each A bullock load is eighty pukka seer which at a liberal allowance will serve a family of six persons a month On page 505 Moor explains *Jawary* as A grain called in America and the West Indies *Guinea Corn*

YULE and BURNELL record usages of the *Jowaur Jowaree* in their monumental work *Hobson Jobson*<sup>8</sup> These usages are taken from sources dated

7 *Jawar* is selling at 4 seers a rupee in Poona at present (August 1943, About A.D. 1790 when the Peshwa was still ruling at Poona its cost in the Deccan is indicated by Moor's statement a bullock load of *jowary* for a rupee He further explains a bullock load as equal to 80 pukka seers It is clear therefore that the cost of *jowary* has increased 20 times Students of Indian Economics should ponder over this contrast

8. Vide p. 465 of *Hobson Jobson* (London 1903)—*Jowaur Jowaree* S Hind *jauar juar* [Skt. *yavaprakara* or *akara* of the nature of barley] *Sorghum Vulgare* Pers. (*Holcus Sorghum* L.) one of the best and most frequently grown of the tall millets of southern countries. It is grown nearly all over India in the unflooded tracts it is sown about July and reaped in November The reedy stems are 8 to 10 feet high It is the *cholam* of the Tamil regions. The stalks are *kirbee* The Ar *dura* or *dhura* is perhaps the same word ultimately as *jauar* for the old semitic name is *dokn* from the smoky aspect of the grain It is an odd instance of the looseness which used to pervade dictionaries and glossaries that R. Drummond (*Illus of the Gram Parts of Guzeratee* etc. Bombay 1808) calls JOUAR, a kind of pulse the food of the common people



c 1590, 1760, 1800, 1813, 1819 and 1826 The earliest of these usages is from *Am i Akbari* by Abul Fazl (trans by Blochman and Jarret) and reads as "*Jowān*" as will be seen from the following extract —

"C 1590—In Khandesh "*Jowān* is chiefly cultivated, in some places there are three crops in a year, and its stock is so delicate and pleasant to the taste that it is regarded in the light of a fruit (*Am ed Jarrett* ii 223) "

Other usages are—1760 (*Jouari*), 1800 (*jauarry*), 1813 (*juarrec*), 1819 (*jouaree*), 1826 (*Joanee*)

MARSDEN in his book on *Sumatra* (London 1784) refers to a kind of *padde* as '*paddee Jerroo*' as follows —" In the Lampoon country they make a distinction of *padde crawang* and *paddee jerroo*, the former of which is a month earlier than the latter "

I cannot say if word "*jerroo*" mentioned by Marsden has any connection with the word *Jauar* or *Jwar*

RAGHUNĀTHA GANEŚA NAVAHASTA<sup>9</sup> (c A.D. 1640 1712) a friend of Saint Rāmdas of Mahārāṣṭra composed a work on dietetics called the *Bhojana-kutūhala* (MS No 594 of 1899 1915 dated A.C. 1803 in the Govt MSS Library at the B O R Institute Poona) In the 1st Paricceda of this work represented by the above MS I find the varieties of *Yāt-anāla*<sup>10</sup> mentioned as follows —

Folio 5—" अथ यावनाल गुणा — ॥ नि ॥

धवलो यावनालस्तु गौल्यो बल्यस्त्रिदोषजित् ।

वृष्यो रुचिप्रदोऽशोऽन्नः पथ्यो गुल्मव्रणापहः ॥

तुवरो यावनालस्तु कपायोलो विशेषकृत् ।

समाही वातशमनो विदाही शोषकारक । ॥ रक्तस्य ॥

9 Vide my papers on this author in the *Journal of the Bombay University* Vol X pp 132 140 *Annals* (BOR. Institute) Vol XXII 254 263 and *Journal of S M Library Tanjore* Vol III pp 1 12

10 A Hindi Court poet of Sevasi Jaising of Amber (A.D. 1699 1743) has composed a Cookery book भोजनसार (MS No 1515 of 1891 95 in the Govt MSS Library at B O R. Institute Poona) The name of this poet is गिरधारी and he composed this work in A.D. 1739 In the following extract he describes the preparations of जवारि and बाजरा as Current in the royal kitchen —

" अथ जवारि मुररी चौपड़े

हरीमरी मुररी जुन गायति नके अर्कसुपाल ल्गाय ।

सेकौ अमि भाकरी होय उष्ण उष्ण चाबत हरिसोय ।

इति जवारि चबैना चौपड़े

अथ बाजरे कौ चबैना

सिरा हरेभरे लेआवै तिनकौ सेक अमि यह दाव

उष्ण उष्ण चाबत हरिराय गिरधारी ताके बलि जाय ॥ ५३८ ॥ "

शारदो याचनालस्तु श्लेष्मल पित्तलो गुह ।  
 शिशिरो मधुरो वृष्यो दोषघ्नो बलिपुष्टिद ॥ ॥ शाक ॥  
 याचनालो महान्वत्यो दुजरो वातपित्तकृत् ।  
 रुच्य सतपणो बालप्रिया मक्का समुद्रवा ॥ मक्का ॥ ”

Folio 71—“ याचनाल गुह ” is mentioned in the following extract —

“ त्याचाचनालरसपाकभवो गुडोऽय ।  
 क्षार कपायमधुर कफवातहारि ॥  
 पित्तप्रद सततमेव निषेव्यमाण ।  
 केश्तिकुञ्जननो खविदाहदाई ॥ ”

It will be seen from the evidence to be recorded subsequently that *Yatā* is a Synonym for *Jawar* or *Jondhlā*

SADHU SUNDARAGANI a Jain lexicographer who composed his *Dhaturatnakara* in Samvat 1680 = A.D. 1624 refers to *Yavanala* or *Jonnala* as follows in his lexicon called the *Śabdaratnakara* <sup>1</sup> —

(4th Kanda verse 257)—

“ जोन्नाला यचनालध, जूर्णा, जूर्णि शणः सपः ॥ २५७ ॥ ”

In a Marathi document of A.D. 1541 published by the historian Rajawade we find *Jondhlā* mentioned as जोझळ (*Jojhala*) several times I reproduce one entry from this document as follows —

“ जोझळ	गहू	हुरी
२॥१४॥	॥३॥	॥३॥ ”

NARAHARI in his medical glossary called the *Rajamughanfu* composed in Kashmir c. A.D. 1450 refers to *Yavanala* and its properties as follows —

Page 360—( १७ ) याचनाल ।

याचनालोऽय नदिजो दृढत्वग्वारिभभव ।  
 याचनालनिभयैव खरपत्र पडाह्वय ॥ ३८ ॥

गुणा — याचनालशरमूलमीषन्मधुररुच्यकम् ।  
 शीत पित्तनृषापघ्न पशुनामर्षलेप्रदम् ॥ ३९ ॥ ”

Sugar produced from *Yavanala* is called *Yavanālī Śarkarā* and is mentioned by Narahari as follows —

Page 91— “ याचनाली ( शर्कराविशेष )

याचनाली हिमोत्पन्ना हिमानी हिमशकरा ।  
 ध्रुवशर्करिका ध्रुवा गुहजा जलविन्दुजा ॥ १६३ ॥ ”

11 Ed by Hargovinddas and Becharadas, Benares (Veera Era 2439)

12. Vide *Sources of Maratha History* (Khandā 17 Document No 62)

13 Ed. Anandashram Sanskrit Series Poona, 1896

King Madanapāla of the Kāṣṭhā race, ruling on the banks of the Jumna composed his medical glossary called the *Madananghanṭī*<sup>14</sup> in A.D. 1374. In this work he refers to *Yavanāla* and its Synonyms as follows —

Page 123— धान्यादिवर्ग

“यवनालो देवधान्य जूर्णाहो जूनलो नलः ॥ ८२ ॥

यवनालः स्वादुशीतो वातलः कफपित्तजित् ॥ ८३ ॥

We have now seen that Sadhu Sundaragaṇi (A.D. 1624) uses the words जूर्ण, जूर्णः for यवनाल and that Madanapāla (A.D. 1374) uses the word जूर्णाहो for यवनाल. Hemādri, the famous minister of the Yādavas of Devagiri (A.D. 1260) composed a commentary called the *Ajurvedarasāṇa*<sup>15</sup> on the voluminous medical compendium of Vāgbhaṭa II (c. 8th or 9th cent. A.D. according to Hoernle) called the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, in which we find the word जूर्ण mentioned —

Sūtrasthāna, Chap. 14, verse 21—

“कुल्यजूर्णदयामाक्यवमुद्रमधूदम् ॥ २१ ॥

Hemādri (A.D. 1260) explains in his commentary the word जूर्ण (*Jūrṇa*) used by Vāgbhaṭa II as follows —

“जूर्णो—यवनालः”

This explanation shows that about 700 years ago the word यवनाल, which is given as an equivalent of जोनाल by Sādhu Sundaragaṇi (A.D. 1624), meant जूर्ण a term for *Jawār*, which seems to have great antiquity.

In A.D. 1220 Arunadatta, the Bengali commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* explains the जूर्ण of Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th cent. A.D.) as follows in his commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarā* —

“जूर्णः तृणधान्यविशेष. दक्षिणापथे जोन्धलक इति प्रसिद्धः”

The variants for जोन्धलक in the above line recorded by Vaidya Paradkar are — “जोहलक, जोनालक, and जोर्णलक.” It is clear, therefore that in the 13th century the old word जूर्ण for *Jawār* or *Jondhlā* was known in the दक्षिणापथ or the Deccan as जोन्धलक and its variants recorded above. The testimony of a Bengali commentator of A.D. 1220, which equates जूर्ण with जोन्धलक is further confirmed by the Mahānubhāva literature of c. 1250 A.D. In fact CAKRADHARA the founder of the Mahānubhāva Sect was very fond of जोन्धलक and its preparations. In a work (in Marathi) called the *लीलाचरित्र* composed by Mahāndrabhaṭṭa, the pupil of Cakradhara

14 Ed. (1902, Calcutta) by Ashubodh.

15 Vide Edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* by Hari Shastri Paradkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938 with my English Introduction on Vāgbhaṭa II and his Commentators.

there are many references to जोंधळ or Jawār<sup>16</sup> I note below a few of these references from the published edition<sup>17</sup> of *Līlācaritra* :—

Part I, p 18—“ हुरडा सोले ”

Part III, p 76—“ ना जी गावीं एकचि पेच काढीलें :

सारखेचि जोन्हळे: अवघा घरि सारखाचि भातु: ”

Part IV—p 48—“ निच ( नित्य ) बैसा गोसावीयांसि पाणिभातुचि आरोगणा:

कांही अनारिसें नाहीं: म्हणोनि जोंधळे आपजवीलें ”

.. —p 49—“ उडीदां जोन्हळेयाची तीयें ढोडरी ”

.. —p 51—“ तियचिय मात्रे ( सामानात ) गहुं: चणे: जोंधळे: ऐसे होते: तेयाचा भक्तजनाचा ठाई उपाहारु केला ”

.. —p 61—“ पुढां कणीसे बोटगवीली.....जोंधळेयाचे कण दोनि पाडिले: ते गोसावी प्रसादु केला.....उपाधिया करवी हुरडा भाजविला ”

.. —p 62—“ बाईसी हुरडा पाखडिला: वाटा घातला: आणि: साकर घातली: गोसावीयांसि बोटगवीला: गोसावी प्रसादु केला: गोसावी अवघेयां भक्तजनां दीधलां: मग गोसावी हुरडा आरोगीला: ”

It is clear from the above extracts that in the Deccan of the 13th century the terms जोन्हळे or जोंधळे (*Holcus Sorghum*) and its preparations were current. We also note here that the present custom of roasting the grain bunches of *Sorghum* and eating them in the field or at home was also current 700 years ago and these roasted grains were known as हुरडा a term for these grains which has survived even to this day. The pastoral life

16 My friend Prof D R Bendre of the Commerce College, Poona, has brought to my notice the following references to जोंधळ in a *Canarese work of the 10th Century A.D.*—

C 940 A.D.—*Canto IX, Verse 84* of पम्पभारत (or विक्रमार्जुनविजय published by Karnatak Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore refers to जोळ (Joja).—

(Dialogue between कर्ण and कुंती “Setting aside the good deeds of the Lord (his chief दुर्योधन) and being false to जोळ can one live thereafter?” (Here जोळ = Jawār).

*Canto X, 42* (A soldier proceeding to the battlefield observes).—“How shall I repay जोळ if I don't kill so many horses and elephants ” (Here जोळ = Jawār)

I am thankful to Prof Bendre for these references.

17. लीलचरित्र by H N. Nene, Parts I and II (1936), Part III and IV (1937), Nagpur. Cakradhara was contemporary of King Kanharadeta (A.D. 1247-60) and King Mahādeva (A.D. 1266-71) of Devagiri. Hemādri was the minister of kings Mahādeva and Rāmachandra of Devagiri. In another Mahānubhāva work चक्रधरोक्त सुत्रपाठ (by H N Nene, 1936) there are references to जोन्हळे on pp. 18 and 38.

in the Deccan has not changed very much so far as the crop of *Jondhā* and its uses are concerned. The custom of preparing *ढोड़ी* or omelets from the flour of *Jondhā* was also then current though we now prepare them from the flour of gram. This custom is worth renewing even in cities as *Jauār* is now selling at 4 seers a rupee while it was sold at 80 seers a rupee as observed by Edward Moor in A.D. 1790. In the encyclopaedic Sanskrit work called the *Mānasollāsa*<sup>18</sup> composed by King Someśvara or Bhūlokamalla (A.D. 1116-1127)<sup>19</sup> there is a section on *Hunting* (मृगयाविनोद) in which the use of a *jauar* grain bunch (or “जौघळ्याचें कणिस” as we call it to day) is prescribed for feeding the deer as follows :—

P 282— “कणिसं यावनालस्य क्रमशश्चारयेन्मृगान्”

Kesavasvāmī in his lexicon *Nānārthāmatā sanksepa* (A.D. 12th century)<sup>20</sup> mentions यावनाल and जोनाल in the following line —

P 118— “यावनालस्य धान्ये तु जोनाला बी त्रिषुत्वदः ॥ ८११ ॥”

In a Canarese inscription<sup>21</sup> of A.D. 1166 we find a reference to corn merchants and *jawāri* as follows —

P 110—“All these chief merchants not minding any tax granted to glorious God Cennakeśava *jawāri* of one spoon (*Sattuga*) from each shop” (lines 50-53 of the Inscription)

Canarese Scholars will be easily able to record earlier references to *jauar* from literature and other sources (before A.D. 1166) and I earnestly request them to do so.

From the Deccan and Karnāṭaka of the 12th century we now turn to Gujarat in search of the history of *jauār*. We find that Hemacandra, the great Ācārya of the Jainas (A.D. 1089-1173)<sup>21</sup> who lived at Patan in Gujarat composed a lexicon of *Deśi* words called the *Deśinamamālā* in which we find the words “जोणलिआ” and “जोवारी” corresponding to the modern words जौघळ and जवार respectively as will be seen from the following extracts —

Page 151— “जोवारीइ जोणलिआ ॥ ५ ॥

18 Ed in G O Series, Baroda, Vol. II (1939)

19 Vide p 118 of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Krishnamacharya 1937—  
“नानार्थार्णव संक्षेप” composed in the 12th Century”

20 Vide p 110 of *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State* by Prof K G Kundangar, Rajaram College Kolhapur 1939.—Date of Inscription No. 13 in which the reference to *jawāri* occurs is *Saka* 1088 = A.D. 1166 (Tuesday, 5th July).

21 Vide my paper on *Mammaṣa and Hemacandra* (*Journal of Tanjore S M Library* Vol I, No 1, pp 9-13).

“जोणलीआ जोवारी । धान्यम् । जोवारी शब्दोऽपि देस्य एव ॥ यथा-  
चलजोइ भजोइ गणमिखिअ जोणलीअ कारणं कालं ।

कासय बहूउ हरिसा उफ्फुइय जोअणाहुन्ति ॥ ४२ ॥

Hemacandra (in the 12th century) states that the word जोवारी is also a *deśya* word like जोणलीआ. If this statement is correct we have to regard both these words as dialect words current in Hemacandra's time with some antiquity behind them as Hemacandra has based his *Deśināmamālā* on some earlier Deśi lexicons now lost to us<sup>22</sup>

We have already seen that Madanapāla mentions the word जूर्णाह for *Jondhālā*. We shall see later that this word is very old. In fact it is used in the earliest medical text known as *Carakasamhitā Cakrapānidatta* (A.D. 1060) a Bengali commentator explains the term “जूर्णाह” as equivalent to जोनार, a word current in his time in Bengal. I have found two references to “जूर्णाह” in the *Carakasamhitā*,<sup>23</sup> which may be recorded here:—

Page 111—*Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. 21, verse 25—

“प्रशस्तिञ्च प्रियङ्गुश्च श्यामाका यवका यवा ।

जूर्णाहा. कोद्रवामुद्राः कुलत्थाश्च कमुद्रकाः ॥ २५ ॥

Page 149—*sūtrasthāna*, Chap. 27, verse 17—

“शिबिरोत्कट जूर्णाहः श्यामाकसदृशा गुणैः ”

22 Hemacandra composed a Sanskrit lexicon called the *अभिधानचिंतामणि* in which he notes the synonyms of यवनाल (=Jawār) as follows:—

Page 475—(Edition of *अभिधानचिंतामणि*, with a separate index volume)

भूमिकाण्ड (४) का, verse 244—

“यवनालस्तु योनलः ।

जूर्णाहयो देवधान्य जोन्नाल बीजपुष्पिका ॥ २४४ ॥”

Hemacandra writes his own commentary on the above lines as follows:—

“यवस्य इव नालस्य यवनालः ॥ १ ॥

यूयते योनलः “मुरल” (उणा ४७४)

॥ इत्यले निषान्यते ॥ २ ॥

‘जैरेचि जराया’ जूयते जूर्णः “डौयड्यदित्.” ॥ ४ ॥ ४ ॥ ६१ ॥

इति कस्य नवम्, जूर्णं श्याहयो यस्य जूर्णाह्यः ॥ ३ ॥

देवप्रियधान्य देवधान्य जनाद् नालमस्या जोन्नाला वृषोदरादिनाम् ॥ ५ ॥

बीजाक्षरं पुष्पमस्य बीजपुष्पिका ॥

23 Ed. by Nirmayasagar Press, Bombay, 1922—The B O R. Institute Govt. MS No 66 of 1872-73 wrongly called *अभिधानचिंता* is in fact *Cakrapānidatta's* comm. on *चरकसंहिता*—folio 149—जूर्णाहो जोनार इति श्रूयतः.”

Cakrapāṇidatta explains —

“जूर्णाङ्क जोनार इति ख्यातः” — “जोन्नान” is a variant in MS No 66 of 1872 73

In the vernacular names of *Janar* given by Watts in his *Dictionary* (p 290 of Vol VI Part III) we find the following names which come phonetically near to जोनार of A D 1060 — (HINDI)—*Janera* (BENGALI)—*Kasa jonar*, (N W P AND OUDH)—*jurni* (PB)—*jurni*, Watt here records some other usages as follows —

(1) BURMESE—*Pyong*, (2) *Zurna* (=Sanskritized form of the Arabic name *Dhura*), *Yavanala rakta Khurnah* (Sanskrit), (ARABIC)—*Dhūra* (*zūra*), *taam jawars* (=smaller mullet) *dhurat*, (EGYPT)—*Kaydi durra* (CHINESE)—*Kao liang* (=tall mullet)

*Yādavaprakāśa* (c 1050 A D) in his lexicon वैजयन्ती<sup>1</sup> refers to *jawār* or *jonnalā* as follows —

24 *Ibid* p 111—footnote 3 explaining the term जूर्णाङ्क in verse 25 of Chap 21 of *Sutrasthana* records the following explanation of जूर्णाङ्क as given by शिवदास a later commentator of *Caraka* —

“जूर्णाङ्कास्तु धान्यविशेषा दक्षिणापथे योर्णक इति प्रसिद्ध इत्यरुण इति शि” (शिवदास)

We have already seen that Aruna or Arunadatta explains the word जूर्ण जोन्वलक in दक्षिणापथ. The variants of this जोन्वलक are जोङ्गलक, जोनालक, and जोर्णलक. The variant योर्णक mentioned by शिवदास is an addition to these variant<sup>2</sup> of Arunadatta's text.

25 The Prakrit Dictionary called *Pasa Sadda Mahannava* Calcutta 1923 28 (p 448) records the following usages of जुआरि (*juāri*) —  
A.D. 1143—(i) जुआरि [Vide p 546 of सुपासनाहचरित्र ed. by Har Govinddas Benares 1918-19]

C. A.D. 1090—(ii) जुआरि [Vide मुरमुदरीचरित्र (Paricceda I Gatha 7) published by जैनविधिप्रसाहित्यशास्त्रमाला, Benares, 1916]

We have already noted जोवारी and जोणलिआ recorded as Deśi words by Hemacandra. जुआरी and जोवारी are synonymous.

About the dates of the two Jain works referred to above I note here the remarks of Winternitz *Indian Literature* Vol II Calcutta University

Page 576—A voluminous Prakrit poem *Supasaraḥa Carṇyam* by Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin deals with the Story of the Seventh Tirthakara. This work composed in the year 1143 A.D. also contains 68 Apabhramśa verses.

Page 536—*Surasundarī carṇam* by Dhaneśvara the pupil of Jineśvarasuri and Buddhagaṇasuri written towards the end of the 11th century is a voluminous romantic epic in Prakrit.

26 Ed. by Gustav Oppert, 1893

भूमिकाण्ड-वैद्याध्याय—

“—यावनालस्तु योनलः ॥ ५६ ॥

जूर्णाब्धयो देवधान्य जोन्नाला बीजपुष्पिका ॥

Hemacandra's lines in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* quoted by me already are exactly identical with the above lines in the *Vaijayanṭi*. Evidently Hemacandra (A D 1089 1173) has borrowed from *Vaijayanṭi* (c A D 1050) or from some common source.

It is clear, however, from the statements of Hemacandra and Yadava prakāśa that the following terms were used about A D 1000 for modern *Jawar* or *Jondhlā* —

यावनाल or यवनाल, जोनल, जूर्णाब्धय, देवधान्य, जोन्नाला, बीजपुष्पिका, जोणालिआ, जोवारि, जुआरि

It is for linguists to see how far Hemacandra's grammatical explanation of the synonyms of *jawār* such as “यवस्य इव नालमस्य यवनालः” etc are historically correct.

Going backwards from A D 1000 we find that in a *Tamil* work of the 8th century A D the *jawār* is referred to as *Irungu*. The modern word in *Tamil* for *jawār* is *Coḷam*. *Irungu* is mentioned in *Jivakacintāmaṇi* of the 8th century A D.<sup>27</sup>

Vagbhata II (8th or 9th century A D according to Hoernle) refers<sup>28</sup> to both जूर्ण and जूर्णाब्ध as synonyms for *jawār* as follows —

(1) सूत्रस्थान Chap 14, verse 21

“कुल्यजूर्ण श्यामाकयवमुद्रमधूदकम् ॥ २१ ॥”

(2) निदानस्थान Chap 7 verse 46 (This verse is taken from अष्टांगसंग्रह निदानस्थान Chap VIII)

“मुद्रकोद्रव जूर्णाब्धिकरीरचणकादिभि ॥ ४६ ॥”

I have already recorded the explanations of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri regard

<sup>27</sup> In response to my inquiry about *Tamil* references to *jawar* my friend Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar of Madras writes to me under date 16th August 1943 —

‘Mr V R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. whom I had consulted writes as follows —

So far as I know *Colum* is a modern word

It was known in mediaeval literature as *Irungu*. The Sangham classic do not mention it nor the *Silappadikaram* nor the *Kural*. The earliest reference is in *Jivakacintāmaṇi* 8th century A D

I am thankful to my ever obliging friends Rao Bahadur Aiyangar and Prof Dikshitar for the above information.

<sup>28</sup> Vide Parakkhar's edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* already referred to in this paper



ing the meaning of the term जून् used by Vāgbhaṭa II and hence they need not be repeated here.

Vagbhaṭa I (c. A.D. 625 according to Hoernle) refers to *jauar* as “जूणाह” in the following line of अष्टागसप्रह, सूत्रस्थान Chap 7 verse 12—(तृणधान्याना सामान्ययुगा )

“कहकोदय जूणाहगदीवरणपादिका ॥ १२ ॥”

(See निदानस्थान, Chap 8—“मुद्रकोदय जूणाह etc.”)

Unfortunately the commentator इन्दु on the अष्टागसप्रह does not explain the word जूणाह in the above line. He merely states “कत्रादय” It is however clear that the term जूणाह was known to Vagbhaṭa in the 7th century A.D.

In a Jain Prakrit work called the *Tiloyapannatti*<sup>29</sup> (*Trilokaprajñapti*) which belongs to the first stratum of the pro-canon of the Digambaras and the author of which JADIVASAKHA is a revered author of antiquity we find a reference to *jauar* as जमणाल (Sanskrit यवनाल ) as follows —

Page 157— “जमणाल बल तुवरी तिलजव गोधुम्ममास पडु दीहिं ।

सन्वेहिं सुधण्णेहिं पुराद सोहति भूमिहिं ॥ १२३ ॥”

The editors identify जमणाल with “यवनाल (जुवार)” in their Hindi translation<sup>31</sup> of the above stanza which includes जमणाल amongst the best kinds of grain like wheat etc. The *Tiloyapannatti* is assigned to the 5th century A.D. by some scholars. At any rate this reference to जमणाल (यवनाल) is very important recorded as it is in a Prakrit text of great antiquity incorporating the hereditary knowledge and ancient tradition of the Jainas pertaining to Jaina cosmography dogmatics mythology and chronology.

I have already recorded two references to जूणाह in the *Carakasamhita*<sup>3</sup> one of the earliest medical texts. According to Buddhist tradition *Caraka*

29 Ed by Pt Ramachandra Shastri Kanjivadekar Chitrashala Press Poona 1940 with the commentary called शशिजेखा by इन्दु

30 Ed by Dr A N Upadhye and Prof H L Jain Pub by the Jain Samkriti Samrakshaka Sangha Sholapur 1943 with Hindi Translation by Pt Balchandra

31 This translation reads

“यवनाल (जुवार) बल, तुवर, तिल, जौ, गेहू, और उडद, इत्यादिक समस्त उत्तम धान्योंसे युक्त भूमियोंद्वारा वे नगर शोभा को प्राप्त हैं ॥ १२३ ॥”

32. Vide p 33 of *Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Sahib of Gondal (London 1896)— Some believe him (चरक) to have been born at Benares 320 years B.C. — Pt Durgashankar K. Shastri (in his *History of Ayurveda* in Gujarati Ahmedabad 1942 p 87) makes 5th century A.D. as the latest limit for the chronology of early *Ayurveda Samhitas*. He also states that *Carakasamhita* and *Sūtrāsamhita* were completed before 5th Cent A.D. (i.e. before A.D. 400 or so)

was the court physician of King Kaniska<sup>33</sup> who is assigned by some scholars to the period A.D. 125-140. Whatever be the exact date of the *Carakasamhita* the fact of its being one of the earliest medical texts before A.D. 400 or so is acknowledged by many scholars and consequently we may regard the term "जूर्णाह" as the earliest usage of this term for *jauar* or *jondhīā* so far known. As regards the other synonym for *jauar* viz. यावनाळ which occurs in the Prakrit work of about the 5th century A.D. as "जमणाल" I have to record its usage in another earliest medical text the भेलसहिता, where it appears as "यावनाळ" as will be seen from the following extract —

Page 48 of *Bhelasamhita* (ed. by Asutosh Mookerjee, Calcutta University (1921) भोजनविधि—

“ हरेणवो मसूराश्च सतिताश्च तथादके ।  
कुल्लयाश्च विशेषेण कयायमधुरा रसे ॥  
सर्वे तु लवणक्षारा दिव ( दीप ) नीय ( । ) प्रकीर्तिता ।  
आष्ट ( पू ) ष्याश्च विशेषेण दुबलानां हितानि च ॥  
श्वदध्ना यावनाळश्च द्वौ क्षारौ शीतलौ स्मृतौ ।  
शुक्र ( कृ ) विनिहि ( ह ) तस्तौ तु रष्टिं चापि शरीरिणाम् ॥ ”

The mention of यावनाळ and its properties along with those of other grains like मसूर, कुल्लय etc in the *Bhelasamhita* indicates that यावनाळ is the name of a grain known to Bhela the pupil of आत्रेय (6th cent B.C.)<sup>34</sup> Ātreya had six pupils each of whom is reputed to have committed to writing the teaching of the master in the form of a सहिता or compendium. So far three of these *Samhitas* have been discovered. They are अग्निवेश सहिता, in the form of the redaction by चरक (2) भेलसहिता (ed. by Ashutosh Mookerjee) and (3) काश्यपसहिता<sup>35</sup> recently published by Rajaguru Pandit Hemaraj of Nepal. If the tradition about the Ātreya school of medicine is correct we have to regard the भेलसहिता as earlier than the अग्निवेशसहिता preserved in the form of चरकसहिता and published by the N. S. Press Bombay. There is a divergence of views about the chronology of these *Samhitas* which go by the names of *Caraka*, *Bhela* and *Kasyapa*. It is however agreed to by all scholars that they are the earliest medical treatises that have come down to us from antiquity.

33 Vide p. 256 of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* Oxford 1914—Kaniska came to the throne most probably in 78 A.D. Dr. Fleet thinks that Kaniska came to the throne in 58 B.C.

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar states that *Asaśloṣa* is said to have been a contemporary of Kaniska. *Āśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* was translated into Chinese between 444 and 471 A.D. (Vide pp. 379 and 389 of *Successors of Śaśaśanaś* Calcutta 1939). If the tradition about *Caraka's* connection with Kaniska is correct the date of *Caraka* is evidently before A.D. 400.

34 Vide prefatory Note to *Bhelasamhita* by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee.

35 Published Nirṇaya Sagar Press Bombay 1938.

ing the meaning of the term जून् used by Vāgbhaṭa II and hence they need not be repeated here

Vāgbhaṭa I (c. A.D. 625 according to Hoernle) refers to *jauār* as “जूणाह” in the following line of अष्टांगसमूह, सूत्रस्थान Chap 7, verse 12—(तृणधान्याना सामान्यगुणा )

“कहुकोदव जूणाह्णदीवखणपादिका ॥ १२ ॥”

(See निदानस्थान, Chap 8—“मुद्रकोदव जूणाह्ण etc.”)

Unfortunately the commentator इन्दु on the अष्टांगसमूह does not explain the word जूणाह्ण in the above line. He merely states “कवाद्य” It is however, clear that the term जूणाह्ण was known to Vāgbhaṭa in the 7th century A.D.

In a Jain Prakrit work called the *Tiloyapannatti*<sup>29</sup> (*Trilokaprajñapti*) which belongs to the first stratum of the pro-canon of the Digambaras and the author of which JADIVASAKA is a revered author of antiquity we find a reference to *jauar* as जमणाल (Sanskrit यवनाल ) as follows —

Page 157— “जमणाल धल तुवरी तिलजव गोधुम्ममास पडु दीहिं ।

सन्वेहिं छुधण्णेहिं पुराद सोहति भूमीहि ॥ १२३ ॥”

The editors identify जमणाल with “यवनाल (जुवार)” in their Hindi translation<sup>31</sup> of the above stanza which includes जमणाल amongst the best kinds of grain like wheat etc. The *Tiloyapannatti* is assigned to the 5th century A.D. by some scholars. At any rate this reference to जमणाल (यवनाल) is very important recorded as it is in a Prakrit text of great antiquity incorporating the hereditary knowledge and ancient tradition of the Jainas pertaining to Jaina cosmography dogmatics mythology and chronology.

I have already recorded two references to जूणाह्ण in the *Carakasamhita*<sup>32</sup> one of the earliest medical texts. According to Buddhist tradition *Caraka*

29 Ed. by Pt. Ramachandra Shastri, Banaras, Chitrashala Press, Poona 1940 with the commentary called शशिलेखा by इन्दु

30 Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Prof. H. L. Jain. Pub. by the Jain Samrakṣa Samgha, Sholapur 1943 with Hindi Translation by Pt. Balchandra

31 This translation reads

“यवनाल (जुवार) वज्र, त्वर, तिल, जी, गेहू, और उडद, इत्यादिक समस्त उत्तम धान्योंसे युक्त भूमियोंद्वारा ये नगर शोभा को प्राप्त हैं ॥ १२३ ॥”

32 Vide p. 33 of *Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Sahib of Gondal (London 1896)—Some believe him (चरक) to have been born at Benares 320 years B.C. — Pt. Durgashankar K. Shastri (in his *History of Ayurveda in Gujarat* Ahmedabad 1942 p. 87) makes 5th century A.D. as the latest limit for the chronology of early *Ayurveda Samhitas*. He also states that *Carakasamhita* and *Suśrutasaṃhita* were completed before 5th Cent. A.D. (i.e. before A.D. 400 or so)

was the court physician of King Kanīṣka<sup>33</sup> who is assigned by some scholars to the period A.D. 125-140. Whatever be the exact date of the *Carakasamhitā*, the fact of its being one of the earliest medical texts before A.D. 400 or so is acknowledged by many scholars and consequently we may regard the term “जूर्णाह” as the earliest usage of this term for *jawār* or *jondhlā* so far known. As regards the other synonym for *jawār* viz. *यवनाळ* which occurs in the Prakrit work of about the 5th century A.D. as “जमणाल” I have to record its usage in another earliest medical text the *भेलसहिता*, where it appears as “यावनाळ” as will be seen from the following extract —

Page 48 of *Bhelasamhitā* (ed. by Asutosh Mookerjee, Calcutta University, (1921) भोजनविधि—

“हरेणवो मसूराश्च सतिताश्च तथाढके ।  
कुल्लयाश्च विशेषेण कषायमधुरा रसे ॥  
सर्वे तु लवणक्षारा दिव (दीप) नीय (।) प्रकीर्तिता ।  
आष्ट (पू) ष्याश्च विशेषेण दुर्बलानां हितानि च ॥  
श्वदध्ना यावनाळश्च द्वौ क्षारौ शीतलौ स्मृतौ ।  
शुक्र (ऋ) विनिहि (ह) तस्तौ तु दृष्टिं चापि शरीरिणाम् ॥”

The mention of *यावनाळ* and its properties along with those of other grains like *मसूर*, *कुल्लय* etc. in the *Bhelasamhitā* indicates that *यावनाळ* is the name of a grain known to Bhela the pupil of Ātreya (6th cent B.C.)<sup>34</sup> Ātreya had six pupils each of whom is reputed to have committed to writing the teaching of the master in the form of a *सहिता* or compendium. So far three of these *Samhitas* have been discovered. They are अग्निवेश *सहिता*, in the form of the redaction by चरक (2) *भेलसहिता* (ed. by Ashutosh Mookerjee) and (3) *काश्यपसहिता*<sup>35</sup> recently published by Rajaguru Pandit Hemaraj of Nepal. If the tradition about the Ātreya school of medicine is correct we have to regard the *भेलसहिता* as earlier than the *अग्निवेशसहिता* preserved in the form of *चरकसहिता* and published by the N S Press Bombay. There is a divergence of views about the chronology of these *Samhitas* which go by the names of *Caraka*, *Bhela* and *Kasyapa*. It is however agreed to by all scholars that they are the earliest medical treatises that have come down to us from antiquity.

33 Vide p. 256 of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* Oxford 1914—Kanīṣka came to the throne most probably in 78 A.D. Dr. Fleet thinks that Kanīṣka came to the throne “in 58 B.C.”

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar states that *Āśvaghoṣa* is said to have been a contemporary of Kanīṣka. *Āśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* was translated into Chinese between 444 and 421 A.D. (Vide pp. 379 and 389 of *Successors of Śaṅkarānanda* Calcutta 1939). If the tradition about *Caraka's* connection with Kanīṣka is correct the date of *Caraka* is evidently before A.D. 400.

34 Vide prefatory Note to *Bhelasamhitā* by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee.

35 Published Nirmaya Sagar Press Bombay 1938.

Starting from A.D. 1839 we have now moved backward through centuries of the history of *Jawār* (*Holcus Sorghum*) and have reached the first few centuries of the Christian era when this grain appears to have been cultivated and used by our ancestors and when also its properties were studied and recorded by the earliest medical writers of those centuries. If this view based on the data recorded in detail in this paper is accepted we may be able to understand the significance of the following remarks of LASSEN<sup>36</sup> about the introduction of *jauār* into Italy in the 1st century of the Christian era —

‘ Another Indian cereal *Milium* was not exported from India it is true but on the other hand its cultivation was introduced into Italy ten years before PLINY wrote this passage (*Periplus Mar Eryther* p 32) It is *probably* the kind of millet very common in India which botanists call *Holcus Sorghum* and the Indians *guar* or *gaur* in the vernacular ’

As Pliny, the Roman author flourished between A.D. 23 and 79 and as there was contact of India with Rome in this century the probability of the cultivation of Indian *jawār* in Italy as suggested in the above extract cannot be ruled out in a summary way. In fact Prof Franklin Edgerton<sup>37</sup> of the Yale University (U S A ) has found a reference to the city of Rome in the *Sabhaparvan* of the *Mahabharata* which he has critically edited for the B O R Institute Critical Edition of this Great Epic of India.

The history of plants especially when these plants have migrated from their original habitat to different regions of the globe is necessarily interwoven with the history of the different people who cultivated them in remote ages of the history of the globe. I am quite incapable of getting access to the sources of the history of all these people and must confine my studies to such of these sources as are available to me easily. Even this study of the history of the *jawār* must remain only as a sketch of this history made by a shaking hand on too big a canvas stretching from 2200 B.C. to A.D. 1850. The chronology of the sources from which I have drawn my data is somewhat definite for sources later than A.D. 1000 but only relative so far as sources earlier than A.D. 1000 are concerned. However in the present stage of our chronology we have no other recourse but to represent only the current views about them leaving it to future scholars to solve the problems of early chronology on the strength of their own studies of the present sources and in the light of new sources, if discovered hereafter.

About the several problems that arise out of the present collection of data bearing on the history of *Jawār* it is better to defer our judgment. We have no direct peep into remote antiquity and consequently the gleams of

36 Vide Lassen's *History* (English Trans. in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna Vol. X 1924 Page 253

37 Vide pp 262-263 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol 53.

light that are furnished by a few documentary references are the only guides that help us to clarify the age long history of this edible grain which may have been cultivated in India even prior to the Aryan invasion as observed by Watts in his *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*

The following chronological table will show at a glance the evidence collected in this paper regarding the antiquity of *Jondhālā* or *jauār* —

Chronology	Evidence J = <i>Jondhlā</i> or <i>Jawār</i> ( <i>Holcus Sorghum</i> )
B C 2200	Evidence about the existence of J furnished by an Egyptian tomb (Swanson and Laude) J (= यावनाल ) mentioned in मेरुसंहिता, one of the earliest medical treatises like the चरकसंहिता and काश्यपसंहिता J referred to in the Bible according to Smith ( <i>History of Bible Plants</i> , p 214)
A D 100—200	J (= जूर्णाह ) Mentioned in चरकसंहिता J (= ? an Indian Cereal <i>Milum</i> ) introduced into Rome in the time of Pliny (A D 23—79) according to Lassen
A D 200—300	J Cultivated in China, where it was probably introduced from outside
400—500	J (= जमनाल = यवनाल ) mentioned in तिलोयपनक्ति of जडिवसह a Jain author
C 625	J (= जूर्णाह ) mentioned in अष्टागसप्तह of Vagbhata I
700—800	J (= चोळम् ) mentioned in the <i>Tamil</i> work जीवकचित्तामणि
1050	J (= यावनाल, योनल, जूर्णाहय, देवधान्य, जोनाल etc.) mentioned by यादवप्रकाश
8th or 9th Cent	J (= जूर्ण ) mentioned in the अष्टाङ्गहृदयसंहिता of Vagbhata II
A. D 1060	J (= जूर्णाह = जोनार ) mentioned by चक्रपाणिदत्त a Bengali commentator of चरकसंहिता
C 940	J (= जोळ ) mentioned in <i>Canarese</i> work पम्पभारत
1089—1173	J (= जोवारी, जोणलिआ, यावनाल, योनल, जूर्णाहय, जोनाल, देवधान्य etc ) mentioned by हेमचन्द्र in देशीनाममाला and अभिधान-चिंतामणि.
1090	J (= जुआरि ) mentioned in a Prakrit work सुरसुदरीचरित्र
1100—1200	J (= यावनाल, जोनाल ) in नानार्याणवसन्नेप of केशवस्वामी
1116—1127	J [= यावनाल (कणिश)] mentioned by Somesvara in his मानसोद्घात

Chronology	Evidence J = <i>Jondlū</i> or <i>Jauār</i> ( <i>Holcus Sorghum</i> )
1143	J (= जुआरे ) mentioned in the Prakrit work सुपासनाहचरित्र
1166	J mentioned in a <i>Canarese inscription</i>
1220	J (= जूर्ण = जोन्धलक in दक्षिणापथ ) mentioned by Bengali author अरुणदत्त in his Comm on अष्टाङ्गहृदय (variants of जोन्धलक are जोहलक जोमालक, जोर्णालक).
C 1250	J (= जोधवा, जोन्धवा ) mentioned in लीळाचरित and चक्रधर-सूत्रपाठ (Mahanubhava texts)
C 1260	J (= जूर्ण = यावनाल ) mentioned by Hemadri in his Comm on the अष्टाङ्गहृदय
1374	J (= यवनाल, जूर्णाह, देवधान्य, जूनल etc ) mentioned in the मदननिघण्टु a medical glossary by मदनपाल
C 1450	J (= यावनाल ) described in the राजनिघण्टु of नरहरि (in Kashmir)
1541	J ( जोमळ ) mentioned in a Marathi document along with गहु and तुरी
1590	J grown in Khandesh ( <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> )
1624	J ( जोनाल, यवनाल, जूर्णा, जूर्णि ) mentioned by Sadhusundara gani in his शब्दरत्नाकर
C. 1650	J ( यावनाल ) described by Raghunatha Navahasta friend of Ramdas Saint in his <i>Bhojana Kutuhala</i>
1739	J used in the royal Kitchen of Sevai Jaising of Jaipur (Rajputana)
1760	' <i>Jouari</i> ' (reference quoted in <i>Hobson Jobson</i> )
1784	" <i>Jerroo</i> ' a Kind of Paddy in Sumatra mentioned by Marsden
1790	Description of J by Capt Edward Moor
1800	' <i>Jouarry</i> ' ( <i>Hobson Jobson</i> reference)
1813	' <i>Juarree</i> ' ( <i>Hobson Jobson</i> reference);
1819	' <i>Jowaree</i> ' ( <i>Hobson Jobson</i> )
1826	' <i>Joanee</i> ' ( <i>Hobson Jobson</i> )
1839	Description of J by John Graham in his work on <i>Bombay Plants</i>

# CAN WOMEN PERFORM ŚRAUTA SACRIFICES OF THEIR OWN ACCORD ?

By

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Recently I have begun to revise my article on "Dekkan of the Śāta-vāhana Period" which I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a quarter of a century ago. In that connection the Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāganikā is engaging my special attention. She is here credited with having alone performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, and as Bühler has, I now think, correctly interpreted ; and not her husband Sātakarṇi, in association with her consort, Nāganikā, as I then wrongly thought. Rapson practically agrees with Bühler in saying that the inscription is a record of sacrifices performed and donations made by Queen Nāganikā, the wife of king Sātakarṇi, acting apparently as regent during the minority of her son Vēdiśri. Bühler however admits that according to the Śāstras women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices but that disabilities attaching to the sex were moved by the fact that the queen must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vēdiśri. The conclusion is agreed to by Rapson<sup>1</sup> though he does not adduce any reason in support of it. But is it permissible for a woman or even a queen to perform Vedic sacrifices according to the Smṛitis? Manu, e.g. does not allow even the initiation of women. "The nuptial ceremony" says he "is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent) to the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same as the daily) worship of the sacred fire."<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere he says : "For women there is no sacramental rite with sacred texts—thus the law is settled. Women, being destitute of knowledge and not conversant with Vedic texts."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, when the *Manu-smṛiti* was being compiled, women did sometimes perform sacrifices. Why else should Manu lay down that "a Brāhmaṇ must never eat at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Śrōtriya, or by a village priest (*grāma-yājīn*) or by a woman . . ."<sup>4</sup> Thus Manu places a woman on the same footing as a non-Śrōtriya, i.e. "a man who is a Brāhmaṇ but is not conversant with Vedic literature." Both, it seems, were in the habit of performing sacrifices in the time of Manu. But who could have performed sacrifices for them? Is this possible for anybody who is not a specialist in sacrificial knowledge and practice? He must surely

1. *Cat. Ind. Coils. Andhras*, W. Kṣatrapas, Intro. pp. XX and XLV.

2. *Manu-smṛiti*, II, 67.

3. *Ibid.*, IX, 18.

4. *Ibid.*, IV, 205.



be a Brāhmaṇ, and, I am afraid, for that specialisation, a Śrōtriya also *Manu smṛiti* was composed or was in the making when Hindu society was in a transitional state. At one time Manu is made to say that 'for women there is no sacramental' and at another time he admits that women can perform sacrifices though no Brāhmaṇ shall eat at these sacrifices

We shall now turn our attention to another section of Sanskrit Literature, namely, to the Śrauta sūtras, which deal with sacrificial literature and which alone are the authority on the subject whether a woman is entitled to perform a Vedic sacrifice in her individual capacity. These are the Pūrva mīmāṃsā sūtras composed by Jaimini *alias* Bādarāyaṇa and commented upon by Śabara svamin. Anybody who reads *Mīmāṃsā darśana*, VI, 1, 3, 6-16 will be convinced that woman is perfectly entitled to the performance of any Śrauta sacrifice. The opposition is here led by Aitśayana. It is very difficult to say whether he was a Smṛtikara at all. But he leads the opposition by saying that in the Vedic text *Darśa Pūrva māsābhyām svarga kāmō yajeta* the word *svarga-kāmō* is in the masculine gender; therefore man, not woman, can perform a sacrifice. Bādarāyaṇa, that is, Jaimini, answers this question by saying that the term *svarga kāma* denotes a collective class consisting of persons who have the one characteristic of possessing the desire to attain Heaven by means of a sacrifice without any distinction being made between the individuals constituting that class. Hence even women are understood by that term and included in that class.

Many other arguments have been advanced against the capacity of women to perform Vedic sacrifices. One such argument, the most important of them is that wealth is necessary for performing sacrifices and that men are possessed of this wealth whereas women are not. Women are like chattels as they are liable to be sold and bought. They are sold by fathers and bought by husbands. They have thus no right to the property of their fathers or to that of their husbands. The Vedic texts say that "a hundred chariots shall be given to the guardian of the bride and (in the Arsha form of marriage) one ox and one cow". This is apparently a price to induce the bride's father to part with his daughter and cannot be construed as a religious act. Again it may be urged that a woman may perform sacrifices with wealth which she has earned by cooking food for others or by savings from the food given her. But as she is another's property the acquisitions must belong to him. Whatever she does is in the service of her husband. Whatever may thus be acquired by her belongs to her husband. The Smṛiti has it "A wife, a slave and a son have no property of their own. Whatever they earn is the wealth of the man to whom they belong".

Such is the line of argument urged by the exponents of the opposite view. Bādarāyaṇa begins the reply with the curt remark that so long as the earnestness to obtain the fruit of the performance of a sacrifice is common to both

males and females, it presupposes the capacity of a woman to own wealth. If, by slavishly conforming to the Smṛti, woman is made a dependent upon others and considered destitute of all wealth, then obviously the Smṛti is in conflict with Śruti. This is not right, this is not just. Therefore, if she is desirous of the fruit of performing a sacrifice she ought to set the Smṛti at naught, possess herself of wealth and perform a sacrifice. Surely it is impossible to see a greater disregard shown to the Smṛti when it is pitted against the Śruti. But, as a matter of fact women are possessed of wealth, says Badarāyaṇi. Thus at the time of marriage when the bride is presented to the bridegroom the latter enters into the following agreement with the father of the bride, *dharmē chārthē cha kāmē cha nātich nṛavyā*, 'she shall not be thwarted in the performance of religious acts (*dharma*), the acquisition of wealth (*artha*) and the fulfilment of legitimate desires (*kama*)'. When therefore the Smṛtis speak of the incapacity of the wife to possess wealth, that is very unjust and is antagonistic to the Śruti. Again what is called the purchase of a girl is not a purchase at all. It is a religious act pure and simple. In the case of a purchase there is always the variation of price. The gift of a hundred chariots (*satamatirathan*) does not vary and is a constant quantity whether the girl is beautiful or not beautiful. Śabara svāmī remarks that this may be a sale in conformity with the Smṛtis but is opposed to the Śrutis. The Śrauta School therefore disapproves of it and stands fast to the conclusion that the girls are not sold. There are Vedic texts also in support of the proposition that women have the capacity of owning and possessing wealth. Śabara quotes at least two. But this much is certain says he that woman is the owner of *parṇayya* 'property received by her at the time of marriage'. Śabara further remarks *patyaiva galamanumatam kriyate* 'even that which is acquired by the husband is admitted (*as hers*)'.

What is the upshot of the above discussion? The woman according to the Śrutis not only can have her own wealth but can also participate in the possession of her husband's wealth. She is neither bought nor sold at any time of marriage. And if she has but the desire of attaining the fruit of a Śrauta sacrifice, she can very well do so alone and on her own behalf or jointly with her husband if both so will it. If there is any Smṛti which lays down an ordinance to the contrary, it has to be ignored, disregarded and completely set at naught. If such was once the state of things it is no wonder if Nāganikā wife of Sātakarṇi could perform not one or two but several Śrauta sacrifices and make any number of donations in money, elephants, kine and so forth, as is quite clear to any scholar who studies the Nanāghāt Cave Inscriptions. After Naganika not a single inscription has been found describing the celebration of Vedic sacrifices by any queen or woman. But that there was Brahmanic revival can scarcely be doubted. And we find numbers of kings and princes performing Śrauta sacrifices. It is possible that their queens may have joined their husbands in these celebrations.

Now that remark of Śabarasyāmin quoted above requires further consideration in this connection viz *paly=anta galam=anumatam* *krīya e* even that which is acquired by the husband is admitted (*as heirs*) This can best be put to the test in the case of political rule or sovereignty Are they co-partners or joint owners of a kingdom or both? Not far removed in time from Queen Nagrikā was her descendant Gautamīputra Satakarni whose Nasik Cave Inscription No 5 contains an order to Samaka (Śyamaka) the Officer at Govardhana It is really a copy of the grant of a fresh plot of land he issued to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave in lieu of the old one which had become uncultivable.<sup>5</sup> That the original was a regular deed of grant may be seen from the fact that the text bristles with fiscal terms and contains at the end the name of the engraver and the date of the original donation and the actual execution But who issues this order to the officer at Govardhana? Not Gautamīputra Satakarni by himself but he and his wife together She has been therein called not only *Jitasula* (one whose son is living) but also *rajamata* the king's mother the latter two epithets obviously referring to her son Vasīsthuputra Pulumavi who was then a ruler This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both at least co-partners in the Śatavahana sovereignty But could any one of them issue a grant separately in his or above all on her own name without reference to the other party? It is true that no such instance is forthcoming from the Śatavahana period But about the middle of the seventh century belong two grants issued by Vijaya mahadevi wife of Chandraditya who was the elder brother of the Chalukya overlord Vikramaditya of Badami We have not one but two copper plate charters issued by her<sup>6</sup> These grants she has made independently and without the ratification of her husband or their suzerain Vikramaditya And what is most noteworthy is that immediately after mentioning her name as Vijaya bhāṭṭarika, the favourite crown queen of *Prthivī vallabha Maharaja* Chandraditya has been specified the date of the charter as follows *sva rajya pañcama samvatsara Asvaryaṇa paurnamasya dvitīyayam vishuve*<sup>7</sup> The first part of this phrase has been rightly rendered by Fleet as in the fifth year of her reign Evidently the year of her reign is to be taken as also the year of her husband's—the joint reign of her husband and herself Vijaya bhāṭṭarika and Chandraditya must thus be taken as ruling together so that the regnal year of one can be the same as that of the other From the details of this date Kjelhorn has calculated it as equivalent to 23rd September AD 659<sup>8</sup> The fifth regnal year of Vijaya bhāṭṭarika raises one question namely whether there is any other evidence

5 *E I* Vol VIII p 73

6 *I A* Vol VII p 164 ll 13-15 *Ibid* Vol VIII p 46 ll 15-18

7 *Ibid* Vol VII p 164 ll 15-16

8 *List of Insc South Ind* No 23

to show that the king and the queen reigned conjointly. Attention may in this connection be drawn to the Bankāpūra Inscription of Saka 977 when the Kādamba chieftain Harikēśaridēva is represented as administering the Bana vāsi twelve-thousand, not alone and by himself, but in conjunction with his wife Lachchaladēvī.<sup>9</sup> Here is thus another epigraphic instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a kingdom.

That a queen could even upto the end of the eighth century issue the grant of a village as crowned queen is clear from the Jethawai Plates of Śīla mahādēvī.<sup>10</sup> She has been described as *Paramēśvarī Paramabhāṭṭarīkā Śrī Śīlamahādēvī*<sup>11</sup> the great queen of *Paramabhāṭṭaraka Mahārājadhīraja Paramēśvara Dharāvarsha alias Dhruvarājadeva* who was a Rāstrakūṭa sovereign. And she was the daughter of the East Chālukya King Viśṇuvardhana IV of Vēngī. Now, what about Śīlamahādēvī? Were her titles *Paramēśvarī Paramabhāṭṭarīkā* empty and unmeaning? In the prose portion of the record which sets forth the details of the grant, she herself and alone issues orders to the officers concerned with the grant just as every donor king does. Thus at the end of the record the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the grant are represented as carrying out their respective duties according to the orders not of Dhruvarāja but of Śīla mahādēvī. And further there is absolutely nothing in the draft of the charter which indicated that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This indubitably demonstrates what Śabara svāmin says—namely, *paty=eva gatam=anumatan kṛyatē*, “even that which the husband acquires is admitted (as hers)”.

Things were different in the twelfth century A.D. and especially in North India. An entirely different procedure seems to have been followed e.g. in the case of the Gāhadavāla family. Thus Govindachandra of this dynasty had two *Paṭṭamahādēvī mahārājī*, one *Nayanakēśidēvī*, and the other Gōsala devī. Both were *Paṭṭamahādēvī* but apparently not at one and the same time, because the first issues her grant in V 1176 and the V 1208. Though they were thus *paṭṭa mahādēvī* and are described *samsta raja kṛy-opala* which Kielhorn renders by “endowed with all royal prerogatives”, they are represented to have issued the grants, says the king *asmāt sammatyā*, that is “with the express approval of myself (Govindachandra)”.<sup>12</sup> Husband and wife were neither co-partners nor joint owners of any kingdom or, for the matter of that, of any property in the twelfth century A.D. Smṛti domination was complete at least from this century onwards in North India. Woman became a chattel in every sense of the term.

9 *E.I.* Vol. XIII pp. 168, 171 (1 28) and 174

10 *Ibid.* Vol. XXII pp. 98 and ff

11 *Ibid.* Vol. IV pp. 108 ff., Vol. V pp. 117 ff

12. See e.g. *E.I.*, Vol. IV p. 109 119

## SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON GUPTA COINAGE

By

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Gupta coinage forms an important branch of Indian Numismatics and presents many interesting features some of which have not been properly noticed

As is well known, Gupta coinage owes its origin to some kind of foreign influence Samudragupta has the credit of inaugurating the Gupta gold currency It may be presumed that he acquired abundance of gold from his *Digvijaya*, or conquests in different directions and thus gold he utilized in issuing gold coins The course of his conquests brought him into contact with the remnants of the retreating Kushan power in the Panjab and in the North West and also with their coinage from which he acquired its technique

Thus the first Gupta coins started as imitations of Kushan coins and of their foreign features But Samudragupta and the artists and craftsmen of Northern India in those days were not wanting in their own ideas and inventiveness on the subject of money making and were thinking of ways and means by which they might produce coins bearing genuinely indigenous Indian features The foreign features with which the Gupta coins were inaugurated were gradually replaced by Indian features in their later coins Thus Samudragupta has the unique credit that he both inaugurated and Indianized Gupta coinage

The degree of Indianization shown in the Gupta coins is thus also the key to their chronology

Samudragupta has shown his numismatic genius and inventiveness by issuing as many as eight different types of coinage This variety of coin types was followed as an example by his successors and forms a characteristic feature of Gupta coinage as a whole

There is a deep underlying reason inspiring this variety in numismatic performance The Gupta numismatic technician was in the first place, seeking ways and means by trying experiments in a variety of designs by which the foreign features of the Gupta coins with which they started could be progressively eliminated and replaced by appropriate Indian features

To take an example the earliest coins issued by Samudragupta were of the Standard Type but both its Obverse and Reverse are full of Kushan features because this type is the closest copy of the Kushan design of coinage.

There is however, even here an attempt at the mingling of Indian with foreign features. But these Indian features are very few, and that only on the Obverse, as indicated below

(1) The Gupta king wears a close fitting cap instead of the peaked head dress of the Kushan king

(2) The Garuḍa standard in place of the Kushan trident

(3) The jewellery worn by the king is Indian

Barring these three Indian features the coin shows the following Kushan features

(1) The dress of the king is Kushan viz, coat and trousers

(2) His name is written vertically

(3) The standard is bound with a fillet.

(4) The altar and sprinkling of incense (as found on Kanishka's coins)

(5) The halo round the king's head

The Reverse is a downright copy of the late Kushan 'Ardochsho' Reverse. The Goddess is even given the Cornucopiae the Greek horn of plenty, in her left arm and fillet in outstretched right hand. Even the back of the throne which lost its meaning is kept up by the Gupta coin makers

The Standard Type of coinage was followed by the Archer and the Battle-Axe types which mark an advance in the process of their Indianization. The unmeaning standard copied from the late Kushan coins is replaced in these types by more understandable and appropriate objects like the bow the battle axe or a crescent topped standard while the arrow takes the place of the Kushan altar. The bow and arrow recall Viṣṇu Śārṅgī as mentioned in an Inscription

As has been already stated Samudragupta issued as many as eight types of coinage admitting of variety of designs within some of these types. These eight types are

(1) The Standard

(5-6) Tiger

(2) Archer

(7) Aśvamedha

(3) Battle Axe

(8) Chandragupta

(4) Kācha

This variety gave a large scope to experiments in the Indianization of the Gupta coins and the progressive replacement of their foreign by indigenous features. The stages of this process are marked out in the different types of coinage as indicated below

(1) The king's head-dress which from the start was a close-fitting cap in place of the Kushan peaked or conical head-dress. In most Indian coins such as the Tiger Type, the king wears the Indian turban and on some varieties is even bare-headed

(2) The jewellery worn by the King or Queen such as ear ring necklace, armlet or anklet (worn by Goddess on Tiger Type)

(3) The King wears the Indian *dhoti* or waist-cloth on both Tiger- and Lyrst Types.

(4) Introduction in place of Ardochsho of Indian Goddesses

(1) Lakshmi marked by her favourite flower lotus, (a) which she holds in her hand (as on Battle-Axe-Type) in place of the Greek and foreign object the Cornucopiae (b) which is used as foot stool (as on Battle-Axe Type) (c) on which she is seated (as on some varieties of Battle-Axe Type)

Lakshmi on some coins is seated on the Indian *Modha* or wicker stool (as on Lyrst type) or on throne without the Kushan back (as on some varieties of the Battle-Axe Type)

(2) Goddess on Lion who is *Durga—Simhachakini* with her feet resting on lotus (as on Chandragupta I coins)

(3) Goddess *Ganga* on *makara* (as on Tiger Type)

(4) Goddess *Sarasvati* on the Lyrst Type seated on *modha*

(5) Introduction of the Queen on certain coins (the Chandragupta I and Asvamedha coins)

(6) *Garuda* vehicle of *Vishnu* surmounting the standard

(7) The Indian weapons of war and hunting such as Bow and Arrow (on Archer type) Sword and Battle-Axe (on Battle-Axe Type) which take the place of the Kushan Standard the arrows taking the place of the Kushan altar

(8) The *Dwarf* who had a traditional place in the Indian royal household (as seen on Battle-Axe-Type) As stated in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* the King's menial staff traditionally included personal attendants marked by physical deformities or deficiencies, such as the *Kubja* (hunch back) *Vamana* (dwarf) *Kranta* (alpatanu of small body) *Muka* (dumb) *Badhira* (deaf) *Jada* (idiot) and even *Andha* (blind) [My *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times* p 106]

(9) The Asvamedha Type inspired by a specifically Indian conception and institution

A similar study may be made of the coins of the Later Gupta Emperors showing variety of Types giving scope to the gradual introduction of Indian features Chandra Gupta II issued five types of coins, viz

(1) Archer

(4) Lion slayer

(2) Couch

(5) Horseman

(3) Chhatra

The Indian element of the Archer Type is seen on its Reverse in the Goddess seated on throne without back and holding in left hand lotus instead of Cornucopiae Lakshmi thus replaces Ardochsho

Other varieties of this type show more Indianisation e.g. (1) The Lotus Reverse instead of the Throne Reverse. (2) Wheel (Vishnu's *Chakra*) above Standard on Obverse (3) Replacement of the conventional Kushan dress of the King by Indian dress, waste-cloth with sash The *Chhatra* Type is Chandra Gupta's own innovation The umbrella is the Indian symbol of sovereignty, while it is borne by the appropriate attendant, the Dwarf, as prescribed in the *Nīlīśāstras* Certain specimens show Goddess Lakshmi rising from lotus as *Padma sambhavā* In general, we may say that Chandra Gupta II introduced in his coinage the following Indian features viz., the figures of Couch, Chhatra, Lion, Horse, Dwarf, Garuda and Lakshmi on or springing from lotus

It is needless to pursue the study further in regard to later Gupta coins We may note in passing the more marked of the Indian features introduced by Kumāragupta I in his new coin-types known as (1) Swordsman (2) Peacock (3) Pratāpa or two Queens type (4) Elephant rider type

Hitherto, we have been considering the point that the variety of Gupta Coin Types was dictated by the needs of experimentation in evolving genuinely Indian Type of coins which would no longer be modelled on the foreign Kushan types to which they owed their origin But there was also a deep historical and political reason for the variety in addition to numismatic necessity Each type of coins is charged with a political significance, signifying a stage in the expansion of Gupta Power by conquests, and this is indicated by an appropriate legend which is also refreshing in its variety In some instances, the coins are possessed of a territorial or regional significance to which appropriate expression is given by symbols

To illustrate this point from the coinage of Samudragupta we may say that his earliest Standard type shows the standard as the flag of his authority planted by him in the various territories conquered by him "in hundreds of battles", as stated in the legend His victory won in countless battles was due to his invincible heroism expressed by the appropriate legend *Parākrama* The legend of the Archer Type brings out the chief weapon of his power as a charioteer who could not be opposed, as stated in the legend *Apratiratha* The Battle Axe Type indicates another weapon of his power the formidable *Parasu* by which the God of Death or Yama kills all as indicated in the legend *Kṛtānta Paraśu* The legend *Sarvarājochchhettā* appearing on his *Kācha* coins points to the completion of his programme of *Digvijaya*

His coins also reflect both War and Peace. Peace is celebrated in a variety of appropriate coin types such as the *Aśvamedha* type the *Lynx*



type or the Tiger type. The Lyrst type is the most Indianised type of Samudragupta's coins on which he introduced the Indian *Vina* Wicker stool and possibly the Goddess Sarasvati on the Reverse as the Goddess of Music, instead of the usual Lakshmi because the lotus of Lakshmi is omitted.

Thus the legends on the coins change with the changing emphasis on points of the king's achievements both in War and Peace.

But as has been stated above some of the coins have a distinct regional or territorial significance. For instance the Tiger type introduces to us the king as a hunter of big game like the Tiger. His success at tiger hunting justified the legend *Vyaghra parakrama* on the coin. He can certainly describe himself as being possessed of the prowess of the tiger. But the Reverse of the coin brings out its hidden regional significance. It shows a Goddess standing on *Makara* which helps us to identify her as Goddess Ganga. She is introduced as the standing witness of Samudragupta's conquest in the valley of the Ganges with its swampy and forested tracts which were and are to this day the abode of the Royal Bengal Tiger and gave scope to big game hunting by the king. Thus the Goddess Ganga and the Tiger are aptly associated on these coins.

A similar regional significance attaches to the remarkable Lion-Slayer Type of coins issued by Chandra Gupta II with a large variety of designs depicting the king hunting down the lion in different positions on the obverse and on the reverse an appropriate Goddess seated on lion in all possible positions. The Goddess is no doubt *Durga simha vahini*.

Like the Tiger type of coins these coins also bear the appropriate legend *Simha Vikrama* which is analogous to *Vyaghra parakrama*. On some coins the king calls himself *Narendra-Simha* or *Simha Chandra*.

The large variety of positions given to the lion as it is hunted down by the king shows how the king had a passion for lion hunting which captured his imagination so much and was given publicity as the favourite royal sport even on his coins. It is further to be noted that while Samudragupta was thinking of the tiger as his big game his son was more obsessed by the lion. There seems to be a deep underlying reason for this difference between the father and the son in respect of big game hunting. The Tiger type of coins, as already stated celebrates Samudragupta's conquests of the Gangetic valley abounding in forests which to this day so plentifully breed the Royal Bengal Tiger. The Lion type of coins issued by Chandra Gupta II has a similar regional significance and celebrates his conquest of regions which are the habitat of the lion. It celebrates his conquest of the Śaka Satrapy of *Saurashtra* or modern Kathiawad which is the abode of lions to this day.

It is thus possible to trace the working of designs of historical and territorial significance in the fashioning of many a type of Gupta coinage.

There is also another small point of Gupta History on which light is thrown by coins. It concerns the names of the Gupta emperors. It seems that of the name Chandra Gupta II *Chandra* is to be taken as the king's personal name and Gupta as his surname the name of his family so that his name is to be written in its correct form *Chandra Gupta*. This is revealed in the legend on some of the copper coins issued by Chandra Gupta II the coins classed by Allan under Type IX. The obverse of the coins bears the simple legend *Chandra* and not *Śri Chandra* continued by the suffix *Gupta* on the Reverse, as shown in the Copper Coins of Type VIII. It may also be noted that some varieties of the king's Lion Slayer Type of good coins bear the significant legends *Narendra Chandra* or *Śmīha Chandra* indicating that the king's personal name was simply *Chandra*. This fact revealed by the coins will help to solve one of the difficulties in identifying king Chandra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription with emperor Chandra Gupta II when the emperor's name is proved to be *Chandra* and not *Chandra Gupta*.

# AGALOKAKA AND THE KINGDOM OF AGNI

By

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The expression *Agalokaka* an explanation of which is attempted in this paper occurs in a partly damaged Prakrit inscription incised on a marble pillar which was discovered a few years ago at Dharanikota in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency<sup>1</sup>. The pillar is referred to in the inscription as *dharmachaka dhaya* Sanskrit *dharmachakra dhvaja*. In fact it is the consecration of this marble *dhvaja* that forms the subject matter of the record. As stated therein the column was erected at the eastern gateway of the Maha vihara belonging to the Buddhists of the Purva-saikiya sect at Dhanakaṣa the modern Dharanikota.

The person who set up or dedicated the *dharmachakra dhvaja* was a minister (*amacha* Sanskrit *amatya*) who is described to be an *Agalokaka Atapora*. We are told that his name has apparently been omitted in the record. His epithet *Atapora* has been considered to correspond to Sanskrit *Arddhapura* and he is thus alleged to have been a resident of Riddhapura identified with Rithpur in the Amraoti District of Berar. Another view is that instead of *Ataporena* we have perhaps to read *Ataberena* Atabera being a personal name<sup>2</sup>. This view appears to be more acceptable for two reasons. In the first place, it dispenses with the unwarranted supposition of the donor's name having been omitted in the record and secondly the position of the word concerned in the sentence indicates that it ought to be the name of the person rather than an attribute of him. It may however be admitted that the name Atabera sounds rather queer especially when compared with the other two names that occur in the inscription to wit Khadanaga (Skandanaga) and Virakhada (Viraskanda) this latter being the name of the donor's father.

As regards the term *Agalokaka* it is in all probability to be taken as an attribute. It is supposed to allude to the original home of the donor<sup>3</sup>. It has accordingly been explained as an emigrant from Agaloka<sup>4</sup>. No attempt has, however been made to identify this Agaloka.

It is clear from the above explanation that the word *Agalokaka* is to be analysed as *Agaloka* + *ka* the first component being a proper name and the latter a suffix with the meaning belonging to or hailing from. Nothing

1 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XXIV pp 256-60 and plate.

2 *Ibid* p 257

3 *Ibid* p 259 footnote 10

4 *Ibid* p 257

5 *Ibid* p 260

indeed can be said against the plausibility of this analysis of the term. Now considering the nature of the dialect employed in the record under discussion it may not be wrong to equate the form *Agalokaka* with Sanskrit *Agnilokika* which would denote one hailing from Agniloka.<sup>6</sup> This leads us to the question of the location of a country of that name. To all appearance it is identical with the kingdom of 'O ki ni (Agni or Agni) mentioned by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang which has been identified with Karshar or Kara shahr near the lake Tenghiz (Bagarash) in the Eastern or Chinese Turkistan.<sup>7</sup> From the pilgrim's description of the land we gather that in his time the influence of the Indian culture was very much in evidence throughout that kingdom and that especially Buddhism was in a flourishing condition there. There are, says he, some ten or more *Sangharamas* with two thousand priests or so belonging to the Little Vehicle of the school of the Sarvastivadas (Shwo yih tsai yu po).<sup>8</sup>

We further learn that Fa huan, another well known Chinese pilgrim whose visit to India preceded that of Hsien Tsiang by more than two centuries, had also been in the kingdom of Agni about AD 400.<sup>9</sup> Even in his time Buddhism was thriving there as according to his testimony there were four thousand monks, students of the Hinayana in the territory.<sup>10</sup> All this indicates that the law of the Buddha had reached there long previously, resulting in a free intercourse between the people of India and those of that country. There is thus nothing against the supposition that the pious donor of the *dharmachakra dhvaja* at Dhāṇakaḍa had originally hailed from that far off northern region.

One word more. It is said that it was Hsien Tsiang who first employed the term *O ki ni* and that it was an attempt on his part at Sanskritising the indigenous name of the kingdom. Fa huan referred to it under the name of *Wu* : or *Wu ki*. Another name given by Chinese historians of the same is *Yenki* which is supposed to be identical with *Yanghi*. *Yanghi* is a Turkish word for fire.<sup>11</sup> If the present surmise is correct, the donor of the marble pillar would be the first to give the Turkish name an Indian garb.

6 It goes without saying that the word *aga* in the original has been taken here to be a corrupt form of *agni*. Compare Panjabi *ag* or *agg* and Hindustani *ag*. For the rest the derivative form is analogous to *aramaka* meaning gardener which has been equated with Sanskrit *aramika*. H. Luders, *A List of Brahmi Inscriptions* No. 756 and p. 214 under *aramika*.

7 S. Beal, *Si yu ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World) Vol. I p. 17 and footnote 52 also p. xix of the Introduction to the same.

8 *Ibid* p. 18.

9 *Ibid* Introduction pp. xi, xii.

10 Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia* Vol. III p. 1181. Legge, *Travels of Fa hien* pp. 14 ff.

11 T. Watters, *On Yuan Ching's Travels in India* Vol. I p. 46. For yet another reference to this pilgrim's visit to the kingdom of Agni see also *ibid* Vol. II p. 331.

Dr N P Chakravarti Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, who kindly went through the article while still unpublished has made a very happy suggestion concerning the explanation of the term *Agalokaka*. He equates it with the *Angalaukika* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which according to Mr N L Dey, was 'the country of the Angalaukikas, situated below the junction of the Hydaspes and Akesines'<sup>12</sup>. If this view is correct, the donor of the Dhañakaḍa pillar belonged to the Angalaukika tribe and hailed from the Panjab.

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<sup>12</sup> Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* p. 8.

# LOKĀCĀRYA OF THE ŚRĪ-SAMPRADĀYA

By

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Pillai Lokācārya was the son of Vaḍaka Tīru Vīthi Pillai son of Nam Pillai. He flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was the founder of the Tēngalai or Southern School.

Lokācārya is the author of eighteen Rahasyas or Tamil treatises on the Viśiṣṭādvaita School viz (1) Mumukṣu paḍi (2) Prameya sekḥara (3) Navaratna mālā (4) Tanu praṇava (7) Yāvaccukappada (8) Dvaya (9) Arthapañcaka, (10) Sāra samgraha (11) Paranda paḍi (12) Śrī vacana bhūṣaṇa (13) Samsāra sāmrajyam (14) Śrīyaḥ pati paḍi (15) Carama (16) Arcirādi (17) Nava vidha sambandha and (18) Tattva sekḥara.

Of these Artha pañcaka Tattva traya and Tattva sekḥara are the chief all of which have been rendered into Sanskrit.

The Artha pañcaka is a theological treatise concerned with explaining and expounding the main points of the Vaiṣṇava theology.

The Tattva traya is a philosophical work composed on the model of Yamunācārya's Siddhi traya. It deals with the three tenets of the Viśiṣṭādvaita School viz the cit or the individual soul the acit or matter, and Īśvara or the Supreme Soul. Although this work can boast of no originality of thought, yet its special merit lies in its succinct yet very lucid and charming way of expression entirely free from polemical arguments etc. The views of other schools have been refuted of course, but very briefly and simply. It is specially suitable for those who want to be acquainted with the fundamental ideas of the Viśiṣṭādvaita School without entering into any logical wranglings.

The Tattva-śekḥara too is a philosophical work of equal simplicity and lucidity. It consists of four prakaraṇas or chapters. The first and the second deal with the supremacy of Viṣṇu the third deals with the nature of the individual soul and the fourth with the supreme end of man. In the beginning of the first chapter tattva jñāna or knowledge of truth is defined as the knowledge viz. that recourse to the Lord's feet is the only means to salvation. And such a tattva jñāna is attainable from the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. The Lord is, as usual, Nārāyaṇa. He is the cause of the world. He is the object to be worshipped by those who are desirous of emancipation. He is the giver of salvation. For all these three reasons He is the Highest Being (para). The first chapter establishes the first reason viz. the causality of the Lord and

rejects the casuality of other Deities, such as Śiva and Hiraṇyagarbha. Naraṇa alone is the uncaused first cause not subject to transmigratory existence or karma

The second chapter establishes the remaining two reasons viz that the Lord is the object to be worshipped and the giver of salvation and not Śiva or any one else

The third chapter begins with the most important characteristic of the individual soul viz its absolute dependence on the Lord in every respect. This is emphasised again in the fourth chapter as well it being the main pivot on which Lokacarya bases his theory of salvation. The individual soul is further different from the body the sense-organs the mind the vital breath and buddhi self illuminating of the form of bliss the substratum of knowledge and bliss eternal atomic pure, and an attribute of the Lord

The body is not the soul otherwise the facts of recognition and memory cannot be consistently explained. The body changes day by day the body which one possesses during childhood is not exactly identical with the body which he has during youth. Hence unless there be a constant principle in the midst of all changes the experiences of the past cannot be recalled or recognised. This conclusively proves that the soul is something different from the body. Further the body is a whole of many parts or limbs. Now if each of these limbs be endowed with consciousness i.e. be the soul then there will be many souls within the same body and there will be no comprehensive sense of egoity (mamatva). If again only one among the limbs be the soul then the experience of pleasure and pain on the entire body becomes inexplicable further on this view on the removal of that particular limb the entire body too should become unconscious which however is never found. Hence the body is not the soul

The external sense-organs too cannot be the soul. In that case one particular sense-organ must be able to grasp everything the eye e.g. to taste, smell and touch—which is an evident absurdity. Similarly a man who has become blind must cease to have any other sensation. Thus no external sense-organ can be the soul

The internal organ or mind too cannot be the soul. Otherwise, there must be knowledge of everything at all times. Attention inattention memory etc. are explicable only if the antahkarana be taken to be something different from the soul itself

Similarly the vital breath is not the soul. Knowledge which is not lasting is not the Soul the constant principle.

Nor is consciousness, pure subject-objectless consciousness the soul. Here Lokacarya gives very brief and easily intelligible summaries of Ramanuja's criticisms of Śaṅkara's theories as contained in the Śrī bhāṣya such as

Jñatīva, or the attribute of being a knower, belongs to the soul itself and not to mere ahaṁkāra this latter being but a non sentient something Nor can it be said that Jñatīva results from the reflection of consciousness on ahaṁkāra for consciousness itself being (according to the opponents) devoid of Jñatīva can by no means impart it to another Nor can it be said that just as the face which is manifested by the mirror inheres in the mirror, so consciousness which is manifested by antahkarana inheres in the latter—for to say that the self luminous consciousness is manifested by the non sentient consciousness is just as absurd as to say that the sun is manifested by the burnt coal

In the same manner, Lokācārya gives a short and easy summary of Rāmānuja's contentions in his Śrī bhāṣya viz that the "I" (ahamārtha) persists even during deep sleep and salvation Thus, the soul is different from the body and the rest and is a knower or Jñātā

Knowledge is, by nature, bliss Hence to say that the soul is possessed of knowledge is to say that it is possessed of bliss In ordinary life, of course it is found that some kinds of knowledge do not lead to bliss such as the knowledge of rejectible objects like poison bricks etc But these are due to the connection of the soul with adventitious circumstances such as body, karmas egotry,—but really all knowledge is nothing but bliss

There is a plurality of souls but the mutual differences among these souls are not due to Upādhis or limiting adjuncts as held by Saṁkara but are real and ever lasting

In the fourth and the last chapter Lokācārya expounds his theory of salvation and the means to salvation This is the most important chapter in the whole book, inasmuch as it brings out the main point of difference between Lokācārya and Rāmānuja, the Founder of the school

According to Lokācārya the highest end of man or salvation is kaupkarya or absolute servitude to the Lord First, there is the full manifestation of the real nature of the individual soul itself, then the real nature of the Lord is directly intuited, this leads to an intense love for the Lord, and this, finally, gives rise to kaupkarya or absolute servitude to the Lord which is salvation itself

Thus this servitude is neither blind and automatic, nor super imposed and obligatory,—but is direct, intelligent, self imposed and absolutely spontaneous The individual soul does not blindly submit and dedicate itself to the Lord But it first realises its own real nature its own utter insignificance and defects, as well as the supreme purity and majesty of the Lord, then thereby, comes to feel an intense love (prīti) for Him, then alone it spontaneously and lovingly dedicates itself to an eternal servitude of the Lord In this way, Kaupkarya is based on direct knowledge (anubhava janita) and intense love (prīti kṛanta) Hence such a servitude, instead of being a source of pain as ordinary servitude is, is the cause of highest bliss As long as the souls are



in bondage, they fail to realise this bliss involved in servitude and engage themselves in other pursuits in vain searches for real happiness. But when they at last come to realise it they become free, enjoying eternal bliss in the service of the Lord alone. Thus servitude to the Lord is bliss freedom salvation

The Carvaka view Lokācārya points out that salvation means the unhampered enjoyment of earthly objects is not correct since the soul being different from the body mere physical pleasures cannot lead to the highest goal of men

Nor can it be said that Kaivalya or mere realisation of one's own self is salvation for the individual soul being essentially dependent on the Lord it cannot abide by itself without serving its Master

The annihilation of the self is not salvation as held by the Buddhists for the self is eternal

The destruction of the attributes of the self substance such as knowledge etc. too cannot be salvation, the self being eternally possessed of knowledge. Nor is salvation a mere negative state of absence of pain but is a positive state of eternal happiness

The Śaṅkarite view that salvation consists in the cessation of avidyā too is equally untenable. According to this school Brahman being absolutely *nirviśa*, possesses no bliss. Hence if salvation be nothing but an identity with Brahman then salvation can by no means be said to be a state of supreme bliss

The view of Bhaskara that salvation means removal of the Upadhis too is open to the very same objection. If salvation be said to be the full manifestation of the so long hidden bliss then the question is 'Whose bliss is this?' It cannot be the manifestation of the bliss of the individual soul itself for the individual soul has no existence during salvation according to this view. Nor can it be the manifestation of the bliss of the supreme soul no obscuration of the supreme soul's bliss being ever possible. If it be held that such an obscuration is possible in the region connected with Upadhi the Lord must cease to be omniscient

Finally the doctrine of salvation as held by the advocates of natural difference non difference too is equally unreasonable (*Yadavaprakasa*). The freed soul being different from the soul in bondage the former cannot be subject to the miseries of the latter the Lord being non different from the individual soul the former will be subject to the miseries of the latter and will here, remove them Himself by His own omnipotence as such individual souls themselves will have not to exert themselves at all for salvation and salvation will become automatic and universal

Hence the true view is that salvation is the entirely spontaneous and blissful servitude to the Lord

What is the means to the attainment of such a salvation? According to Lokācārya, the means to salvation is prapatti leading to bhakti. Prapatti, otherwise called nyāsa, śaraṇāgati etc., means resorting to the Lord and surrendering one's self completely to His mercy, and men of all castes are entitled to it. It consists in not transgressing the commands of the Lord and devoting one's self to what is commanded by him; in trying to grasp the Lord's omnipotence; in earnestly longing for Him alone day and night; and, finally, in having a full-fledged knowledge of His strict impartiality. The knowledge that the Lord is omnipotent, and as such capable of favouring any and every one, yet being impartial, does not do so at random, but favours only those who have resorted to Him alone,—naturally leads one to such a prapatti.

Prapatti leads to the destruction of even Prārabdha-karmas, and those who have resorted to it become free at once,—though through the wish of the Lord, some such freed souls continue their earthly existence for the good of the world. Thus Lokācārya admits the doctrine of Jivan-mukti, not supported by Rāmānuja and other Vaiṣṇava teachers.

Prapatti brings about salvation not separately by itself, but by generating bhakti. Bhakti means continuous dhyāna or meditation. Such a meditation is nothing but a direct vision of the Lord (pratyakṣa-samanākāra). By a proper and disinterested performance of one's duties in life, the daily (nitya) and occasional (naimittika) duties, and by the practice of tranquillity, self-control etc., the merits and demerits, i.e. all karmas, are destroyed, thereby obstructions in the form of rajas and tamas are removed, and thereby alone the full and successful practice of dhyāna becomes possible. In this way, meditation comprises all ethical virtues.

Neither pure knowledge by itself, nor actions by themselves, nor a combination of knowledge and action can lead to salvation.

Lokācārya ends his work by pointing out again that salvation is nothing but kaimkarya and the means thereto is nothing but prapatti, this latter knowledge being the only true knowledge or tattva-jñāna.

According to him, of the two ingredients of salvation, prapatti and bhakti, the former is by far the more important one.

And herein lies the chief difference between Rāmānuja and Lokācārya. According to Rāmānuja, too, the individual soul is ever subordinate to the Lord, in bondage as in release. But he never emphasises kaimkarya or absolute servitude to the Lord to such an extent as Lokācārya does. What Rāmānuja emphasises is not servitude to the Lord (kaimkarya), but fellowship with Him (sāyujya); not the realisation of one's own insignificance, but the realisation of one's own real greatness and perfection. Thus according to Rāmānuja, as a part and adjective of Brahman, the Great, the individual soul too is great, and when it becomes free, it realises itself as great, good and pure—similar even to the Great God Himself, and not as a mere worthless and insigni-

ficant creature, incapable of claiming any intimate fellowship with the Lord, as held by Lokācārya.

Similarly, although Rāmānuja admits prapatti, he is reluctant to give it so great an importance as Lokācārya does. According to Rāmānuja, active and intelligent devotion, and not mere passive self-surrender, is the means to salvation. But according to Lokācārya, though knowledge, action and devotion all play a part, prapatti is by far the most important means.\*

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\* (1) Tattva-nirṇaya, pp. 7 ff. vide Pañca-rahasyam. (2) Tattva-śekhara pp. 1-2. (3) Op. cit. p. 1. (4) Tattva-prakāśa, p. 2. (5) Op. cit. pp. 3 ff. (6) Op. cit. pp. 13 ff. (7) Op. cit. p. 21 ff. (8) Tattva-śekhara, p. 37. (9) Op. cit. p. 53. (10) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 37-40. (11) Op. cit. pp. 41 ff. (12) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 42 ff. vide Śrī-bhāṣya 1. 1. 1. (13) "Tasmāt Jñānasya ānandatvam eva svabhāvam" op. cit. p. 50. 'Evambhūta-jñānavattvam ātmano nanditatvam.' (14) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 51-52. (15) Op. cit. p. 56. "Tasmān nirdoṣa-niratiśaya-nanda-svarūpa-paramātma-kaimkaryā eva mokṣaḥ" vide also p. 55 and pp. 60-61. (16) Tattva-śekhara, p. 54. "Svarūpābhirbhāva-pūrvakaṃ nitya-nirdoṣa-nis-simā-nandakam, sa-vibhūtika-samasta-kalyāṇa-guṇātmaka-paramātma-yāthātmyānubhava-janita-prīti-kārita-kaimkaryam." vide also p. 60. (17) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 55, 60. (18) Op. cit. pp. 54-55. (19) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 55-56. (20) Tattva-śekhara, pp. 64-65. (21) Tattva-śekhara, p. 65. (22) Tattva-śekhara, p. 67. (23) Tattva-śekhara pp. 67-68. (24) Op. cit. p. 70. (25) Op. cit. p. 69. (26) Vide Gadya-traya.

# A DISSERTATION ON THE IDENTITY OF THE AUTHOR OF THE *DHṬANYĀLOKA*

By

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The *Dhṭanyāloka* of Anandavardhana, who was a contemporary of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-883 A.C.), is an epoch making work, which created a revolution in the history of Alamkāra literature. This date and the chronological status of the work are confirmed by other internal and collateral evidence. But a doubt has been raised about the identity of the authorship of the work, which consists of two parts, *Kāṅkas* (original verses) and *Vṛtti* (the prose elucidation). MM P. V. Kane following the clue given in the preface of the Nirnayasaagar Press Edition raised in his *History of Alamkāra Literature* the problem of the separate identity of the authors of the works. He collected all the relevant data, internal and external, which tend to create a presumption in favour of the separate identity of the two. While MM Kane tentatively suggests his view, which is based upon certain observations of Abhinavagupta the commentator of the *Dhṭanyāloka*, later writers are more dogmatic in their tone. Dr S. K. De is categorically positive that the *Kāṅkā* portion is the work of a predecessor, which was expounded by Anandavardhana. The data, on which the theory is based are however the same as adduced by MM Kane but the difference in tone among the later writers is worthy of remark. It seems that the belief in the separate identity of the author of the *Kāṅkā* from that of the *Vṛtti* has become traditional. It is remarkable that this recent tradition is founded upon certain remarks of Abhinavagupta which are by no means free from doubt as regards their implication and is in direct conflict with the tradition among Sanskrit writers both predecessors and successors of Abhinavagupta, who have emphatically asserted the identity of the authors of the original and the commentary. I have given a close and prolonged thought to the data from which the theory of separate authorship is derived and also to the other data, which seem to have escaped these writers, and my conviction of the numerical identity of the author of the *Kāṅkā* with that of the *Vṛtti* has deepened by every fresh consideration. I do not think the question to be a closed one and I propose to record the results of my reflections which may serve to stress the need of reconsideration and re-assessment of the problem with all its relevant issues.

The doubt about the dual authorship arises from the differentiation of the author of the *Kāṅkā* from that of the *Vṛtti* by Abhinavagupta in his commentary, *Locana* on the *Dhṭanyāloka*. MM Kane has quoted pro

fusely from Abhinavagupta the passages which distinguish between the author of the *Karika* and the author of the *Vṛtti* in his work and I will content myself with the consideration of those passages which seem to presuppose the numerical difference of the authors and will ignore those which seem to make a formal distinction. At the very outset I want to make it clear that the mere distinction of the author of an original work be it *Sūtra* or *Karika* from the author of the *Vṛtti* is not necessarily personal but a formal distinction which is seen to be observed even when the same person is known to have composed both. The works whether the products of the same or different authors are different not only numerically but in kind. It is usually the case that the two species of works are the products of different persons. Whether they are products of different or same writers it makes no difference to the nature and status of the works and their mutual relationship. The *Vṛtti* is only a commentary and as such is intended to explain what is succinctly or implicitly stated in the original. The original and the gloss are two different species of work and their role and status are also different. The rôle of the commentary is to explain what is implicitly contained in the original and it is an offence against the rules of exegesis to introduce matters foreign to the original. The offence is technically called *utsūtra vyākhyāna*. The offence of *utsūtravyākhyāna* is unpardonable on the part of a commentator and deprives him of all claim to audience. Patanjali the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* categorically asserts that what is stated in excess or in supersession of the original must be given short shrift<sup>1</sup>. Nagesa quotes in support the dictum of Kumarila whatever is in the *Vṛtti* and also in the *Ārtika* must be (shown to be implicitly contained) in the *Sūtras*. The difficulty raised in the *Pāncapadika* and in the *Vivaraṇa* regarding the introductory of Śaṅkarācārya to his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* wherein the theory of *adhyāsa* is discussed that it is *utsūtra* and so *ultra vires* and the answer to the objection that it is implied and warranted by the wording of the sūtra 1.1.1 are thus seen to be based upon the rules of exegesis and not an uncalled for scholastic ingenuity<sup>2</sup>. Even the *bhāṣya* which is entitled to certain privileges e.g. to explain its own statements cannot introduce matter which is not relevant to the original. Thus the status of the commentary is subordinate to that of the original. The difference of the nature and status of the two species of composition imposes a corresponding difference upon the authors of the two works. And even when the same person happens to be the author of both the original and the commentary the functional and official difference must not be allowed to be slurred over or obliterated because of the

1. *vo hy utsūtram kathayen na do grhyeta MBH p. 24 (Ben. ed.) Pāṣāṇa Cīetanmulakam eva pathyate sūtreṣveva hi tat sarvavyadvṛttāuyacca vartike MBH PU*

2. Vide *Pāncapadikavivaraṇa S V Adhyasabhāṣya* (B S I I I) tac cedam na sūtrārthakālām api pratipadayati ato na vyākhyānarham.

personal identity. The author of the *Vṛtti*, even when he happens to be identical with the author of the original, must give himself out as a different person and refer to the original author in the third person. Further he must not outstrip the jurisdiction of his rôle as a commentator, viz. to explain only what is implicit in the original and not to introduce matter, which is not implied or presupposed by the same. Fidelity to the original and observance of the limit imposed by it are absolutely *de rigueur*.

In corroboration of our position we refer to the *Kāvya-lankārasūtra* and *Vṛtti* of Vāmana, who expressly states that he is the author of the original and the gloss as well, to the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, the *Bhāṣa-pariccheda—cum—Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and others in all of which the original and the gloss are written by the same person. These works are known to be the compositions of single authors. But the personal identity of the authors does not make any difference to the formal procedure. If we were not aware of the identity of the person of the authors externally and *a priori*, we could not deduce this identity from any reference, veiled or explicit, embodied in the *Vṛtti*. If the author of the *Vṛtti*, even when he is the author of the original text, were to let fall any hint that he is the author of the original text, he would be condemned of bad craftsmanship. As a matter of fact authors, when they happen to be the same person, have not been sufficiently on their guard in their observance of this rule, but the commentators have taken pains to point out that the author *quā* commentator only makes explicit what is implicitly intended by the author of the original text. Thus even when new matters are introduced in the *Vṛtti* and the original text presupposes what is stated in the gloss, the commentator of the gloss takes pains to justify this illegitimate cross reference on the ground that the gloss, or for that matter, its author only states what is implied by the original text or its author. This is the rule of the game and it is not permissible to overstep or transgress it even when the original text and the gloss are the handiwork of one and the same person. It is therefore a necessity of form that the author of the gloss, even when he is the author of the original, should refer to the latter as a different person and should always comply with the subordinate rôle that the function of a commentator imposes upon him. The most outstanding and definitive proof of our contention is furnished in the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā*, a work consisting of *sūtra* and *vṛtti* written by Hemacandra of the 12th century. Hemacandra in the rôle of the commentator behaves as an entirely different person from the author of the original *sūtras*, whom he refers to as the *sūtrakāra* and *Ācārya*. Had Hemacandra not written at the outset of his commentary that he comments on his own *sūtras*, a modern scholar would have naturally declared the commentator to be a different person. Hemacandra sometimes gives alternative explanations as befits a commentator. It is interesting that Hemacandra observes that the particle '*atha*' in the first aphorism proves that the author is identical with that of other

works (*anena śabdānuśāsanādibhir asya ekakāṭīkātām aśa* PM p 2) All this proves that the distinction of the original author from the commentator is purely formal and has no bearing on the question of numerical identity

It is necessary that this etiquette of form should be borne in mind with a view to the adjudication of the evidence of separate identity that is furnished by a commentator, who is a third person of the whole work, such as is done by Abhinavagupta We should not let ourselves be carried away by the differentiation by a commentator of the authors of the text and the gloss to the conclusion that his differentiation necessarily refers to personal identity The differentiation of the authors is necessitated by the qualitative difference of the two compositions and there is no departure permissible from this procedure even when the author of both is an identical person As we have made it clear the author of the gloss must keep his personal identity in the background and make believe that he is a faithful expositor of the text, written by a person who is functionally distinct from and in status superior to the former The numerical difference or identity of the authors can be gathered only from extra textual evidence e.g. the statement of the commentators or of other writers All internal evidence embodied either in the original text or in the gloss purporting or alluding to personal identity will be regarded as an offence against the rule of the game. The solicitude of a sympathetic commentator for interpretation of all this evidence as consistent with the numerical and functional difference of the authors becomes intelligible in the light of the findings recorded here<sup>3</sup>

It is a matter of historical truth that so far as Indian tradition is concerned there is perfect unanimity among writers on Sanskrit Poetics beginning with Mahimabhaṭṭa and down to the latest writers that the author of the *Karika* and that of the *Vṛtti* are a self identical person Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote the *Vyaktiviveka* a product of extraordinary learning and ingenuity with the express purpose of refuting the position of Anandavardhana He has criticised Abhinavagupta's exposition also MM Kane asserts that he was a contemporary of Abhinavagupta Mahimabhaṭṭa refers to the author of the *Karika* and of the *Vṛtti* as *Dhvanikara* without distinction and expressly states that the author himself explains the text in the *Vṛtti*<sup>4</sup> So also has Kṣemendra referred to these texts as the composition of Anandavardhana the acknowledged writer of the gloss Kuntaka the author of the *Vakroktijvāla* a reactionary work written for the confutation of the *Dhvanyaloka* has been shown by MM Kane to refer to Anandavardhana as the author of the entire

3 Vide the *Vṛttis* of Vāmana Mammabhaṭṭa, Viśvanatha Kaviraja Viśvanātha Nyayapancanana the authors respectively of the *Kavyaṅkarasutratvṛtti* the *Kavyaprakāśa* the *Sahityadarpana* and the *Bhaṣapariśeḍha* together with the *Nyayasiddhāntamuktavali*.

4 Artho vacyaviśeṣa itī svayam vivṛtatvac ca. VV, p 82 Benares edition.

text, the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* included. These writers belong to Kashmir, the home-land of Anandavardhana and Kuntaka was the predecessor of Abhinavagupta. It is highly improbable that these writers, who are pre-eminently noted for their acumen and accuracy and who are the compatriots of our author and were separated by a short interval from the latter, should all be guilty of recording a wrong tradition. Rājaśekhara who was the predecessor of Abhinavagupta also refers to Anandavardhana as the promulgator of the Dhvani theory. We shall give reasons to show that the author of the *Candrikā*, the earlier commentary on the *Dhvanyaloka* which has been severely criticised by Abhinavagupta and mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa, was also of the opinion that the two works the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*, were the product of the same author. Later writers e.g. Hemacandra who flourished in the 12th century, and every other subsequent and precedent writer on *Alaṃkāra* have all regarded Anandavardhana as the author of the entire work. All these facts have been mentioned by MM Kane, who leaves little room for originality to his successors in the matter of external evidence. My purpose in stating these data is only to show the unbroken continuity of the tradition regarding the numerical identity of the authors of the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*. I only differ from MM Kane and his successors with regard to the interpretation of the internal evidence. It is not mentioned by MM Kane that Kuntaka has been alluded to by Abhinavagupta.

Mr Sovani seems to go too far when he propounds that *Sahṛdaya* was the name of the author of the original text on which Anandavardhana comments. To be fair to MM Kane it must be stated that he has hesitated to accept this hypothesis as an indubitable fact. It is not necessary for me to labour the point further as the term is used as an attributive frequently by Anandavardhana. The statement of the *Kārikā* 11 'the nature of *Dhvani* will be elucidated for the delectation of the *Sahṛdaya* (a man of taste and critical outlook)' should be deemed sufficient to demonstrate the extreme improbability of the theory propounded by Mr Sovani. The designation of the author of the *Kārikā* and of the *Vṛtti* indiscriminately as *sahṛdaya* by Pratiharenduraja takes away all the point from Mr Sovani's argument. The frequent use of the term as a descriptive appellation by Anandavardhana himself should be deemed a final clincher.<sup>5</sup>

We now propose to examine the remarks of Abhinavagupta, which expressly distinguish between the author of the *Kārikā* and the author of the *Vṛtti* on which the theory of separate authorship is founded. We must be on our guard against the too natural mistake of confounding formal distinction with numerical difference in the light of what has been set forth by us at the outset.

5 tena brumah sahrdayamanahpritye tatsvarūpam Dh 11

6 sahrdayahrdayahlādi also na ca svasamayantahpātinah sahrdayan kām-  
at prākalpya Op cit p 7



In the first chapter the classification of *Dhvaṃ* into *avivakṣitavācyā* and *vivakṣitanyāparavācyā* has been given in the *Vṛtti* and not in the *Karika*. In the first *Karika* of the second chapter the first type is sub divided into two kinds. Apart from the observations of Abhinavagupta it would appear that this *Karika* presupposes the classification of *Dhvaṃ* given in the *Vṛtti* in the first chapter and the natural deduction from this cross reference would be that the author of the *Karika* is identical with that of the *Vṛtti*. In other words the author does not discriminate between the *Vṛtti* and the *Karika*. This is certainly the case as otherwise the abrupt division of *avivakṣitavācyā* in the *Karika* II 1 of which absolutely no mention has been made before by the author of the *Karika* would be an unintelligible procedure. And if we scan the prefatory remarks of Ānandavardhana at the outset of the second chapter it would be apparent that he too does not distinguish between the *Karika* and the *Vṛtti* and regards the division proposed as only a continuation of the topic broached in the *Vṛtti* in Chapter I *nou dhvaṃ has been shown to be of two kinds avivakṣitavācyā and vivakṣitanyāparavācyā*. Of these it is stated as follows for the elucidation of the division of *avivakṣitavācyā* (*Vṛtti*) *Avivakṣitavācyā* is of two kinds according as its expressed sense (*vācyā*) is included in another (wider) sense or absolutely surrendered (Dh II 1). Though this is the natural procedure for an identical person to make such cross reference it cannot be regarded as legitimate owing to the technical difference between the *Karika* and the *Vṛtti* the implication and consequences of which have been fully explained by us before. Accordingly Abhinavagupta as the commentator steps forward to justify this abnormal breach of the etiquette of exegesis by an ingenious device. In connection with the classification given in the *Vṛtti* in the first chapter Abhinavagupta observes that the author of the *Vṛtti* propounds this classification in pursuance of the implicit reference which will be made to it in the second chapter. In commenting on the *Vṛtti* *dhvaṃ* has been shown to be of two kinds etc. Abhinavagupta supplies the necessary corrective by me in the capacity of *Vṛttikara*—that is the import. This has however not been stated in disregard of the original text (*uṣṣūtra*) but in pursuance of the intention of the *Karikakara*. The twofold classification of *dhvaṃ* (shown in the *Vṛtti*) is endorsed by the *Karikakara* also inasmuch as the sub division of the first variety (given in the *Karika* II 1) contains an implicit reference to the former classification and thereby aims at showing its distinction from the second variety.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately both MM Durgaprasad Dvivedi the editor of the N S P edition and MM Kane alike failed to pay proper attention

7 *maya vṛttikāreṇa sate ti bhavaḥ* *Nacatan mayotsutram kṛtam apī tu kankakarahuprayoge ty aha* (Dh p 165 Benares edition) *Tatra prathamodyote vṛttikāreṇa prakāśaḥ (tasya) avivakṣitavācyasya vāḥ prabhedas tat pratipadanaye dam ucyate* *bhavaṃ mulato dvibhedatvaṃ Karikakāreṇa p 166 matam eve ti bhavaḥ* *Op cit., p 166*

to the clause 'by me in the capacity of *Vṛttikara*' (*maya Vṛttikarena sata*). The particle *sata* would be redundant unless the functional difference in spite of the personal identity were alluded to by Abhinavagupta. Again the absence of refutation in the *Karika* of the position that *dhvani* is indefinable and the express refutation of the same in the *Vṛtti* would seem to be an introduction of a topic unintended by the *Karikakara*. Abhinavagupta justifies the *Vṛttikara* on the ground that he only makes explicit what is implied by the *Karikakara*. A *prima facie* reading of the text would rather give out the impression that the same person being the author of *Karika* and the *Vṛtti* he does not mind to state in the original verse what he will state in the gloss. But this would involve the offence of the confusion of personal identity with functional identity which as we have shown is an unpardonable breach of form. Abhinavagupta's observation serves to eliminate this confusion. Of course the comment of Abhinavagupta is not easily justifiable without the presupposition of personal identity. The real crux of the problem however is found in the beginning of Chapter III. The observation of Abhinavagupta hereunder seems to make him plainly assert his faith in the numerical difference of the author of the *Karika* from that of the *Vṛtti*. But let us dispassionately and critically examine the *Vṛtti* and the comment of Abhinavagupta and see whether the postulation of more than functional and official difference is necessary here also.

The *Vṛttikara* introduces the third chapter by the remark that *dhvani* has been fully expounded with all its divisions on the basis of suggested meaning (*vyangya*) now it is being expounded again in so far as it is based upon the suggestive form (*vyanyaka*)<sup>8</sup>. Abhinavagupta explains the text of Anandavardhana in a far fetched way and makes severe animadversions upon the previous commentator whose interpretation however is more satisfactory and logically more consistent than what is offered by the former. In the third chapter the division of *dhvani* is made on the basis of verbal forms which are exclusively vehicles of suggestion and can never become from the nature of the case objects of suggestion. The *Candrika* which was the previous commentary and which is criticized here explains the meaning of the expression on the basis of suggested meaning (*vyangyamukhena*) as referring to the division of *dhvani* in respect of *Vastu* (matter of fact) *alakara* (figure of speech) and *rasa* (aesthetic sentiment). Abhinavagupta is impatient with this interpretation. He remarks this threefold division has been set forth by the *Vṛttikara* and not by the *Karikakara*. Nor is the *Vṛttikara* setting forth this division here and now. So what relevancy would be there in the statement this has been done and this is being done in case the authors are different? Nor does this interpretation square with the entire previous text.

8. *evam vyangyamukhenai va dhvaneḥ pradars te saprabhede svarupe punar vyanyakamukhena tat prakasyate* Op cit

since such modes as *avivakṣitavācyā* also have been demonstrated therein<sup>9</sup> Abhinavagupta accordingly explains the remarks of *Ānandavardhana* as having reference to the division of *dhvani* as *avivakṣitavācyā* etc.

We must confess that Abhinavagupta's criticism of the *Candrika* seems to be inspired more by petulance than regard to fact or logical consistency. In the first place it is not a fact that the threefold classification of *dhvani* has not been shown in the *Karika* itself. In II 2 *dhvani* based on the expressed sense is shown to be twofold according as the sequence between the expressed and the suggested sense is imperceptible or perceptible. In II 3 *rasadhvani* as representative of the first type is dealt with. In II 22 *alankaradhvani* based on formal suggestiveness (*śabdasaṅkhyudbhavā*) is discussed. In II 23 25 the *Vastudhvanī* is elaborated at length. In II 26-31 *alankaradhvanī* based upon material significance (*arthasaṅkhyudbhavā*) is treated of rather in detail. The consideration of these facts would show that Abhinavagupta is neither correct nor precise in his categorical assertion that the threefold division of *dhvani* has not been shown by the *Karikakara*. In the second place Abhinavagupta's animadversion would still be unjustifiable even if it were true that the threefold classification of *dhvani* were not dealt with in the *Karika* but in the *Vṛtti* only. He forgets in the heat of the controversy that the *Vṛttikara* could not introduce a matter which was not intended or endorsed by the *Karikakara* since this would involve the fallacy of *utsulavyakhyana*. Curiously enough Abhinavagupta himself justifies the cross reference in the beginning of the second chapter by this device. It is incomprehensible why the same principle should not hold good in the case under consideration were the contention of Abhinavagupta correct.

Another point remains to be disposed of. Let us examine the implication of the complaint of Abhinavagupta about irrelevancy in the case of the difference of authors. Is the difference meant to be personal also or functional only? The implication seems to be plain as follows. Of course the attribution of what has been stated and what is going to be stated to the same author may hold good in the present case by way of a historical accident when the two authors *viz* of the *Karika* and of the *Vṛtti* happen to be the self-identical person. But this would break down if the authors were numerically two different persons. But we have made it sufficiently clear that irrespective of the question of numerical identity or difference of the authors of the *Karika* and the *Vṛtti* the cross reference can be justified on the hypothesis that the *Vṛtti* merely explicates what is intended by *Karika* as otherwise the charge of *utsutra* statement would make the position repugnant to the canons of exegesis. Even supposing that the authors were identical transference of a state-

9 etat tava tribhedatvam na karikākareṇa kṛtam vṛttikareṇa tu darśitam na ce dānū vṛttikaro bheda-prakāṣaṇam karoti tatāś ce dān kṛtam idam kriyāta itī kartṛbhede ka saṃgat h et seq. Op cit

ment made by the *Vṛttikāra* to the account of the *Kārikākāra* would still be absolutely indefensible. We have shown above that Abhinavagupta is not unfamiliar with the rule. On the contrary it has induced him to explain the supposed reference by the *Vṛttikāra* to what has been stated in the *Vṛtti* as implied by *Kārikākāra* on the hypothesis of identity of purpose of the authors. He could have offered this explanation in the present instance with equal propriety. We have shown that the whole piece of Abhinavagupta's attack is not only unfounded but contrary to facts. The question of factual discrepancy apart Abhinavagupta seems to have made himself appear as the supporter of a false cause. It requires to be stated, in view of the opinion expressed by MM Kane that even if we take Abhinavagupta's remarks for all that the former means to establish it is obvious that the author of the *Candrikā* cannot be supposed to have held the two authors to be numerically different even on the showing of Abhinavagupta. Even if the remarks of the latter were true that the triple division of *dhvani* was the handiwork of the *vṛttikāra* and not of the *kārikākāra*, the confusion implied in the cross reference, made out by the author of the *Candrikā*, would be possible only if the latter were persuaded of the numerical identity of the two authors. Abhinavagupta seems to be conscious of the weakness of his criticism and this leads him to advance another argument immediately after

There are one or two other instances which seem to imply the numerical difference of the *Vṛttikāra* from the *kārikākāra* and we propose to discuss them now. On page 135 (Dh N S P edn) the question of the substratum of *gunas* is raised and Ānandavardhana observes that the substratum has been set forth in the *Kārikā* (II 7), which he quotes in support. Abhinavagupta completes the sentence in his commentary 'as set forth' by our original author" (*asmanmūlagranthakṛte 'ty arthah*). The differentiation need not be more than formal as we have shown that allusion to the identity of the author of the *vṛtti* with that of the *kārikā* would be a breach of form. On p 138 while discussing the question of lapse from the norm of propriety Ānandavardhana observes that the matter 'has been dealt with subsequently' (*darśitam eva 'gre*). Abhinavagupta remarks that the expression "has been dealt with" has for its subject the *Kārikākāra* and hence the past tense is used.<sup>10</sup> MM Kane explains the significance of the remarks of Abhinavagupta as follows. "If the *कारिका* and *वृत्ति* were the work of the same author, he would have used the future tense in place of the past in the word *दर्शितम्*, when referring to what was to be discussed later on, but as the *कारिका*s were the work of a predecessor and were actually before the *वृत्तिकार* when he wrote this passage, he employs the words (*दाशतमम कारिकाकरणे*)"<sup>11</sup> I regret I

10 *darśitam eva* ti *kārikākāreṇa* ti *bhūtapratyayaḥ*. *Vakṣyate hi* 'anauctyādrite nā'nyad rasabhangasya *kāraṇam* ' ityādi.

11 *Hal* p LIX

cannot agree with MM Kane in this interpretation of the implication of the remarks of Abhinavagupta. The *kārikās*, being the original text on which the *Vṛtti* is a commentary, are certainly to be supposed to be logically, though not necessarily chronologically, prior to the latter. And even if the author of the *Vṛtti* were identical with that of the *Kārikā*, the use of future tense with the implication of personal identity as made out by MM Kane would be unjustifiable, since the *vṛttikāra* is required to behave as a different person as a matter of form. The distinction need not be personal, as personal identity cannot be alluded to under any circumstances without infringement of etiquette, which is tabooed.

The argument based on the use of tense is absolutely inconclusive. MM Kane's criterion of personal identity, viz., the use of future tense is unacceptable. In fact Ānandavardhana uses future tense in several places in reference to what is stated later on in the *Kārikā*. It cannot be contended that the reference is to the gloss and not to the *Kārikā*, since Abhinavagupta himself quotes or alludes to the *Kārikā* as the object of reference. We refer the reader to page 15 page 23 page 26 and page 34<sup>12</sup>. We do not attach undue importance to these uses of future tense since the allusion to personal identity with the author of the original will be a breach of form on the part of the author of the *Vṛtti*. The identification implied by future tense or first person is to be explained by reference to the identity of interest. The *Vṛttikāra*, even when he is a different person is to identify himself intellectually with the author of the original text as a loyal commentator. So the use of future tense or of the first person is inconclusive as evidence of personal identity. We need not discuss the other cases of differentiation made by Abhinavagupta between the author of the gloss and the author of the verses since this implies nothing more than what the necessity of form demands.

Let us now consider whether there are positive indications in the commentary of Abhinavagupta of the unity of authorship regarding the entire work. Abhinavagupta plainly asserts that the theory of *dhvani*, though it was not unknown to previous thinkers and though it continued to be orally discussed without break was not treated of in works of special interest.<sup>13</sup> But the first systematic treatise referred to here may be considered to consist of the *Kārikā* portion alone and thus need not afford any clue to the unity of authorship. But the following consideration is decisive. Ānandavardhana maintains that 'even writers of exceptional intellectual acumen on the science of poetics have failed to discover the existence of *dhvani*'. But still it will be

12 tato nyac citram eve tye agre darsayisyamah. Dh. p. 34 Abh. navagupta here quotes the *Kārikā* III 42 as the place referred to. The use of the first person deserves more than a passing notice. Again the pledge of the *Vṛttikāra* *vacyavāca* *kācārutvāhetavo hi tasyā ngabhuta na tu tadekarupā eve ti pratipādayisyamanatvat* is endorsed in the *Kārikā* II 4.

13 *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

easy for men of æsthetic taste (*sahṛdaya*) to detect the presence of *dhvani* in the famous poetical works such as the *Rāmāyana* in the light of the definition propounded here' He concludes with a veiled personal reference "May Ānanda" (æsthetic delight and the author Ānandavardhana) find a secure place in the minds of the men of taste With a view to this end (the nature of *dhvani*) is being promulgated" Abhinavagupta observes that Ānanda is the name of the author (*granthakṛt*) The promulgation of *dhvani* aims at securing a permanent footing for Ānandavardhana in the hearts of lovers of poetry by means of the *śāstra* (*etacchāstradiarena*) Abhinavagupta refers to Ānandavardhana as *Vṛttikāra* and also as *granthakāra*. It might be supposed that the latter appellation is only an equivalent of the former and as such has no reference to the entire work, consisting of *kārikā* and *Vṛtti*. But the description of Ānandavardhana as the author of *this śāstra* is significant In another place Abhinavagupta refers to him as the author of *our śāstra*, who established that the absolute Brahman is the only Ultimate Reality in another work, viz., *Tattvāloka* The author of the *dhvani śāstra* is also the author of the *Tattvāloka*<sup>14</sup> We know Ānandavardhana is the author of the latter work and it follows that it is Ānandavardhana who is said by Abhinavagupta to be the author of the *Dhvanī śāstra*

The question now naturally arises whether Ānandavardhana could be described as the *Śāstrakāra*, if he were only the writer of the *vṛtti* alone and the *Kārikās*, which abundantly set forth the doctrine with its details were the work of a different person Barring the scholastic devices of Abhinavagupta who tries to make out the *vṛtti* to be only a paraphrase and elaboration of the *Kārikā*, even if we take a dispassionate view of the relative position of the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* it must be owned that the original contribution of the *Vṛtti* is almost nil In the circumstances is it not unthinkable that the author of the *Vṛtti* should pass off as the promulgator of the *dhvani* school which the title of *śāstrakāra* conferred upon him by Abhinavagupta implies?<sup>15</sup>

Again in the colophon of the work there are two verses While commenting upon 'iti,' the first word of the first verse Abhinavagupta observes that it means 'in the light of the exposition given in the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti*' This indicates that Abhinavagupta takes the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* to be the work of one person\* If there be a lingering doubt, the last verse should

14 There is *double entendre* on the word

15 Vide p 67 and p 533 Ben edn 16 Vide p 41 p 67 (Bom edn)

\* It should be noted that the *mangalacarana* and the colophon are not integral parts of the text of a work It is only these places wherein the author of a gloss can reveal his identity with that of the original *Sutra* or *Kārikā* without offending the canons of exegesis. Ānandavardhana cannot be accused of the breach of form when he asserts on the colophon his authorship of the entire work after the conclusion of the book because he has already accomplished the task of the *Vṛttikāra* and is no longer in the subordinate rôle.

dispel it completely. The last verse states 'Ānandavardhana, whose name is widely known, has explicitly brought out for the edification of men of taste the real essence of true poetry, which lay dormant<sup>17</sup> for all the ages in the minds of even men of mature intellect. The statement that the nature of *dhvani* which is the real essence of true poetry was not discriminatingly grasped by previous writers and that it was for the first time developed and systematised by Ānandavardhana would become unmeaning and untrue, were the doctrine developed in such a systematic form by a predecessor, viz the author of the *Karika*, who is made out to be a different person by the theory of dual authorship. It is further remarkable that the author of the *Kārikā* observes (III 56) that the true nature of poetry was indiscriminatingly apprehended by previous writers and their failure to disentangle the same was responsible for the promulgation of the theory of *rūpī*. This identical claim for originality by both the author of the *Karika* and Ānandavardhana is intelligible only if the two are regarded as the same person otherwise the claim of the latter would be a vain boast. Abhinavagupta observes while commenting on the last verse just quoted that the author here divulges his name in order that students of poetics may feel drawn towards a study of it. People generally are attracted by the fame of a great author. In the first chapter also Abhinavagupta has stated that Ānanda is the name of the author, who gives out his name in order to enlist the support of the readers by creating a sense of regard for his great name<sup>18</sup>. Of course Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as *Granthakara*, and this has been supposed to stand for the author of the *Vṛtti*. But it is seldom found that the author of a gloss is designated as *Granthakara*. In all the places where Abhinavagupta speaks of the *Granthakara*, he does not draw a distinction between the author of the *Karika* and the author of the gloss and the presumption is very great to induce the belief that the word should be taken as standing for the author of the entire book. In one place we have seen that Abhinavagupta refers to the *Kārikākara* as *asman mulagrānthakara*. But it seems that too much capital has been made of this distinction. The distinction is made in order to preclude a confusion of the personal identity with functional identity. The *Vṛttikāra* quotes the *kārikā* as the place wherein the substratum of the *gunas* has been set forth. Abhinavagupta in conformity with the rules of exegesis supplies the proviso 'that is by our original author'. It should be understood that the proviso is added on behalf of the *Vṛttikāra* and not in opposition to him. The author of the *Vṛtti* should naturally quote the *Kārikā* as the work of the original author on which he comments.

The consideration of the following statements of Abhinavagupta himself should remove all misgiving about the identity of the author of the *Kārikā* with that of the *Vṛtti*. We have proved at the outset that Indian tradition

17 Cf the identity of language of the verse with that of III 46.

18. Pp 41 to 42 and pages 553 (Bom edn.) et seq (Ben. edn.)

is absolutely unanimous on the fact that Ānandavardhana is the author of the whole work. It is Abhinavagupta's differentiation between the two works and their authors that has led scholars like the editor of the *Dhvanyāloka* and MM Kane and others to the conclusion that the two authors are not only functionally but also numerically different. My thesis has been that the distinction is a matter of form lapse from which was very seriously regarded as an unpardonable offence. The following considerations in addition to what I have given above will serve to clinch the matter under consideration.

On p. 79 Abhinavagupta comments '(He) states—the meaning of the *Kārikā* by means of the *Vṛtti*'. On p. 85 Abhinavagupta observes 'Now (he) explains the expression '*ekarūpa*' (stated in the *Kārikā*) by means of *Vṛtti*'. On p. 102 the commentator says 'With this intention (he) explicates in the *Vṛtti*'. On p. 104 in the commentary it is observed 'Accordingly (he) will explain in the *Vṛtti* in the twofold way, and on p. 105 again '(he) now explains the minor subdivisions of *Praudhokti* by means of *Vṛtti*'. These remarks have escaped MM Kane and his predecessors and successors alike, but they deserve more than passing notice. The analysis of their import reveals momentous facts. Certainly Abhinavagupta could not make these remarks if he were absolutely convinced of the truth that Ānandavardhana *quā* the author of the *Vṛtti* was numerically different from the author of the *Kārikā*. Who is the subject of the verbs in the sentences referred to above? We have put the subject 'he' within brackets. But whom can 'he' refer to? It cannot be supposed that 'he' here stands for the *Vṛttikāra*, as in that case the proposition will turn out to be hopelessly tautologous. It is sheer nonsense to say that 'the *Vṛttikāra* explains the meaning in or by means of the *Vṛtti*'. The *Vṛttikāra* can state anything in the *Vṛtti* alone, which is his work—a fact too obvious to be stressed. So the phrases 'in the *Vṛtti*' or 'by means of *Vṛtti*' would have no sense, if the subject were meant to be the *Vṛttikāra*, a different person from the author of the *Kārikā*. These observations of Abhinavagupta, unless they are to be reduced to downright nonsense, are capable of one explanation only. Abhinavagupta takes the author of the *Kārikā* to be the same person with the *Vṛttikāra* and so observes that the author of the *Kārikā* himself explains the meaning of the words of the *Kārikā* in the *Vṛtti*. There is no question of confusion of personal identity and functional diversity as the commentator is a third person. The *Vṛttikāra* cannot be permitted to allude to his personal identity with the author of the original text as that would involve breach of form. But the commentator can make any observation on the difference or identity of the authors of the original and the gloss, as he is an outsider.

The differentiation by Abhinavagupta of the *Kārikakāra* from the *Vṛttikāra* in his commentary is necessitated by caution to rescue the *Vṛttikāra* from the charge of the breach of the rules of exegesis. We have made the point abundantly clear at the outset. The differentiation is formal and functional.



and has no bearing upon personal relationship of the authors. It is a matter of pity that later writers became oblivious of the traditional rules of interpretation and of the consequential difference of status of the *Vṛttikāra* from the author of the original text. The ignorance or oblivion, whichever may be the case is responsible for the curious arguments advanced by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāṛiṣa, Maheśvara, Vaidyanātha Tatsat and Maheśacandra Nayāya ratna. Rāmacaraṇa argues in his commentary on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* that the author of the *Vṛtti* is the same person who composed the *Kārikās* on the ground that the *Vṛttikāra* makes the promise "We shall expound the nature of *rasa*," which is implemented in a *Kārikā*. If Rāmacaraṇa were correct, Viśvanātha would be guilty of the infringement of a fundamental rule of exegesis. 'We' has no separatist implication here. The *Vṛttikāra* here speaks on behalf of the original author as befits an exponent and representative.<sup>19</sup> Vaidyanātha and Maheśacandra likewise defend the unity of authorship of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* on the ground of a supposed cross reference in a *Kārikā* to the *Vṛtti*.<sup>20</sup> Maheśvara again defends his theory of dual authorship of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* on the ground that the *Vṛttikāra* refers to the *Kārikākāra* in the third person. He argues that if the authors had been an identical person the *Vṛttikāra* would have used the first person in referring to the *Kārikākāra*.<sup>21</sup> These errors of judgment would not have been possible if these commentators had cared to consult the *Bhāṣāpariccheda Muktaṭālī* or Vāmana's *Kavyā lankarāsūtravṛtti* and study the procedure adopted therein.

We shall conclude our dissertation by referring to the criticism of the Dhvani theory by Jayantabhaṭṭa the author of the *Nyāyamāñjarī*. Jayanta was the contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman the immediate successor of Avantivarman in whose court Ānandavardhana was a minister. Jayanta says 'By the same logic of the unsuspected power of word the doctrine of *dhvani* is refuted which has been propounded by a fellow who considered himself a real scholar. Well when negation is understood from affirmation or affirmation from negation in such sentences as 'Freely walk O pious man,' or 'Don't enter my room O traveller,' it is entirely due to the common efficiency of words alone. Or perhaps we should not engage in such controversy with poets. Even scholars are bewildered as to the import of sentences and so let us drop this discourse. It is exceedingly a delicate problem and is beyond the province of logicians'.<sup>22</sup> It is obvious that Jayanta here refers to the *Vṛtti* of the *Dhvanyaloka* and thinks that the theory was promulgated by one man i.e. Ānandavardhana.

19 *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 1.1.5 V commentary

20 *Mala tu pūrvavat*. K. P. *Kārikā* 94

21 *na tu vṛttikṛd eva kārikakṛt parāmṛśatītyadiṣu sarvatra namaḥyogocitapṛathamapurūṣanirdeśasvarasāt anyathā 'smadyogocitottamapurūṣa eva nirdeśyeta*. KPT, p. 5 (Calcutta Sanskrit Series)

22 NM p. 45 (Chowkhamba edition Part I)

It follows from both external and internal evidence that has been adduced before that there is no break in the tradition that Ānandavardhana is the author of the entire work and the founder of the Dhvani school. Abhinavagupta's differentiation of the author of the *Vṛttī* from the author of the *Kārikā* has been proved to be a fiction of the law of exegesis even on the basis of his own remarks. Accordingly I feel constrained to assert that the conclusion of MM Kane, which he states in the following words is based upon an insufficient appraisal of data. 'I feel inclined to hold (though with hesitation) that the *Locana* is right and that Pratihārendurāja, Mahimabhaṭṭa Ksemendra and others had not the correct tradition before them'.<sup>23</sup> MM Kane has created a tradition of his own. With due deference to his authority I have to differ from him and I place the results of my prolonged study and reflection before the bar of scholarship for fresh consideration.

To sum up the results of our enquiry. We have explained for the first time the rules of exegesis which require that the *Vṛttikāra* irrespective of his numerical difference or identity with the author of the original, must behave as a different person and author and observe the subordinate rôle which the status of a commentator involves as a matter of irrefragable form. Secondly, the differentiation of the *Vṛttikāra* from the *Kārikakāra* in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the *Dhvanyāloka* is nothing more than formal and official distinction which is necessitated by the duty of protecting Ānandavardhana *qua* the *Vṛttikāra* from the charge of *utsūtra* exposition. Thirdly, the designation of Ānandavardhana as the *Sāstrakāra* the propounder of the school of *dhvani* would be unjustifiable if the *Kārikas* were the handiwork of a predecessor. Fourthly, the omission of the name of the *Kārikakāra* by Ānandavardhana or Abhinavagupta is proof of the fact that the difference of the *Kārikakāra* from the *Vṛttikāra* is only a fiction of formality. Fifthly, the statements of Abhinavagupta himself have been adduced which are intelligible only on the postulation of the identity of the author of the *Vṛttī* with that of the *Kārikā*. Sixthly, the confusion of functional difference with personal difference has been shown to be due to the oblivion of the fundamental rules of exegesis which has obtained currency since the end of the 18th century, if not earlier. Seventhly, the colophon of the *Dhvanyāloka* and the comments of Abhinavagupta thereon have been shown to contain indication of the identity of Ānandavardhana with the author of the *Kārikā*. Finally, the testimony of Jayantabhaṭṭa has been recorded which together with the testimony of numerous authors of established fame, give out the *Dhvanyāloka* to be the product of a single person, viz., Ānandavardhana.

23 HAL. p LXIII

V.B.—The references are to the *Dhvanyāloka* (N S P edition) unless specified otherwise

# YAMA IN THE VEDA

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Certain features of the Yama mythology as represented in Rgveda (RV) are quite simple and uncomplicated. This very simplicity has however misled many a scholar in the matter of the true interpretation of this mythology. The picture of Yama—his personality and functions—as reconstructed from the RV references is characterised by considerable inconsistency, discrepancy and vagueness. An approach to this whole problem from the standpoint of evolutionary mythology will alone make it possible to restate the whole Yama mythology as a reasonably homogeneous and consistent whole.

Let us first of all briefly recapitulate the several details of this mythology as given in RV. Only four complete hymns in RV refer to Yama. His name occurs about fifty times in other RV passages which are almost exclusively to be found in the first and the tenth books of the RV. Yama thus belongs with Parjanya to the fifth class or group of Vedic gods on the basis of the frequency of the mention of names. This minor position held by Yama in the Vedic mythology indicates that the true nature of the personality of that god was already being lost sight of the vestiges of his original importance being revealed as will be shown hereafter only through stray references. To begin with, a very significant fact about Yama is that he is never explicitly called a 'god' in the RV. He is no doubt mentioned in the company of other gods—with Agni and Matarisvan (I 164 46) with Varuṇa (X 14 7), with Bṛhaspati (X 14 3) and with Agni (X 64 3, 92 11). In X 51 1, we are told that a god found the hiding Agni, in X 51 3, we are told that it was Yama who found Agni thus indicating indirectly that Yama was a god. At the same time it is equally significant that Yama is never called a 'man'. As a matter of fact, he is clearly distinguished from the *pitṛs* (X. 15 8), whose king and lord he is though only once he is himself called *pitā* (X 135 1)—obviously in a different sense. The mention of Yama and *dēva* Varuṇa side by side (X 14 7) does not at all indicate that the poet wanted to distinguish between *man* Yama and *god* Varuṇa. Other passages of that nature (III 20 5, IV 51 11) will show that such reference does not possess any special significance. Yama however is clearly a *martya* (AV XVIII 3. 13). This unique aspect of Yama's character certainly provides an important clue for our investigation.

The majority of Vedic references to Yama describe him as the lord of the blessed dead (X 14 3 7, 16 9). He is the first mortal, the first to go the way of death and to point out the path for departed souls to follow. He is the gatherer of men, their guide and pathfinder (X 14 1) and gives men a resting place (X 14 9; AV XVIII 2 37). Of the three heavens, two belong to Savitr and one to Yama (I 35 6, X 123 6). Yama's father is said to have been Vivasvat and his mother Saranyu (X 17, 1 ff). In another context (X 10), however, the parents of Yama and his twin sister, Yamī, are mentioned to have been the Gandharva and the Water Nymph. Yama dwells in the remote recess of the sky<sup>1</sup>. Reference is made to *harmya*<sup>2</sup> for Yama (AV XVIII 4 55) and to *Yamasya sadanam*<sup>3</sup> (X 135 7, AV II 12 7). Under a beautiful tree, Yama revels in the company of gods; there the 'father' entertains kindly thoughts about the forefathers (X 135 1). Yama was thus primarily regarded as a legendary king, who, by his holiness, was enabled to establish a realm of immortal life and bliss, for the righteous of olden time, to which good men of all generations have the right of entry. In most RV passages, he was chiefly worshipped as the king of the blessed dead. He assembled the flocks of the departed in a marvellous kingdom where there is neither cold nor suffering. He is the king of the people and their father. He has found a way for many and along that path he leads men into their last abode. Later, however, we see Yama's character in course of change to his post Vedic rôle as the horrific judge of the dead. He is brought in close connection with Death. Death is said to be the path of Yama (I 38 5). He is the brother of Mrtyu and is mentioned by the side of Antaka and Mrtyu (VS 39 13). Mrtyu is Yama's messenger (AV XVIII 2 27). In certain cases Yama is even identified with Mrtyu (I 165 4 MS II 5 6, AV VI 28 31, 93 1). References to Yama's *padbīṣa* (X 97 6), to his messengers *ulūka* and *kapota* (X 165 4) and to his dogs (X 14 10 12) further help to consolidate his character as the fearful god of death.

Let us now turn to a unique hymn in which Yama figures very prominently. In a dialogue between Yama and his twin sister, Yamī\* (X 10), Yama is shown to be protesting strongly against the advances of Yamī for a sexual intercourse, which was intended for the procreation of the human race. The impression derived from that hymn as a whole, however, is that in spite of the suggestion of the apparently immoral motif of incest, Yama and

1 The abode of Yama is also mentioned (X 63 10) to be over high mountains across a river. HOPKINS (PAOS 1891) takes this literally and believes that Yama's abode was the ancient home of the Aryans, the recollection of which they still retained.

2 According to EHNI it is a mound of the dead.

3 FISCHER's suggestion that this indicates Yama's chapel cannot be accepted.

4 In YV, Yamī is both wife and sister of Yama.

Yami were then actually regarded as the first parents of the human race.<sup>5</sup> Yama's protest only reflects the moral scruples of the author of that hymn.

Apart from these main references, attention may be drawn to other passages, which, though stray and obscure, are of considerable importance. Yama is said to have been the first to stretch the web of sacrifice (VII. 33. 9-10). A reference is already made to Yama's having discovered the hidden Agni (X. 51. 1-4). This fact also represents Yama's function as the first sacrificer. But Yama was not merely the first 'sacrificer'; he was also the first 'sacrificed.' For the sake of progeny, Yama, we are told (X. 13. 4), chose death; in spite of his deathless birth (I. 83. 5) he surrendered his own dear body in the sacrifice (X. 13. 4). The metres, which symbolise the sacrifice, are said to be deposited in Yama (X. 14. 16; AV. XVIII. 2. 6; 2. 32). In such cases, Yama seems to be exalted almost to the position of an All-god.

Can these heterogeneous and, in many cases, vague details of the Yama-mythology in the Veda be presented in a systematic and consistent manner, indicating thereby the various successive stages in the evolution of that mythology?

Before we proceed further, it would be helpful to examine the views of earlier scholars in regard to Yama's personality and functions. The study of Vedic mythology was, in its early stages, dominated by what may be called the 'naturalistic' tendency. As a matter of fact this was the case with regard to the study of all ancient mythologies. It was normal to trace the origin of gods to natural phenomena. Ancient mythology in general, and the Vedic mythology in particular, thus came to be crowded with sun-gods and moon-gods. Yama was, for instance, made to represent both the sun-god and the moon-god. EHNI (*Ursprüngliche Gottheit des ved. Yama und Der vedische Mythos des Yama*) believes that Yama is the deified representation of the setting sun. He is the son of Vivasvat ('whose light spreads afar'), who, according to EHNI, is the rising sun. Yama follows the path of the sun to go to a remote recess. The path of the sun was a symbol of the path of human life, and, as a matter of fact, the same words were often used in the Veda for the death of man and for the sunset. Of the sun it is said that it is the sure retreat. The sun is a bird and has birds as his messengers, like Yama. Like the sun-god, Yama has two steeds, golden-eyed and iron-hoofed. Vivasvat and Yama, who are related as father and son, stand, according to EHNI, for the visible and the invisible sun respectively. This explains the suggested contrast between the two (X. 14. 2; VS. 24. 1; SPB XIII. 2. 2. 7). Yama's character as a sun-god, in one form or another, is accepted by several other scholars. MAX MÜLLER (*LSL*), for instance, regards Yama to be the setting sun and thus the god of the dead. According to WEBER (*Vedische*

5. L. von SCHROEDER believes that the dialogue between Yama and Yami represents a fertility drama.

*Beiträge*), Yama represents the parting day and Yamī the night. KUHN (*Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*) and BERGAIGNE (*La Religion Védique*) think that Yama was a form of Agni, particularly the lightning Agni, and Yamī, the voice of thunder. This difference of opinion itself indicates that the solar character of Yama is not at all clear. BLOOMFIELD (*Religion of Veda*) tries to support the solar character of Yama on the basis of the description of his two dogs. According to that scholar (*JAOS* 15), the two dogs of Yama represent day and night or the sun and the moon. As against this, WEBER believes that the dogs represent a specific constellation and BERGAIGNE sees in them forms of Yama and Yamī. A closer scrutiny of the descriptions of the dogs shows that they are rather the outcome of a typical motif in primitive cult about death and of the common fantasy regarding the abode of the dead. Their description is too minute to mistake them for any natural phenomena.<sup>6</sup>

HILLEBRANDT's starting point (*Ved. Myth.*) is the fact that Yama is the son of Vivasvat, whom that scholar regards to be the sun-god. He further pays particular attention to the contrast between Yama and Vivasvat, which is often emphasised in the Vedic mythology and ritual. These facts, according to HILLEBRANDT, conclusively prove that Yama cannot be the sun-god. EHNI's explanation in regard to the contrast between the two is quite artificial and unconvincing. That Yama was a 'god', and not an ordinary 'human being,' is clear from several passages in the Veda. Still Yama is said to be the first 'mortal' who dies. These two characteristics of Yama's personality, namely that he is an offspring of the sun and that he 'dies,' will be properly understood, according to HILLEBRANDT, only on the assumption that Yama represents the moon-god.<sup>7</sup> The moon owes his splendour to the sun and is therefore the sun's child. The moon is also seen to wane by digits until he becomes completely extinct and again begins to grow. This is poetically described as the periodical death and birth of the moon. HILLEBRANDT points to several Vedic passages where the moon is said to be the child of the sun (IX. 93. 1; AB. VIII. 28. 14), and where he is referred to as dying and being reborn (I. 164. 4; X. 55. 5; 85. 19; ŚSS. 16.5). In support of his theory HILLEBRANDT further produces considerable anthropological evidence from the writings of BRINTON, GRÄBNER, CROOKE, FRAZER, EHRENREICH, HARTLAND and others. The primitive people all over the world often connect the phases of the moon with death, birth, regeneration etc., and consequently regard the moon as the lord of the dead fathers. Yama's part with reference

6. MAX MÜLLER takes Yama's dogs to represent Time in its double aspect as morning and evening. According to N. AIYANGAR (*Indo-Aryan Mythology*), Yama's dogs are Aśvinau or Agniśomau. ARBMAN (*Rudra*) considers them to be refined versions of theriomorphic death-demons.

7. N. AIYANGAR also suggests (*Indo-Aryan Mythology*) that Yama is the moon sprung from the sun. According to him Yamī is Rohiṇī.

to sacrifice is explained by HILLEBRANDT also on the basis of his being the moon god. For the moon is the messenger of sacrifice brings order in seasons and distributes offerings among the gods (I 105.4). Taking for granted that Soma and Bṛhaspati also represent the moon god HILLEBRANDT further quotes Vedic passages (like I\ 2.10) wherein they are closely associated with sacrifice and concludes that these ritualistic features were transferred to Yama because all the three gods represent but one divinity. Yama the Avestan counterpart of Yama is according to HILLEBRANDT closer to the moon god. His final conclusion is that the lunar character of Yama was not clearly realised by Vedic poets who emphasised only one aspect of his personality namely his connection with the dead. Yama was the moon god of the Indo-Iranian or even earlier period. Only in certain typical passages in the Veda do we still find the traces of Yama's ancient majesty as the moon god.

These theories which make Yama represent one natural phenomenon or another seem to cancel one another. HILLEBRANDT has made it quite clear that Yama cannot be the sun god. The apparent solar features of the Yama mythology referred to by EHNI and others are the outcome of poetic convention in the Veda which was dominated by solar myths. They do not indicate the intrinsic character of Yama. The solarisation of mythological elements which are originally of an altogether different nature is a normal feature of Vedic poetry. At the same time it can also be shown that Yama did not originally represent even the moon god. The character and function of Vivasvat in the Veda and the Avesta are very vague and the statements regarding his relationship with Yama are characterised by contradiction and inconsistency (AV XVIII 2.32.3.61.62). No theory based on Vivasvat's solar character and his connection with Yama can therefore be in any way convincing. Moreover Yama is represented in the Veda as possessing so very markedly human features that it is difficult to believe that it is merely a case of normal anthropomorphism. To explain Yama's death on the basis of the natural phenomenon of the moon's phases is again not in the least satisfactory. Firstly Yama is never described as being reborn after his death like the moon. He is never said to be undergoing periodical death and regeneration.<sup>8</sup> Secondly Yama's death unlike that of the moon is of the nature of selfimmolation and serves a definite purpose. Yama is again not only the first to die, but he is also the first parent of the human race, which fact does not fit well even anthropologically in the moon theory. Yama's rôle as the first sacrificer is of special significance. He is not, like the moon merely a messenger of sacrifice or anything of that sort. He is both the sacrificer and the sacrificed and as such is more intrinsically connected with sacrifice. To bring forth references to Soma and Bṛhaspati in support of the connection of the moon with sacrifice

8 The same may be said in regard to the setting of the sun and Yama's death

amounts to depending on unproved assumptions. Any attempt to prove Yama's solar or lunar character on the strength of the evidence of the Avestan Yima mythology is again bound to fail, for, Yima is all along described to have distinctly possessed the personality of a human sovereign. The myth of Yama and Yamī as the first parents of the human race becomes entirely meaningless if that pair were assumed to be representing specific natural phenomena. The tone of the whole dialogue between the twin brother and sister is unmistakably human and its theme is, without doubt, the procreation of mankind. HILLEBRANDT's suggestion that Yama, the son of Vivasvat, should be distinguished from Yama, the brother of Yamī, cannot possibly be accepted—indeed it is discarded by all other scholars—and only indicates the weakness of his hypothesis. Finally the 'naturalistic' theories about Yama entirely disregard the true significance of the name, Yama. The derivation and the explanation of the name given by EHNI and HILLEBRANDT are linguistically defective. It may also be pointed out that, in a Vedic passage (X 64 3), Yama is distinguished from the sun and the moon in very clear terms<sup>9</sup>.

One fact thus becomes absolutely self evident as the result of our foregoing investigations, namely, that Yama did not, at any stage represent any natural phenomenon. While, therefore, discarding the naturalistic interpretations of the Yama mythology, ROTH (ZDMG 4) also denied Yama's divine character. HOPKINS follows the lead given by ROTH and traces in detail the whole development of Yama's personality and functions (*Rel of Ind* and PAOS 1891). According to that scholar, Yama is the first human being and as such becomes, with Yamī, the progenitor of the human race. He is incidentally the first sacrificer as also the first earthly king and ruler. As Yama was the first human being to be born, the Vedic poets naively regarded him also as the first human being to die. The next natural step was to regard the first mortal to die as the founder of a new colony of the dead where all who died subsequently had to go. Yama the first to be born and the first to die, thus becomes the guide, the pathfinder and the lord of the departed souls. In course of time he almost comes to represent the ideal side of ancestor worship. He becomes the poetic or symbolic image of all fathers. It is this phase of the Yama mythology, which is primarily represented in the Veda. Yama's comparison with Avestan Yima abundantly supports this view. A more or less similar view is put forth by OLDENBERG (*Rel des Veda*) and SCHERMAN (*Festschrift für K. Hofman* and *Materialien zur Geschichte der Visionsliteratur*). According to OLDENBERG, the original character of Yama is that of the first ruler rather than that of the first sacrificer. Yama, like Yima, was a king in a golden period. OLDENBERG further points out that men in that golden period, who lived with Yama on earth, also went to the other world where he ruled as the king of the dead and became his special com-

9 In JB (I 28) also Yama is distinguished from the moon.



panions Angirasas and others (A 14) may thus be said to have belonged to Yama's first order of noblemen SCHIERMAN believes that Yama was originally a human figure who was later elevated to the status of if not identified with the sun god That scholar disputes the generally accepted opinion that Yama was an earthly sovereign who in later times became the dread king of horrible hells

Compared with the naturalistic theories these humanistic theories regarding Yama seem to come closer to the true interpretation of the Yama mythology<sup>10</sup> But they too can be accepted not in all their details, but only partially Their insistence on the human character of Yama is based on the fact that Yama is never mentioned as god in Veda But they do not seem to have properly estimated the other fact as well namely that Yama is also never mentioned as a man He is a mortal and as CARNOY has pointed out (JAOS 36) according to primitive belief man is supposed to be god who has become mortal Moreover as is shown elsewhere there are several references to Yama in Vedic literature which unmistakably indicate his divinity Further it may be pointed out that this character of Yama as a mortal is not the result of naive speculation Yama dies first not because he is born first but because he immolates himself as a necessary condition for the procreation of mankind Undue emphasis is placed in these theories on an incidental aspect namely Yama's kingdom in paradise The part played by Yama with reference to the creation of the universe and the procreation of the human race as well as his special connection with sacrifice are not adequately explained on the assumption that Yama was just a human figure who died first and as such attained to heaven before every one else and thus became the lord of the paradisaal abode of the blessed souls Yama as a matter of fact possesses in the Vedic mythology the peculiar character of a god-man

Yama's personality as a whole cannot thus be satisfactorily explained on the basis of the sun theory or the moon theory or the first man theory The Yama mythology is far too complicated for any such simple formula Vedic poetry and Vedic mythology are to a very considerable extent dominated by artificial poetic and priestly conventions The original nature of the myths is therefore often shrouded in a large amount of extraneous and conventional details which many times give those myths quite a different appearance It is only in certain typical references to a Vedic god which are usually stray and scattered and which are therefore regarded as inconsistent and obscure that we have to seek for the traces of the true character of that god There

10 According to MEYER (*Indogermanische Mythen*) Yama the twin is the alter ego of the living man L D BARNETT revives (BSOS IV) the Vedic and Avestan data relating to Yama and Gandharva and considers the possibility of connecting them with the Glaucoessa

are, in the Veda, some passages, which have luckily escaped priestly revision and have retained their original nature. Such passages have, in most cases, provided the proper starting point for the reinterpretation of Vedic mythology. This is particularly the case with regard to the so called minor gods of the Vedic pantheon. Another point which should be noted in this connection is that, besides comparative philology, new research in comparative mythology has necessarily to keep pace with and take into account the remarkable progress that has been made in anthropology and folklore.

We shall start our present investigation with the study of a reference to Yama, which is usually considered to be obscure and vague. In X 13 4, we read

*devebhyah kam avrñta mṛtyum prajāyaḥ kam amṛtam  
nāvṛnta  
bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛnvata ṛṣim priyām yamas tanvam  
prānrecit*

'For gods sake, verily (he) chose death, (he) chose not indeed, in the interest of progeny, a life immortal. They (gods) made Bṛhaspati, the Rṣi (himself), sacrificial offering. Yama surrendered his (own) dear body.' It is not necessary to reproduce here the ample evidence in support of Yama's original divine character. Yama was one among the gods, accordingly he shared in the normal immortality of gods. As a matter of fact in another stray passage (I 33 5), there is a clear mention of Yama's original immortality. On this background let us critically examine the reference in X 13 4. In spite of his natural immortality, Yama is said to have discarded it and surrendered his own dear body in sacrifice. Through this act of self-immolation, Yama served the cause of gods and progeny alike. As it seems quite clear, the gods organised this sacrifice for the sake of the creation of the universe and the procreation of the human race. On that occasion Yama, we are told, offered himself as the sacrificial offering. Out of this self-offering originated the *prajā*. The second half of the Rk indicates that Yama was, for that sacrifice, which we may now call the primeval sacrifice himself the Bṛhaspati, the principal priest and sacrificer. The motif of a cosmic human sacrifice as the cause of the origin of the world and the human race is quite common in ancient cosmogonic mythologies. It was believed by several primitive communities that a primeval being of 'divine' or cosmic character, but possessing a human form was immolated in a sacrifice and out of his limbs originated the several aspects of creation. Reference may be made in this connection among others, to the Babylonian myth of the creation of heaven and earth from the two halves of Goddess Tīamat, and to a similar Buddhist myth about the giant Banio. It is highly instructive to consider in this context the ancient Germanic myths of Tuisto and Ymir. In *Edda* (II), we are told that 'in the primeval times when Ymir lived when there was neither

sand nor sea neither earth nor heaven above from Ymir's flesh was the earth created, out of his blood the ocean, mountains from his bones and trees from his hair, from his skull the heaven originated' This motif, it may be pointed out is common to several ancient mythologies, indogermanic and nonindogermanic.<sup>11</sup> So far as RV is concerned we find two main versions of this cosmogonic mythological motif of the primeval sacrifice—one in the reference to Yama in X 13 4 and the other in the famous *Puruṣasūkta*<sup>12</sup> The latter may be said to be merely a more detailed and more elaborate priestly form of the former According to the version in X 13 4 it is one of the gods himself who surrenders his own body for immolation thus serving the cause of gods and progeny alike That god Yama is thus different from other gods This unique character of Yama is indicated in RV by referring to him not as a god because he surrenders his immortality, nor as man because his act of self immolation for the sake of creation is far too 'cosmic' or 'divine' for an ordinary human being but by calling him simply a *martya* The two conceptions of 'cosmic' or 'divine' on the one hand and 'human' on the other are thus tactfully represented there In the *Puruṣasūkta* the offering in the primeval sacrifice of gods was the *agrathe jahāḥ puruṣaḥ* (X 90 7) whose fantastic description such as *sahasraśīrṣa sahasrakṣaḥ* etc (X 90 1) however indicates his character to have been quite different from that of ordinary *puruṣas* Thus *puruṣa* is again *amṛtāśāśya īśana* and comprehends everything Thus here too an attempt is made to preserve the above mentioned conceptions of cosmic, divine nature and human form which are common in all myths about the primeval sacrifice The basic motif in the case of Yama and *Puruṣa* is thus the same namely, the immolation of a god man for the sake of creation<sup>13</sup>

There is another significant conception which is often associated with the motif of the immolation of the primeval being Just as the primeval being is regarded to possess the nature of 'god man', so too it is regarded to possess the nature of a male-female or of a hermaphrodite Tuisto and Ymir of the ancient Nordic people Agdistis of the Phoenicians Phanes or Mises of the Orphics Zrvan of the Zervanites among others, are all forms of an andro

11 BOUSSET believes (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*) that such co-mogonic motif may have arisen out of some primitive fertility cult.

12 A reference may be made in this connection to another passage in RV (X 81 5 ff) where the creator Viśvakarman is asked to offer himself in the primeval sacrifice.

13 It is difficult to accept W. Norman BROWN'S suggestion (*JAOS* 51) that *Puruṣa* in the *Puruṣasūkta* is a blend of elements drawn from Agni, *Surya* and *Viṣṇu* fused in a rather shadowy way in a new unity with special reference to the sun Nor is it necessary to assume as KARMAKAR does (*JBBRAS* 18), that the idea of the *Puruṣa* sacrifice is an attempt on the part of the Aryans to compromise with the Proto-Dravidians of Mohenjo-Daro

gynous primeval being. The character of the Puruṣa as a sexually unseparated being is made evident by the opening verses of the Puruṣasukta and by the fact that the Puruṣa creates out of himself a female form *viraj*. In the case of Yama on the other hand his androgynous character is not directly mentioned. But it can certainly be assumed on the strength of the evidence of the analogies of other primitive mythologies and of the evidence derived from the linguistic consideration of the name Yama. As Professor GUNTERT has clearly pointed out (*Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*) the word *Yama* can be linguistically connected with two series of words—on the one hand with Av *yema* Lett *jumis* Mir *emuin* all meaning twins and on the other with Lat *geminus gemellus* and Gk *didumos* which mean both twin and hermaphrodite. A closer examination of words of this type indicates that the two conceptions of twin and 'bisexual being' are usually represented by similar words.<sup>14</sup> Professor GUNTERT's thorough investigation of the name *Ymir* and the Icelandic mythology associated with that name is very enlightening in this respect. *Ymir* of the *Edda* and *Yama* of the Veda are mythologically as also linguistically (morphologically and phonetically) related to each other. They are the two Indogermanic representations of the basic motif of a hermaphrodite primeval being offering itself for immolation in sacrifice for the sake of the creation of the universe and human race.<sup>15</sup> The Puruṣa of the Puruṣasukta is only a priestly modification of the original mythical conception of Yama. It may be pointed out that the same cosmogonic motif of an androgynous *Urwesen* is also represented in the *Bṛhad Up* I 4 where we read *Atma ta idamagra asit puruṣavidhah sa ha etavan asa yatha śtipumanisau sampariṣvaktau*. Of a similar purport are further the passages in the *Aśh* (XIII 7) where Prajapati is said to have assumed a bisexual form because he did not have any other person for pairing and in the *Aśh Br* (III 33) according to which Prajapati appears in the form of an antelope united with his sister.<sup>16</sup>

This is the first stage in the evolution of the Yama mythology to be noticed in RV. The primitive conception of a hermaphrodite primeval being as the creator of the universe and the progenitor of the human race, which characterises this stage is suggested by the name Yama which basically means a bisexual being and by the fact that the counterparts of Yama in other primitive cosmogonic mythologies possess a similar character. It must however be said that as it has happened in several other cases in the Veda the

14 GUNTERT thinks that probably *Tvegg* mentioned in *Voluspa* 63 also means both a twin and a hermaphrodite.

15 GUNTERT refers in this connection to Doras of the Phrygian mythology and reiterates his favourite theory that on the strength of the evidence of comparative mythology it can be proved that in prehistoric times there must have existed a close contact among the Germanic the Thrako-Scythian and the Aryan tribes of the east.

16 The myth of *Manu* and *Ida* also is significant in this context.

originally very expressive name of Yama lost its basic significance and it soon degenerated into a colourless appellation. The other current of thought which characterises this stage namely the immolation of the god-man for the sake of creation is happily preserved in a clear reference to Yama's self-immolation in X 13.4. The connection of Yama with sacrifice is thus of a very special nature. He is the first sacrificer, the first to stretch the web of sacrifice (VII 33.9-10), which was further extended by the Vāsiṣṭhas. He was also the first to serve as the sacrificial offering. All this would alone rationally explain why in certain stray passages which are otherwise obscure Yama is so highly elevated with reference to *yajña* (AV XVIII 2.32). The metres symbolising the magical power of sacrifice are said to be deposited in Yama (X 14.16). Moreover Yama is also seen to have been exalted almost to the position of an All-god because he was the universe itself. Yama's close relation with Agni (X 51.13.64.3, 92.11) may also be explained on the basis of this motif of Yama's primeval sacrifice.

This primitive motif of the immolation of an androgynous primeval being for the sake of the creation of the universe is in some cases found in a slightly modified form. The original myth came to be regarded as too raw and unrefined particularly with reference to the procreation of the human race. The hermaphrodite *Urwesen* therefore was represented to have separated itself into a male and a female who came to be duly recognised as the first parents of mankind. As these two were the offspring of the same being they were supposed to be related to each other as brother and sister. They were also regarded as twins. This is exactly what seems to have happened in the evolution of the Yama mythology. Yama, the hermaphrodite *urwesen*, gave place to a pair of twins who were regarded as the parents of mankind.<sup>17</sup> As the result of the peculiar linguistic phenomenon which we have already noticed the same word Yama possessed the two senses of a bisexual being and a twin. Even in this second stage therefore the name Yama was preserved to denote the male twin though the character and function of this Yama were materially different from those of the Yama of the first stage in the development of the Yama mythology. Yama and his twin sister Yamī whose name is formed in obvious imitation of that of Yama became the progenitors of the human race.<sup>18</sup> Yama's original function as the creator of the universe was thus considerably restricted. This aspect of the Yama mythology in the course of its evolution is preserved in a whole hymn in RV (X 10). It is however represented there in quite a different light. The conception of an incestuous intercourse between the twin brother and sister Yama and Yamī giving rise

17 According to the Icelandic myth Ymir slept and from under his arm sprang up a maiden and a child.

18 Yima and Yimak are the Iranian primeval pair. So are Manuśak and Maśyanak.

to the human race became positively offensive to the conventional moral sense of Vedic poets and priests. The real motif of that episode was therefore altogether changed and was presented in quite a different perspective. Yama is shown there as protesting strongly against the amorous advances of his twin-sister, Yamī. He draws Yamī's attention to the law of *ṛta* (X 10 2 6, 8), which does not warrant an incest between brother and sister. An attempt is made by the Vedic poet to suggest that Yama and Yamī were not the first parents of the human race for, they themselves are represented to have parents namely the Gandharva and the Water Nymph (X 10 4). The poet further suggests that Yama and Yamī were not the first human beings by making Yama direct Yamī to a person other than himself (X 10 8 10 12 14) as if such a person actually existed. But in spite of all his efforts the Vedic poet could not entirely obliterate from that hymn certain details which clearly betray the true nature of that myth. Yamī is represented in that hymn as being keen—quite naturally, too—on the procreation and the furtherance of the race. The procreative instinct of the female is quite unmistakable there. Moreover a very clear mention is made in that hymn (X 10 3) of the fact that Yama was the only male in existence at that time. Does this not indicate that Yama was the first human being to exist? The colourless and very impersonal character of the so-called parents of Yama and Yamī at once betrays that their inclusion by the poet in the hymn was obviously an afterthought. The Vedic poet has tried to make the ancient myth of Yama and Yamī a vehicle for a sermon on *ṛta* moral law—but undoubtedly without success. For as it is the hymn appears to end abruptly. The poet does not make it clear whether the incest actually took place or not, obviously because the answer to that question would have nullified the poet's purpose. There seems to be therefore no reason to doubt that the hymn contains in spite of its tendentious perversion by the poet which only reflects the morality of his age unmistakable traces of a distinct form of the Yama mythology, according to which Yama and Yamī the twin brother and sister were considered to be responsible for the procreation of the human race through an incestuous union.

The motif of the androgynous *Uruesen* separating itself is clearly preserved in the Puruṣasukta. The *Uruesen* (Puruṣa) created out of itself a female form *uraj*<sup>19</sup> who in her turn produced the Puruṣa who may be regarded as the symbol of further procreation. The primeval Puruṣa is thus at once made responsible for the creation of the macrocosm as well as microcosm—of course in different ways. It will be seen that the selfimmolation of the bisexual Yama representing the first stage in the evolution of the Yama mythology, as also the myth of the twins Yama and Yamī procreating the human race, which represents the second stage are both preserved in a modi-

19 Adam is said to have produced Eve out of his own rib

fied form, in the *Puruṣasūkta*. Though Yama's original character as a hermaphrodite god-man and as the first twin-parent is relegated to stray and obscure references,<sup>20</sup> it has been so to say, resurrected in the form of the *Puruṣa* of the *Puruṣasūkta*. The original Yama-myth and the *Puruṣa*-myth are thus organically connected with each other.

It cannot however be denied that there was among conventional Vedic priests and poets a strong prejudice against this myth of an incestuous union between the twins. As the result of this prejudice of the Vedic hierarchy Yamī disappeared from the Yama-mythology as silently as she was introduced in it. No further reference to Yamī is available in RV.<sup>21</sup> Consequently out of the pair of twins Yama alone remained as the first-born progenitor of mankind. Associated with this progenitorship of the human race we find in the *Veda* also faint traces of Yama's sovereignty on earth.<sup>22</sup> Himself a 'mortal' Yama is regarded as the leader of the human race, its king ruling in an earthly paradise. This aspect is specially emphasised in the case of Yama's Iranian counterpart Yima (Jamshed), who according to Vd II 4 19, was the kingly ruler in whose reign the golden age of the world prevailed.<sup>23</sup> It was from Ahura Mazda himself that Yima received the command to further and increase the world. The plenitude of life and increase on earth form the dominating features of Yima's rule. No special reference is made to this aspect of the Yama-mythology in the *Veda*. There are all the same some indications which unmistakably point to it. The possession by Yama of the *padbisa* (X 97 16) which corresponds with the *pāsa* of Varuna and which may be regarded as the symbol of sovereignty seems to be one of the remnants of Yama's kingship. Yama's particular association with Varuna (X 14 7), who in course of time came to be regarded as the typical sovereign in the Vedic mythology can be adequately explained only on the basis of the former's own sovereignty. The conception of sovereignty over mankind is a natural extension of the conception of progenitorship of mankind. This assumption is confirmed by analogous phenomena in other primitive mythologies. Curiously enough as A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON points out (*JAOS* 17) a passage in the *Mahabhārata* (III 142 35ff) revives this characteristic feature of Yama's personality, which is only faintly suggested in the *Veda*. The description of the *sabha* of Yama in the *Mahabhārata* (II 8 2 4) further reminds us of the *vara* of Avestan Yima.

20 It is significant that such references are to be found mostly in maṇḍalas 1 and 10 and not in the hierarchical family books.

21 The whole conception of Yamī as a matter of fact of a schematic nature.

22 As seen elsewhere according to OLDENBERG it is this characteristic of Yama's personality that is original in the *Veda*.

23 Attention may be drawn also to H. COLLITZ's article 'Konig Yima und Saturn' (*Pary Comm* Vol 1933).

Another myth about the progenitor of the human race was, about this time, being developed in the Vedic thought—the myth of Manu the first man. Manu is mentioned in the Veda as the father of the human race (I 80 16) and as the first sacrificer (VIII 43 13, X 63 7). The legend of Manu's deliverance from the flood by the fish (SPB I 8 1 1)<sup>21</sup> clearly indicates his function as the progenitor and leader of mankind. He is the son of Vivasvat, and Manu Vaivasvata was commonly regarded as the symbol of the 'first man', the 'first sacrificer' and the 'first ruler'. Manu was thus more or less a 'double' of Yama. There was therefore, naturally enough, considerable mutual interaction between the Manu myth and the Yama myth. To begin with, the Manu myth completely overshadowed the stage in the development of the Yama mythology, which has just been referred to. Yama's character as the progenitor and the first sovereign of the human race was almost relegated to oblivion and can now only be inferred from stray references to it in the Veda. The strong prejudice of the Vedic hierarchy against the Yama Yamī myth had already prepared the ground for this. The legends of Manu were such as could easily agree with the conventional attitude of the Vedic priests. The motif of incest in the Yama mythology seems to have been particularly responsible for the withdrawal of Yama from the Vedic cosmogonic mythology and the priestly emphasis on Yama's double Manu as the first man. Yama's rôle of the first sacrificer, which was associated with the myth of the primeval sacrifice of the hermaphrodite god man, soon became repulsive to the Vedic priests and poets and passed on to Manu. Secondly the parallelism between the Yama myth and the Puruṣa myth helped to bring the Yama myth and the Manu myth close together. This was due to a peculiar linguistic fact. The word Manu is employed to denote specifically the progenitor of the human race as well as man in general. That word and the word Puruṣa, which also signifies man, were thus more or less synonymous. Yama and Puruṣa on the other hand were almost identical in personality and character. The natural next step from these two equations—the linguistic equation  $Puruṣa = Manu$  and the mythological equation  $Puruṣa = Yama$ —was to closely associate Yama and Manu. We have already pointed out the similarity between the myths of Yama and Puruṣa. There is thus considerable intermixture of mythical motifs and names in the whole Yama Puruṣa Manu mythology. It may be assumed that the original nature and functions of Yama, which were tendentiously put into the background as the result of Vedic conventionalism, did persist albeit in a modified form, through Puruṣa and Manu.

Before Yama was completely superseded by Manu in the progenitorship

<sup>21</sup> Manu assumes a role similar to that of Adam as well as Noah. In the Yama mythology there is a confused combination of the Manu legend and the Yama-legend. Yama's *lata* is security against flood as also simply surrounds the god.



of the human race the two myths existed side by side and the necessity was felt to adjust them somehow or other. The efforts in this direction which are quite obvious in the Vedic mythology themselves form an evidence in support of Yama's role as the progenitor of mankind. In the Vedic mythology Yama and Manu came to be regarded as brothers—both sons of Vivasvat. That is how Vivasvat was introduced—artificially and superficially—in the Yama mythology as the father of Yama. Vivasvat we are told in RV (X. 17. 1 ff.) married Saranyu, the daughter of Tvāṣṭi. They were the parents of Yama. The gods later concealed the immortal bride Saranyu from the mortals and making another of like appearance Savarnā they gave her to Vivasvat. Vivasvat and Savarnā gave birth to Manu.<sup>25</sup> An attempt is thus made to point out that Yama and Manu were not identical. Yama was of divine birth while Manu was not. It need hardly be added that all this is obviously an afterthought.

In spite of all this the Yama mythology was not completely effaced from Vedic literature. Quite an unexpected feature of Yama's original character came to be prominently emphasised and was interpreted in an altogether different light. Yama, as we have seen, offered himself for immolation in the primeval sacrifice, for the sake of gods and progeny. Out of the three conceptions included in this cosmogonic myth, namely, that of the hermaphrodite primeval god-man, that of the creation of the universe and the human race and that of the self-immolation, it was the last that now came to be stressed. Yama immolated himself at the beginning of existence, that is to say, in other words, Yama was the first being to die. The adjustment between the Manu myth and the Yama myth was thus considerably simplified. Manu was the first born, Yama was the first to die. The further evolution of the Yama mythology is clearly traceable from Vedic references. Yama dies first and attains to heaven before every one else. Leaving the kingdom of earthly paradise, he assumes the sovereignty of the heavenly paradise. He is the forerunner of all the departed souls and becomes their guide and pathfinder. There he rules over the blessed ones as the benevolent father of fathers and is worshipped with the *pitrs* as the first witness of an immortality to be enjoyed by the fathers, similar to the immortality enjoyed by the gods themselves. One point should be clearly borne in mind in this connection and it is that though Yama is closely associated with the spirits of the dead, he never assumes the horrific role of the demon of death.<sup>26</sup> It is this stage in the evolution of the Yama mythology that is primarily represented in RV. A significant feature of the primitive cult about the dead and their ruler

25 This legend is narrated in detail in the *Nṛukta* (XII. 10 ff.) and in the *Bṛhaddeśata*.

26 Rudra is, properly speaking, the demon of death in the Veda.

namely, the conception of the two dogs guarding the region of the dead, is now transplanted upon the Yama mythology <sup>27</sup>

It was at this stage that the Rudra mythology seems to have significantly reacted on the Yama mythology. Consequently Yama's association with 'death' as such began to figure rather prominently. Death is said to be Yama's path (I 38 5). Yama is mentioned side by side with Mrtyu and Antaka and is even identified with Mrtyu (I 165 4, MS II 5 6, AV. VI 28 31, 93 1). The benevolent ruler of the blessed souls, the helpful father of 'fathers', who had originally nothing to do with 'death' as such and whose proper function, even as represented in a later stage commenced after 'death' now came to be identified with death. The dogs of death, the inauspicious messengers, *ulūka* and *kapota*, the *padbīṣa*, which was now regarded as the instrument of punishment,—all these traits helped to make Yama an object of terror. The conception of Yama's rôle as the fearful and 'restraining' god of death must have been facilitated also by the popular derivation of the word Yama from the root *yam* (= to restrain), which though normally possible, is not acceptable in this case on account of the difficulties of Vedic accentuation which it would create. But it is this aspect of Yama's personality, which has been preserved prominently in the later Hindu mythology.

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<sup>27</sup> The dogs are, as indicated elsewhere obviously the outcome of a common primitive folk-belief. The dog *Sabala* is often identified with *Aerberos*.

# DID PUSYAMITRA ŚUNGA PERSECUTE THE BUDDHISTS?

By

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I raise this question in order to find an answer to it. The question arises because of the opinions of some eminent scholars. Dr H C Raychaudhuri for example, who holds or seems to hold the view that Puṣyamitra Śunga was not a persecutor of Buddhism. Dr Raychaudhuri in controverting the opinion of the late Haraprasād Sāstri about the alienation of the Brāhmanas by Aśoka's edicts against the Brāhmanical faith and the militant Brahmanic revolution under Puṣyamitra Śunga says "But the Buddhist remains at Bharhut erected 'during the supremacy of the Śungas' do not bear out the theory which represent Puṣyamitra and his descendants as the leaders of militant Brahmanism".<sup>1</sup> In another place, he says "late Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyamuni. But the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut erected 'during the sovereignty of the Śungas' do not bear out the theory that the Śungas were leaders of a militant Brāhmanism. Though staunch adherents of orthodox Hinduism the Śungas do not appear to have been so intolerant as some writers represent them to be."<sup>2</sup> Following Dr Raychaudhuri Dr R S Tripathi under a subhead 'Puṣyamitra's Persecutions' in his newly published book *History of Ancient India*<sup>3</sup> refers to the evidence of the Divyavadāna and Tāranātha regarding Puṣyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists and evidently rejects them for he remarks "Puṣyamitra was no doubt a zealous champion of Brahmanism but the Buddhist stupas and railings at Bharhut 'during the sovereignty of the Śungas' would hardly corroborate the literary evidence regarding his ebullitions of sectarian rancour."<sup>4</sup> Having had doubt himself as to the cogency of his own views he qualified the above statement by the concluding lines in the same paragraph thus 'of course this conclusion will have to be modified if the above expression is not taken to refer to the time of Puṣyamitra'.<sup>5</sup> It is unfortunate that Dr Tripathi should have left himself in doubt and not pursued further to clear this important point in his work the latest product of a text book for higher studies in Ancient Indian History.

With many of Dr Raychaudhuri's objections against the late Mahāmaho-

1 P H A I, 3rd Ed p 248

2. *Ibid* p 268

3 H A I, p 187

4 *Ibid*

5 *Ibid*

pādhyāya Pandit Harprasada Śāstri's interpretation of some of the evidences in his article,<sup>6</sup> I whole heartedly agree. For instance the late Pandit's attempt to prove Aśoka's persecution of the Brāhmanas by interpreting a passage in the minor rock edict has been rightly objected to by Dr Raychaudhuri, taking the word 'amisa' to mean 'amṛṣa' in Sanskrit, as Senart had done, the Pandit Śāstri concluded that by another edict Aśoka boasted that those regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brāhmanas who were regarded as *Bhudevas* or gods on earth had been sown by him." The word *amisa* in the edict means *amṛṣa*, unmixed and therefore, the rendering of the passage

इमाय कालाय जगुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु तेदानि मिसिमूता ।

"The gods who during that time (i.e. before) had been unmingled with men in India have now been (by me) associated (with men)""<sup>7</sup> There is thus no question, as Dr Raychaudhuri has pointed out, of 'showing up any body'. As a matter of fact Aśoka never deliberately persecuted any section of his subjects. On the other hand a number of his edicts enjoined an equal respect, liberality and solicitude being shown to Brāhmanas and Sramanas.<sup>8</sup> So far I agree with Dr Raychaudhuri and disagree with the late Pandit Śāstri. But what I beg to differ from the learned Doctor is on his attempt at minimising the great event of the Brahmanic revolution and the part that Puṣyamitra played as its leader, both before and after his accession to the throne on the ground that the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut were erected 'in the time of Śunga Kings'. His views regarding this point are as clear as daylight as can be seen from the quotations I have given at the beginning of this paper. Of course, I hold with the eminent scholar the opinion that the causes of the downfall of the Maurya empire are many and that the militant Brahmanic reaction is not the only one, as the late Pandit Śāstri has sought to convey. But that the discontent of the Brāhmanas provided a fertile ground for the ambition of the last Maurya King Bṛhadratha's *senāpati* to bear fruit admits of no doubt. What is then the cause of this discontent of the Brāhmanas? Although Aśoka did not consciously persecute the Brāhmanas, some of his edicts which he issued with the object of reforming the habits of his subjects alienated the Brāhmanas, for they affected their interests and according to their light the religion to which they belonged. In spite of the fact that Aśoka paid equal veneration to Sramanas and Brāhmanas, his reforming zeal could not but hurt the interests and feelings of those people whose customs he sought to reform by edicts, and like all reformers, well intentioned and actuated by true love for their people, Aśoka had his share of hatred and resentment from the Brāh

6 Causes of the dismemberment of the Mauryan Empire in J. A. S. B. 1910

7 Cf. Maski Rock Inscription.

8 Cf. R. E. III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XII

manas By the RE I Asoka stopped animal sacrifices and Samaja the old religious and social customs of the Brāhmaṇas. By RE V he appointed a special class of officers called *Dhamma Mahāmātras* to look after the *Dhamma* of his people, which was an encroachment on the special jurisdiction of the Brāhmaṇas and even set them to look after the dharma of the Brahmanas themselves.<sup>9</sup> In PE IV Aśoka enjoins on the equality in judicial proceedings and punishments. This has been rightly pointed out by Paṇḍit Śāstri to be an encroachment on a time honoured privileges of the Brahmanas. Dr Raychaudhuri does not accept the interpretation put upon it and says that 'the order regarding the Vyavahāra Samata and Daṇḍa Samatā is to be understood in connection with the general policy of *decentralisation* (italics mine) which the emperor introduced'.<sup>10</sup> Why should this interpretation be put to the words of Aśoka instead of the most natural interpretation which they yield namely that the emperor wanted his Rajukas to administer justice to his people with equality and impartiality. Let us quote the relevant portion of the edict with the context as Dr Raychaudhuri wanted

येन अमीता अस्वय सत अविमना कमनि पवतयेदुति, एतेन लजुक्कन अमिहाले व ददे वा अतपत्तिये कटे । इच्छितविये हि एसा किति वियोहालसम्मता च सिय ददसम्मता चा ।

In order that they may perform their duties fearlessly, calmly unperturbed and in peace of mind I have put the Rajukas in sole control of reward and punishment. But it is my desire that there should be equality in judicial proceedings and equality in punishment.<sup>11</sup> The natural interpretation of the passage according to the syntax as well as in view of the background of Aśoka's administrative policy especially in the matter of justice should be that Aśoka having given his Rajukas sufficient power in the matter of judicial administration encouraged them to act fearlessly—especially because they would have to encounter the opposition of the privileged classes while administering law equally to all. Aśoka's administrative policy was never characterised by decentralisation. On the other hand the process of centralisation begun in the time of his grand father under his able chancellor Kauṭilya the Richelieu of India was completed in his time. The viceroys of the distant provinces and the governors of the home provinces were appointed by him from the centre with definite instructions which were renewed from time to time by new edicts. Even the subordinate officials like the Pradestras, Rajukas and Ayuktas even though working under the viceroys and governors received instructions from the emperor directly. He insisted on his officials both central and provincial that if they desired to *please* him they must follow his instructions to the letter so that they might discharge their duties to him and he to his 'subjects' and to see that there is no miscarriage of justice in the country. In the Kalunga Rock Edict I Aśoka clearly enunciates his

9 Cf P E VII

11 P E IV

10 P H A I 3rd Ed, p 244

12 Kalunga Edict II

judicial policy. Kāliṅga was a province placed under a viceroy with headquarters at Tosali. Even then Aśoka addressed the judicial officers of Tosali ( तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोद्दालका ) directly with the definite addition to the instructions to the Mahāmātras, Aśoka proposed to depute every five years a Mahāmātra of higher grade to inspect the administration of justice by these ordinary judicial officers. He further ordered that his viceroys at Ujjain and Taxila would do the same.<sup>13</sup> There is thus no questioned 'decentralisation' regarding the application of law and punishment (*vyavahara-samatā* and *daṇḍa-samatā*). On the other hand, as the above evidences point, it was one of complete centralisation.

It is an undisputed fact that the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed many privileges in law in the times previous to Aśoka's reign. The Brahmanic and Dharma-sūtra literatures provide evidence for this fact. It is also a fact that Aśoka who was inspired with the Buddhist ideals of democracy and equality could not tolerate those privileges and customs which militated against the ideals of the Buddhist law of life. Dr. Raychaudhuri seems to doubt that Brāhmaṇas enjoyed certain immunities in criminal punishments and has quoted certain illustrations from the Brahmanic literature, one from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and one from the Mahābhārata in favour of his opinion. But those illustrations prove the exceptions to the general rule. The evidences in favour of the privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas in society and law found in the Brāhmaṇic and Dharmasūtra literatures are overwhelming. Even during Vedic period Brahmanas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods. (Tai Br. III. 7. 3.) The Brāhmaṇa is Agni-Vaiśvanara. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (19. 20. 22) says that the gods are invisible deities, but Brāhmaṇas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by Brāhmaṇas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of the Brāhmaṇas. The Tai Br. says that the Brāhmaṇa is indeed the supervisor over the people. The Ait. Br. (37. 5) says that where the Kṣatriyas are under the control of the Brāhmaṇas, that Kingdom becomes prosperous, that Kingdom is full of heroes:

( तदत्र वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं वसमेति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धयं तद्वरिवदाहस्मि वीरो जायते ).

According to Gautama (XI. I) the King is the ruler of all, except Brahmanas:

( राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मण वर्जम् )

Both the early Dharma-Sūtrakāras, Gautama and Baudhayana, were against any kind of corporal punishment being given to the Brāhmaṇas. Baudh. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18-19) prescribes only branding and banishment to a Brāhmaṇa even for murder of a Brāhmaṇa ( ब्राह्मणहत्या ) Gant. (12. 93) says that no corporal punishment should be given to Brāhmaṇas ( न शरीर ब्राह्मणदण्डः ). Instances of many other privileges in law in the matter of punishments, taxes etc. may be cited from the Brāhmaṇic and Dharmasūtra litera-

tures. With these overwhelming evidences how can one say that there was equality in law and that the Brahmanas did not enjoy certain privileges which went against the principle of *vyavahāra samata* and *danḍa samata* existing in the time of Aśoka? That being the case, the edict on *vyavahara samata* and *danḍa samata* by Aśoka certainly offended the Brahmanas who had been enjoying the privileges in law. Therefore, it is difficult to accept Dr Raychaudhuri's view that the *samata* which he (Aśoka) enforced did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brahmanas from capital punishment and that it should be understood in connection with the general policy of decentralisation.

I shall now deal with the first event of the Brahmanic revolt which is intimately connected with the fact of Puṣyamitra's oppression of the Buddhists. I have already said that Aśoka was not an oppressor of other faiths. He was a tolerant Bhuddhist ruler showing equal respect to all faiths and enjoining on his subjects to do the same.<sup>14</sup>

But that he was a sincere reformist wishing well of his subjects whom he regarded and openly said so as his own children is clear from many of his edicts. It is in his zeal to guide his subjects in the right path that he unconsciously and without any intention mortally offended the Brahmanas. I have already referred to some of his edicts in this connection. Let me elucidate them in more detail. RE I proclaimed Aśoka's principle of *ahimsa* and stopped not only killing of animals for the royal kitchen but also prohibited animals being offered as sacrifice and discouraged *śamājas* of the kind observed before, in both of which the Brāhmaṇas played an important part. The appointment of the Dharmmamahamatras (RE V) deprived the Brahmanas of their long enjoyed right of guiding the religion of the people. The *smṛiti* literature as I have shown above, placed the Brahmanas in the position of the *Gurus*. RE IX shows Asoka as a reformer *par excellence*. In it Asoka condemned many semi-religious ceremonies which were and still are observed in the homes of the people of the Brahmanic faith. The essence of the edict is that religion does not depend on rituals but on practical conduct in life on cultivation of proper relations in the home on character. But he regretted that society in his time was given to too much petty (छुट) and worthless (निरर्थ) ceremonies. The substance of religion is hidden under mere forms. The women folk (महिषाया) are specially guilty in this respect. People perform various other ceremonies on all possible occasions in life to avert mishaps (अवघेसु), at the time of sons and daughters' marriage, (आवाहविवहेसु) of births (पुत्रलभेसु) and journey (प्रवासम्भि). Rites should undoubtedly be performed but rites and ceremonies of this kind bear little fruit (अफल). It is the moral life that counts. Then he recounts the conditions of real good moral life as distinguished from mere meaningless ceremonies in the name of

religion. These reforms dictated by an honest and sincere desire for the well-being of his subjects and not imbued with a fanatical spirit or hurting any body's feelings did in effect and were bound to offend the Brahmanas and the people of the Brahmanic faith who honestly found in these reforms a blow to their cherished faith and religious rites. Further the substitution of call to wars (भेरिघोसो) for the policy of propagation of the Dharma (धमघोसो) in RE IV in other words the abandonment of militarism for pacifism as the policy of state a policy that was pursued consistently by Asoka's successors encouraged not only the border provinces to assert their independence but encouraged foreigners with their outlandish practices particularly the Bactrian Greeks to invade India. The political independence of India and with it her time-honoured culture were threatened with danger. This was the signal for the revolution for which the material was prepared by the internal and external policy of the Maurya rulers—from Asoka downwards. The discontentment of the Brahmanas who were the leaders of the society found a fitting weapon in the Senapati Puṣyamitra Śunga himself a Brahmana. This revolution the *coup d'état* which ended the Mauryan rule was a Brahmanic reaction *par excellence* whose object was to restore the Brahmana supremacy and Brahmanic faith in society which was being threatened from within and without. Its immediate effect was the assumption of the power of the state by Puṣyamitra Śunga the Brahmana and the principal instrument of the reaction. Puṣyamitra had to justify his position as head of the Brahmanic reaction by persecuting the Buddhists and destroying Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and restoring the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brahmanic faith on the other for which his principal helpers were Patanjali and also perhaps Manu the author of the *Manusmṛiti* who was also his contemporary according to some scholars and for the one we have the testimony of the Divyavadana and Taranatha for the other Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* Kalidasa's *Malavikāgnimitram* and the Ajodhya inscription<sup>1</sup> provide the necessary evidence. A passage in the Divyavadhana states यो मे भ्रमणशीरो नास्यति तस्याहं दीनारं शतं दास्यामि<sup>16</sup> who ever who will present me with the head of a śramaṇa will get a reward of hundred dinars from me. Taranatha the Tibetan historian also testifies to the killing of śramaṇas and burning of Buddhist monasteries by Puṣyamitra. What reason is there to reject these testimonies? Should they be so lightly dismissed as mere uncorroborative writings of late authors like the compiler of the Divyavadana and Taranatha<sup>17</sup> as Dr Raychaudhuri holds or as ebullitions of sectarian rancour as Dr Tripathi points out<sup>18</sup>?

The persecution of the Buddhists by Puṣyamitra as I had discussed above was a logical sequence of the Brahmanic reaction and the political

15 *Ep Ind* XX, pp 54-58.

17 *P H A I* 3rd. Ed., p 246

16 *Ed Cowell and Neil*, p 433

18 *P H A I* p 187



*coup d'état* The traditions of the persecution were current when the Divya vadana was composed and even in the time of Taranatha when he wrote his history. Many events of ancient India have been thus preserved by traditional writings. Dr. Raychaudhuri who dismisses this particular reference in the Divyavadana gladly accepts the testimony of the same book in connection with another event. Regarding the revolt at Taxila during Aśoka's reign due to ministerial oppression Dr. Raychaudhuri says: 'The divya vadana is no doubt a late work but the reality of ministerial oppression which it refers is affirmed by Aśoka himself in the Kalinga edicts'.<sup>19</sup> 'I do not, however, hold that whatever is written in the divyavadana is to be taken as a fact without any sound judgment. But should all traditions be dismissed as mere myth if no epigraphic evidence be found to check them?' Inscription is no doubt the most satisfactory check of traditional accounts. But should a traditional account be dismissed even though there is a reasonable historical background to accept them as true? And what is the most positive ground which the previous writers have stood on to reject the tradition of Puṣyamitra's persecution of the Buddhists? Both the writers referred to above reject it on the ground that '*the Buddhist monuments were erected during the supremacy of the Sungas*' (italics are mine). The inscription on the left pillar of the eastern gate way at Barhut bears an inscription which contains the above inscription. The inscription is as follows:

Suganam raje rane Gagiputasa visadevasa potena Gagiputasa  
 Agarajusa putena Vācīptena Dhanabhutina karitam toranam  
 silakanimanto ca upamaṇa (no)

During the reign of the Sungas the gate way has been caused to be made together with the stone carving by Vatsiputra Dhanabhūti son of Gotiputra Ajaraju and grandson (पोतेन) of king Gargiputra Visvadeva.

Now (सुगन रजे) does not necessarily include the reign of Puṣyamitra Sunga. It means during the reign of the Sungas. It does not preclude the idea that Puṣyamitra Sunga is not included in the term and the gate-way was constructed during the reign of his successors who were more tolerant to Buddhism than the founder of the dynasty and leader of the Brahmanic reaction. The Buddhist church was certainly an ally of the Mauryas; the Brahmanic reaction which destroyed Maurya rule necessarily launched a crusade against the Buddhist church as a precedent condition of the revival of Brahmanism. That Puṣyamitra greatly patronised this revival we have ample evidence both literary and epigraphic. We find in the contemporary account of Patanjali's Mahabhaṣya<sup>20</sup> in the reference in Kalidasa's *Mala*

<sup>19</sup> P H A I p 299

<sup>20</sup> The passage in the Mahabhaṣya which proves the contemporaneity of Patanjali with Puṣyamitra is *śha Puṣyamitaraḥ yajamaḥ*

vikagmumitram that the horse-sacrifice, which was in abeyance in the Mauryan period, was revived by him. The Ajodyha inscription definitely refers to the two horse sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्व-मेधयाजिन सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य<sup>21</sup>. The Kosalādhīpa was perhaps Puṣyamitra's viceroy and his sixth son or brother, for the inscription describes him as पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन i.e. the sixth of Puṣyamitra.

This feverish activity towards the revival of Brāhmanism ill fits with a tolerant policy towards Buddhism which he has been credited by the writer. He could ill afford to do so, even if he liked, and keep his reactionary allies attached to his rule. But passion must have quieted down, and political conditions settled during the time of Puṣyamitra's successors who felt less obliged to yield to the reactionary elements in the state and consequently pursued a less militant and more tolerant policy towards the Buddhists to allow them to decorate the Buddhist stūpas in Barhut. That the gate ways were erected long after the time of Puṣyamitra is also the opinion of eminent archaeologists. The late Mr N. G. Mazumdar, for example, writes "the Śungas referred to in this inscription formed a dynasty which was founded by the general (senāpati) Puṣyamitra succeeding the Mauryas about 180 B.C. The gate ways however, appear to have been set up *about a century later, towards the close of the sunga period*" (italics are mine). In another place he says "The gateways appear to have been added to the stupa at least half a century after the construction of the original Railing, which may be dated about 125 B.C." In the face of these evidences how can we say that the expression *suganam raje* includes the reign of Puṣyamitra Śunga also, and use it as an argument to reject clear literary evidences that Puṣyamitra Śunga persecuted the Buddhists?

21 *Ep. Ind.* XX, pp. 51-58.

22 *A guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum* p. 14.

23 *Ibid.*

# DVĀRAKĀ

By

Dr. A D PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

Dvārakā, also known as Dvārikā, Dvārāvati or Kuśasthali, is one of the seven sacred places reputed to confer final emancipation<sup>1</sup>. It is also one of the four dhāmans in India, situated to the West, presided over by Śrīkṛṣṇa, the Lord of Dvārakā (Dvārakādhiśa), the other three being respectively Kedāranātha, Jagannātha and Rāmeśvara situated to the North, East and South. The *Mahāmāyūrī* also refers to Viṣṇu (Śrīkṛṣṇa) as the principal deity of Dvārakā<sup>2</sup>. The name Dvārakā does not occur in early Vedic literature, but is found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Jātakas* and Buddhist works also refer to Dvārāvati or Dvarakā in connection with Kṛṣṇa and the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis.<sup>3</sup> Dr RHYS DAVIDS mentions Dvārakā as the capital of Kāmboja in the early Buddhist period, it was, however, not a city of Kāmboja, but a trade-route connected the Kāmboja country with Dvārakā<sup>4</sup>. Baraké of Arrian has been taken to refer to Dvārakā<sup>5</sup>. According to the *Śiva Purāṇa*, Dvarakā contains the temple of one of the twelve *jyotirlingas* of Śiva known as Nāgeśa<sup>6</sup>. There is also a monastery of Śrī Śankarācārya at Dvarakā. Modern Dwarka is situated in Okhamandal in Kathiawad to the extreme western promontory. There is, however, a difference of opinion among scholars as to the location of ancient Dvārakā, and Mūladvārakā, Gṛinagara (modern Junagadh), and sites near Madhupur and Kodinar on the coast line between Porbunder and Miyan, are variously identified with the old Dvārakā<sup>7</sup>. Location of Dvārakā will be considered towards the end of this paper.

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* state that Dvārakā has been erected

1 अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काशी ध्वनित्का ।

पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

2 Journ U P Hist Soc XV, pp 27, 31 2

3 Cf B C LAW, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp 85, 102, 239

4 Cf RAY CHAUDHURY, *Pol Hist Anc Ind*, 4th Ed p 127, LAW, *op cit*, p 85

5 ALTKAR, *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, p 25

6 *Śiva Purāṇa* IV, 123, cf DEY, *Geogr Dict*, 2nd Ed, p 59

7 Full references are given later on

on the site of Kusasthali which was the capital of Ānarta<sup>8</sup> ancient name for Gujarat. According to the *Puranas* the descendants of Śaryati son of Manu are credited with the foundation of what is now known as Gujarat. It received its ancient name from Anarta son of Śaryati Rocamāna Reva and Raiyata Kakudmin followed and the dynasty reigned at Kusasthali whose foundation is variously ascribed to Ānarta or Revata<sup>9</sup>. The Śaryatas however did not last long and Kusasthali their capital was captured and destroyed by Punyajana Rakṣasas<sup>10</sup>. The remnants of the Śaryatas fled to different countries and afterwards became a tribe among the Haihayas<sup>11</sup>. After the destruction of the Haihaya power by king Sagara of Ayodhya the Śaryatas probably became merged with the hill tribes. Revata the founder of Kusasthali has been confused with a later descendant in some Puranic accounts which state that Balarāma the Yādava elder brother of Śrīkṛṣṇa was carried to Revati the daughter of Revata<sup>1</sup>. In all probability this latter was a distant descendant of the founder of Kusasthali.

After its destruction by Punyajana Rakṣasas Kusasthali appears to have been deserted till the time of Śrīkṛṣṇa the Yādava hero the friend and counsellor of the Pandavas who made it his capital. The Yādavas and Bhojas, Andhakas Vṛṣṇis originally belonged to Mathura but on account of the incessant invasions of the powerful king Jarasandha of Magadha and the threatened siege by Kalayavana the Yavana chief the Yādavas with their families migrated in a body southwards to Gujarat and established themselves at Dvaraka. Kṛṣṇa is said to have founded Dvaraka at the site of ancient Kusasthali. The life of Kṛṣṇa is well known<sup>12</sup>. The Yādavas were all ruin

8 *Agn* 273 12 15 *Brahmaṇḍa* II 61 19-23 *Vayu* 86.24 27 *MbI* II 14 50 67 *Brah* a 14 56 *Hari* 1967

विहाय मयुरां रम्या मानयन्त पिनाकिनम् ।

कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीप्सव ॥ ब्रह्म, १४, ५६

9 Cf references in note 8 above. This Kusasthali is different from the Kusasthali on the Vindhya founded by Kusa son of Rama — PARGITER *Anc Ind Hist Trad* p 279

10 *Brahmaṇḍa* II 63 1 *Vayu* 88.1 *Brahma* 7.37-8 *Hari* I 11 4

ककुद्मिनस्तु त लोक रैवतस्य गतस्य ह ।

इता पुण्यजनैस्तात राक्षसै सा कुशस्थली ॥

11 *Brahmaṇḍa* II 69 52-3 *Brahma* 13.203-4 *Matsya* 43 48 9 *Vayu* 94 51 2 *Hari* I 33 51 2 Cf also PARGITER *Anc Ind Hist Trad* pp. 98 260

तेषां पञ्च कुला दयाता हैहयाना महात्मनाम् ।

वीतिहोत्राश्च शार्याता भोजाश्चान्तयस्तथा ॥

कुण्डिकेराश्च विक्रान्तास्त्रालजहास्तथैव च ॥

12 Cf the continuation of passages in note 8 above

13 I have dealt at some length with the history of Kṛṣṇa and his life in

ed in a fratricidal strife near Prabhāsakṣetra after the Bhārata war. After Kṛṣṇa's death remnants of the Yādavas abandoned Dvārakā with their women and children under the leadership of Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava, and retreated northwards, but they were attacked by the Ābhīras and hill tribes. Arjuna was able to save but a few of these people whom he brought to Indra-prastha and anointed Vajra the grandson of Kṛṣṇa as their king. Dvārakā is said to have been submerged under the sea after Kṛṣṇa's ascent to the heavens immediately after the Yādavas left.<sup>14</sup>

A different story of the foundation of Dvārakā is given in the *Dvārakā mahātmya*<sup>15</sup>. Anarta, son of Śrīyātī being expelled by his father, on his praising Kṛṣṇa as being the Lord and master of all, went to the sea shore, and practised penance. Śrīkṛṣṇa was pleased and founded a new region for Anarta by placing on the ocean a piece of land brought from the heavens. This region was later known as Dvārakā. There is, however, much historical inconsistency in this account as it makes Kṛṣṇa, who was ages subsequent to Anarta, a predecessor and contemporary of the latter.<sup>16</sup>

We do not get any particulars about Dvārakā after the time of Kṛṣṇa after the sea encroached on it. Being recently founded by Kṛṣṇa and having been submerged soon after Kṛṣṇa's time, Dvārakā naturally was not regarded as a holy place at the time of the Pāṇḍavas and the Bhārata war. That it was not a sacred place of pilgrimage at the time of the Bhārata war, would also seem to follow from the fact that the Pāṇḍavas are not said to have visited the site in their pilgrimage. The Pāṇḍavas are stated to have gone from Śūrparaka to Prabhasa, (which is on the southern coast of Kathiawad far from Dvārakā) where Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas had come to meet them.<sup>17</sup> The site of Dvārakā rose into prominence as a sacred place during the interval between the Bhārata war and the composition of the *Mahābhārata* (c. 2nd cent. B.C.) as it occupies a premier place among the *tīrthas* mentioned by Narada.<sup>18</sup> Somehow we do not get any reference to the site either in literary works or in copper plates or inscriptions till after the end of the first millennium of the Christian era. The description in the *Sisupālavadha* is simply poetic fancy. The *Ullasārāghava* of Somesvaradeva refers to Dvārakā as a sacred site of Śrīkṛṣṇa.<sup>19</sup> Caitanya and Mirabai in medieval times went on pilgrimage to Dvārakā which had become famous as a *tīrtha* by their time.

There are references to the tribal form of government of the Yādavas at

a chapter contributed to the *Glory that was Gurjaradesa* (Ed. K. M. MUNSHI, Bombay, 1943, Section III, Chapter II).

14 *Mbh.* XVI, 7.32-72, XVII 18-9.

15 *Gargasamhitāntargata Dvārakamahātmya*, Chap. 1.

16 Cf. PARGITER, *Anc. Ind. Hist.*, *Trad.* p. 98.

17 *Mbh.* Cr. Ed. III 118-15-23, 119.

18 *Mbh.* Cr. Ed. III 80-82-84.

19 Cf. Durgashanker SHASTRI, *Atīthāstik Samsodhan* (in Gujarati) p. 602.

Dvārakā, and we shall describe it in brief. The Andhaka Vṛṣṇas (and the different tribes of the Yādavas) had an Assembly Hall in Dvārakā, known as Sudharma where they gathered on important occasions and deliberated on the course of action to be followed.<sup>20</sup> The Sabhāpāla was probably the Secretary of the Council who convened its meeting on suitable occasions. There were a number of tribal chiefs or elders (*gana mukhya*), and Kṛṣṇa, Akrūra, Āhuka, Sātyaki, etc. are spoken of as leaders.<sup>21</sup> Akrūra was the Commander in Chief of the Yādava forces.<sup>22</sup> There were often parties, and contests for power and authority. In the assembly every one was at liberty to express his opinion, but the tact and wisdom of the President generally carried the day. The policy of the Government was decided by the tribal chiefs (*gana-mukhya*) in Council.<sup>23</sup> It appears that in these Ganas there was a regular system of administration according to the śāstras, and there were departments of Secret Service, Finance, Foreign Policy, etc. The administrative discipline was strictly observed, and disobedience to Government officials (*yuktas*) was severely dealt with.<sup>24</sup> Dr SINHA rightly concludes that the whole description presents on the whole a picture of tribal oligarchy.<sup>25</sup>

The *Dvārakamahātmya* in the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* deals exhaustively in great detail with the *tīrtha vidhi*, the *yatrā-vidhi* and the *kṣetra mātmya*.<sup>26</sup> Beginning with Gomatimāhātmya and the story of Kṛṣṇa and Durvāsas there follow the descriptions and glorifications of, and numerous episodes connected with, the Cakratīrtha Rukmīṇīhrada, Nṛgatīrtha Viṣṇu padatīrtha various *tīrthas* and *saras tīrthas*, etc., there are also descriptions of various *vratas*. The *Dvārakamahātmya* in the *Garga saṃhitā*<sup>27</sup> speaks of the principal *tīrthas*, Cakratīrtha, Śankhoddhara Gomatī, Raivataka Pīṇḍāraka, etc. Modern Dwarka as already stated, lies to the extreme west of the Kathiawad peninsula which can be approached either by train or by steamer. It is towards the right side of Gomatī tīrtha. The celebrated temple of Dvārakādhīśa here is reputed to have been built by Vajranābha, grandson of Kṛṣṇa. Śrīkṛṣṇa is worshipped here as Raṇachodārāya on account of his flight from Mathurā through the terror of king Jarāsandha.<sup>28</sup> There is also a temple of Kuśesvara Mahādeva, to its south is the Śārada Maṭha of Śrī Śankarācārya. Most of the sacred *tīrthas* mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and *Māhātmyas* are found here including the Cakratīrtha Ratneśvara Mahādeva, Siddhanātha Mahādeva Jñānakunḍa, Pīṇḍāraka, etc. At a distance of 20 miles from Dvārakā and two miles from the sea shore in the gulf is a small island, known

20 Mbh Cr. Ed. I 212 10ff

21 Cf Mbh Cr Ed., p 960 lines 170-1

23 Mbh XII, 107.23 25

25. Sovereignty in Ancient Indian Polity p 255

26. Skanda Purāṇa VII 4

27. Published by Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, Samvat 1994

28. Cf Dev Geogr Dict 2nd Ed. p 232

22 Mbh., Cr Ed. I 213.31

24 Mbh XII 107

as Śāṅkhoddhārabeṭa the main shrines there being the Raṇachodajī temple and the Śāṅkhoddhārātīrtha<sup>29</sup>

Finally, we come to the consideration of the location of Dvārakā, the capital of the Yādavas, about which as already stated, there is much difference of opinion among scholars. The legend about the original site of Dvārakā being engulfed in an oceanic inundation seems to be true as has been pointed by Dr ALTEKAR, as literary evidence supports it, as such oceanic changes are of common occurrence in Kathiawad and as doubt exists as to the location of the original site which is possible only when the original city has disappeared<sup>30</sup>. At present there is a port to the westernmost part of Kathiawad known as Dwarka which is a place of pilgrimage and is regarded as the site of the ancient capital. Mūladvārakā is an island in the sea about 22 miles east of Prabhāsapaṭṭana<sup>31</sup>. Modern Junagadh at the foot of the Girnar hills (which some identify with Mt. Raivataka) has also been located as the site of ancient Dvārakā<sup>32</sup>. Besides these, Dvārakā has been variously placed on the coast between Porbander and Miyaṇa, or near Madhurpur or three miles south west from Kodinar<sup>33</sup>.

The *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* are unanimous in stating that the Yadavas established their capital on the site of the ruins of Kuśasthali, the ancient capital of Ānarta<sup>34</sup>. Kuśasthali and Dvāraka or Dvārāvati appear as synonyms. All these authorities further agree in stating that Dvārakā was near Mt. Raivataka. Basing their conclusion on the identification of Raivataka with Mt. Girnar some scholars have decided in favour of Girnagara (modern Junagadh) as being the site of ancient Dvāraka<sup>35</sup>. Junagadh is no doubt, an ancient town as contended by these scholars, but it was never known as Dvārakā. It is again more than 60 miles from the sea shore whereas there is an ancient persistent tradition maintaining that Dvārakā was near the coast line which cannot be easily overlooked or lightly discarded. This tradition of the proximity of Dvāraka to the sea is not confined only to later *Puranas* as is stated by the supporters of the claims of Junagadh. The *Mahābhārata* references in the Mausalaparvan clearly mention Dvāraka to be on the coast line besides the references in the *Harivamśa* to the foundation of Dvārakā near the sea. Other *Purāṇas* also state that the ocean was in

29 Cf Durgashanker SHASTRI *op cit* pp 599-613

30 *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad* p 25

31 Hathubhai SHASTRI *Proc. Oriental Conf.* VII pp 1171-3. *Nagan Pracārini Patrakā* XII pp 97-100

32 BHATTASALI *Ind. Hist. Quart.* X pp 541-50. Durgashanker SHASTRI *op cit* pp 377-386

33 Cf BURGESS, *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh* London 1876 p 13

34 See note 2 above

35 See note 32

close proximity of the city.<sup>36</sup> The references in the Ādi- and Sabhā-parvans of the *Mahābhārata* indicate that Dvārakā was in the vicinity of Mt. Raivataka ;<sup>37</sup> but nothing is stated about its distance from the sea-shore. Attention, again, may be drawn, in this connection, to a statement in the *Ghata Jātaka*, which clearly shows that Dvārakā "stood on the sea and had a hill by its side",<sup>38</sup> proving thereby the antiquity of the tradition of Dvārakā having both the sea and a hill in its vicinity. Hence, Junagadh being more than 60 miles from the sea-shore cannot be regarded as the site of ancient Dvārakā, which was near the sea. It is, no doubt, near Mt. Girnar ; but the identity of the latter with Mt. Raivataka mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas* has not been established beyond doubt. There is, again, complete absence of any sacred shrines associated with Dvārakā in the neighbourhood of Junagadh.

Next, we consider Mūladvārakā on the sea, about 22 miles east of Prabhāsapatana. Being at a distance of about 60 miles south of the Girnar hills (which some identify with Mt. Raivataka), it cannot be said to be by the side of the hill. However, it appears that late traditions consistently bring in Mūladvārakā, as would appear from the references in the *Skanda Purāna*.<sup>39</sup> The description in the *Śiṣupālavadha* has no evidentiary value, being merely based on flights of poetic fancy. But the Pinḍārakatīrtha mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is not located in Mūladvārakā. This, coupled with its distance from the hills, goes against its identifications with the site of old Dvārakā. Other sites on the coast line also are at some distance from the hills ; and hence do not appear to be the sites of ancient Dvārakā.

Next, we come to modern Dwarka on the extreme western coast line. The main argument against this site is that it is about 110 miles from Mt. Girnar (identified with Mt. Raivataka by some). It is true, there is no mountain close to modern Dwarka ; but, as suggested by Mr. PARGITER, the Barada hills in Halar are not far from the site, and they can be identified with Mt. Raivataka.<sup>40</sup> As already indicated, Dvārakā gained position as a sacred site after the period of the Bhārata war. In the enumeration and description of the *tīrthas* by Nārada, Dvārakā is dealt with at some length. It

36. Cf. *Hari*, II. 56.26-7 ; *Brahma*. 17.33 , *Brahmāṇḍa*, II. 71.91 ; *Vāyu*, 96.90 :

सागरानिलसंवीतं सागराम्बुनियेवितम् ।

विषयं सिन्धुराजस्य शोभितं पुरस्सर्गैः ॥

तत्र रैवतको नाम पर्वतो नातिदूरतः ।

कक्षे ( v. 1. कुक्षौ ) जलनिधेस्ततः ॥ वायु, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्माण्ड ॥

*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (p. 32) calls Dvārāvati, an " *Abdhānagarī* ".

37. *Mbh.*, Cr. Ed., I. 212. 6-7 ; II. 14.50, 67.

38. Cf. LAW, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

39. Cf. HATHIBHAI SHASTRI, *Proc. Oriental Conf.*, VII, pp. 1171-2.

40. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Eng. Trans., p. 289 note.



is stated that in the Pīṇḍarakatūṛtha are found coins or seals with the marks of *padma* and lotuses with the trisūla marks of Śankara indicating the presence of Śankara also<sup>41</sup> Pīṇḍarakatūṛtha is still to be found at modern Dwarka. It may, therefore, be said that the antiquity of the present site of Dwarka goes back to over 2000 years. The *Mahābhārata* expressly states that ancient seals or coins were found at the site, if excavations are carried at the sites which lay claims to having been the ancient Dvārakā it is possible we may come across seals or coins to which the *Mahābhārata* refers and to which attention was drawn by Dr. JAYASWAL.<sup>42</sup> This will indeed decisively settle the question of the identification of Dvārakā.

It is true we get no epigraphic records or copper plates about the site of the modern Dwarka, which indicates that it was not known in the historic period. The copper plates and inscriptions brought forth in connection with Junagadh refer to it as Girinagara and never as Dvārakā besides it is far from the sea. Thus there are objections to the identification of Dvārakā either with Junagadh or with modern Dwarka and we cannot establish the identification with absolute certainty but the objections and difficulties in the latter case are not so weighty as they are in the case of Junagadh. Besides taking into consideration the facts that successive sacred shrines arise on the same ancient spot and that the 2000 year old tradition must have got some basis in reality I am inclined to look for the old capital of Śrīkṣṇa at the site of modern Dwarka.

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41 *Mbh. Cr. Ed.* III 80 82-4

ततो द्वारवतीं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशन ।  
 पिण्डारके नर स्नात्वा लभेद्बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥  
 तस्मिंस्तीर्थे महाभाग पद्मलक्षणलक्षिता ।  
 अद्यापि मुद्रा दृश्यन्ते तदद्भुतमरिदम् ॥  
 त्रिशलाश्चानि पद्मानि दृश्यन्ते कुम्भनन्दन ।  
 महादेवस्य सानिष्य तत्रैव भरतर्षभ ॥

42 *Proc. Oriental Con.* VII p. lxiii

## TWO DECADES OF MADURA (1734-1754).

By

T V MAHALINGA SASTRI, M A , D LITT

Madura, the Athens of South India and the radiating centre of an ancient culture, a city known from the earliest beginnings of South Indian history for power, plenty and prosperity, a city that was the capital of many dynasties of rulers beginning from the pre Christian period passed through calamitous vicissitudes of fortune on the disruption of the Nayak rule in the region. After the extinction of the Sultanate of Madura about 1378 as a result of the military activities of Kumāra Kampana the son of Bukka I of Vijayanagar, Madura was included in the Vijayanagar Empire. In the sixteenth century, in order to provide for the efficient administration of the Madura country, Madura was constituted as a Nayakship and one Visvanātha Nayaka was appointed for the place. The Nayak period was a very bright one in the history of Madura when great encouragement was given to the promotion of arts and letters, big irrigation works were undertaken, and everything great in the Hindu civilisation was patronised. 'A Government whose wealth and whose tastes are manifested by its temples and statues and whose readiness to employ all its resources for the benefit of its people as proved by the number and nature of the irrigation works it completed implies a contented and a prosperous people, while a high state of the arts and knowledge is abundantly testified by the exquisite design and workmanship discoverable in many of the temples and statues as well as by the grasp and mastery of the principles of irrigation—a complicated and difficult branch of the Engineering Art—displayed in their irrigation systems' <sup>1</sup> Among the great rulers of this dynasty were Visvanatha Nāyaka Tirumalai Nayaka and Raṇi Mangammāl

Vijayaranga Cokkanatha Nāyaka (1706-1732) who had no male issue, was on his death succeeded by his wife Minākṣi and she ruled for five years till 1736 being supported by her brother Venkaṭa Perumāḷ. Her short reign was a period of great internal strife. Queen Minākṣi adopted Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyakkār, the son of one Vangaru Tirumalai, a member of a collateral branch of the royal family. But Vangaru Tirumalai attempted to depose Minākṣi and usurp the royal authority. The Nawwāb of Arcot during that time was Dost Ali (1732-1740), the nephew of Sādat-'Ullah Khān (1710-1732) who inaugurated the Nawwābī. He sent his son Safdar 'Ali and son in law Chandā Şahib to the Tanjore and Trichinopoly

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<sup>1</sup> A J Stuart *Manual of Tinnevely* p 69

area to bring the region under his control if it failed to pay tribute. Vangaru Tirumala took advantage of the presence of the Muslim army near by and sought the help of Safdar 'Alī against Minākṣī. Safdar 'Alī offered to arbitrate on behalf of the two decided in favour of Vangaru Tirumala and left the area leaving instructions with Chanda Śāhib to give effect to the same. But Queen Minākṣī managed to bribe Chanda Śāhib for a crore of rupees, and he promised on the *Koran* that he would stand by her. But soon the differences between Vangaru Tirumala and Minākṣī were patched up and therefore Chanda Śāhib returned home being frustrated in his plans. In 1736 he again came down to Madura with a view to reduce it taking advantage of the political confusion there. He offered to subdue her enemies and sent a large force which took possession of Dindigul. The place was stormed and Vangaru Tirumala who was in charge of the Dindigul area organised resistance at Ammayanāyakkanūr against the Muslim invader but was defeated by him. Vangaru fled from the battlefield and took refuge in the fort of Veḷḷikuricchi under the protection of the Raja of Śivagaṅga. Chanda Śāhib who became the master practically of the whole of Madura took Queen Minākṣī prisoner quite in violation of his promise to her on the *Koran*. The Queen who could not brook her fate committed suicide in the same year by taking poison.

Chanda Śāhib during the period of his administration in the south strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly and appointed his two brothers as the Governors respectively of Dindigul and Madura. But his rule was very unpopular and aroused the great resentment and hatred of the Hindus.

Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nayakkar son of Vangaru Tirumalai Nayakar and Veḷḷaiyan Śervaiḱkkan the *vasal dalavay* of the Setupatī left the area. The managers and attendants of the temples of Minākṣī Sundarēśvara and Kuḍal Alagar at Madura took with them the Gods of the above two temples to Vanaravīrarmadurai (Manamadurai) and stayed there for two years (1739-41). The Setupatī made necessary provision for the *pūja* and daily offering of the Gods as also food and drink for the servants of the temples and thus kept them under his protection.<sup>2</sup>

Vangaru Tirumala and Pratap Singh the Raja of Tanjore (1739-63) sought the help of the Mahrattas who were extending their power in the south. Raja Sahu sent Raghuji Bhonsle on an expedition against the Carnatic. He defeated and killed Dost Alī the Nawwab of the Carnatic, at the battle at Damalcheruvu Pass (North Arcot District) in 1740. Later probably at the instigation of Safdar 'Alī he marched against Chanda Śāhib sailing on the way Tiruvannamalai and Porto Novo and plundering the places

2 Taylor *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* II p 234

3 See pp 6-7 of the *Maduraiṭṭalavaralaru* in the *Tiruppaṇṭimalai Sen Tamil* publication No 27

The total estimate of the value of the plunder was about 150,000 *pagodas*. The Mahrattas first deceived Chanda Śāhib by taking their forces beyond Trichinopoly, but when they found that he had sold the grains with him and was not prepared for an engagement they besieged Trichinopoly in 1741. Bade Śāhib the brother of Chandā Śāhib marched to the relief of Trichinopoly with large provisions, horsemen and foot. But he was intercepted by the Mahrattas with a body of 2000 cavalry near Dindigul from which place he went forth and defeated them. However Raghujī Bhonsle marched to the scene with 10,000 horse and attacked the camp of Bade Śāhib at Maṇalpāra and killed both him and his sister's son-in-law Sadiq Śāhib. Later the corpse of Bade Śāhib was richly dressed and sent to his brother Chandā Śāhib at Trichinopoly, so that he might be warned of the impending downfall of his hopes. Raghujī Bhonsle then attacked Trichinopoly with the help of the Pindaris, Kallars and Poligars of the area and Chandā Śāhib offered him stiff resistance. But his ammunitions and stores failed him and therefore he surrendered himself to Raghujī on 25th March, 1741. He was disarmed, taken prisoner and sent over to Satara where he remained within prison for seven years. The fort of Trichinopoly was taken by the Mahrattas and Murari Rao Ghorpade of Gooty was appointed the Governor of Trichinopoly and the area depending on it assisted by 14,000 of the best troops of the Mahrattas.<sup>4</sup>

The Mahratta occupation and rule of the South seems to have been congenial to the betterment of the condition of the Hindus. Murari Rao appointed one Appaji Nayaka to administer Madura on his behalf and sent him to the place along with 2,000 horses. The latter did not like to stay in a city where there was no God and hence he visited Vānaravīrarmadurai, worshipped the Gods at the place, and with the consent of the Sētopati, took back the idols of Minākṣi, Sundarēvara and Kuḍal Alagar to Madura in July 1741 and reconsecrated them in their respective temples. He also performed purificatory ceremonies in the temples and made large provisions for the daily worship and services of the Gods in the old manner.<sup>5</sup>

But the rule of Madura by the Hindus was not destined to last long. The fortunes of the city were soon affected by domestic and political revolutions in the Carnatic. The course of the revolutions was as follows. Safdar 'Alī Khān who succeeded Dōst 'Alī as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic on the death of his father in 1740 was assassinated in his bed by his cousin Murtaza 'Alī Khān on the night of 13th October 1742 by order of one Ghulam Murtaza 'Alī Khān the Governor of Vellore and his own Diwān Mīr Asad was imprisoned. But the position of Ghulam Murtaza 'Alī was not strong. Murari Rao

4 See Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari *Anandaranga Pillai* pp. 16-18, Also C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People* pp. 276-7.

5 See *Maduraiṭṭalavaralaru* in *Tiruppanmālai* p. 7, Also R. Satyanatha Ayyar *The Nayaks of Madura* p. 379.

of Trichinopoly refused to recognise him and the army also mutinied. Therefore Murtaza 'Alī escaped to Vellore; and Sayyid Muḥammad Khān the young son of Safdar 'Alī was declared the Nawwāb of the Carnatic. Nizām-ul Mulk the Subedar of the Deccan who was anxious to restore order in the south marched to Arcot with a large army of horse and foot which seemed "as though the sea was rising and flooding the land" He subdued the Carnatic and appointed Khwājā Abdullā Khān, one of his own important officers to administer the Carnatic and keep as his ward Sayyid Muḥammad Khān. Then he marched towards Trichinopoly which was ruled by Muraṇi Rao. The Mahratta chieftain trembled within his shoes at the approach of Nizām-ul Mulk, and therefore evacuated his headquarters on 29th August, 1743 and went north. Thus by the mere strength of his arm, without waging one battle, the Nizām got possession of the Carnatic including the far south. So the Mahratta rule of Trichinopoly and Madura was put an end to in 1743. The attempt of Muraṇi Rao to revive the power of the Mahrattas in the south soon after failed. The Nizām returned home along with Nawwāb Khwājā Abdullā and confirmed him in his office. But on the night of the same day the Nawab of the Carnatic was found dead in his bed, having been killed by an unknown hand. Therefore one Anwar-'uddīn Khān who was in charge of the administration of the Northern Circars was appointed Nawwāb of the Carnatic, and the young son of Safdar 'Alī was sent along with him to be taken care of. The young boy was killed by a body of Tāhiran soldiers in June 1744 apparently at the instigation of Gulām Murtaza 'Alī of Vellore. Hence Anwar 'ud dīn was confirmed in the Nawwābship of the Carnatic in 1744.

Anwar 'ud-dīn Khān appointed his son Muhammad 'Alī to be in charge of the general administration of the Carnatic and Mahfūz Khān to be in charge of the administration of the Trichinopoly country, and from this time for more than ten years the Madura area was under the rule of Muslims. Mahfūz Khān attacked Pratāp Singh the Mahratta Rāja of Tanjore and extracted from him a bond for the payment of an annual tribute. During this period an attempt was planned with a view to recover the Trichinopoly fort from the Muslims and establish the rule of the son of Kāṭṭu Rāja (the Zamindar of Uḍaiyārpalayam) when it was arranged that the Mahrattas must invade the country being helped by the people of Tanjore and Mysore, the Tondaimān Rāja of Pudukkoṭṭai and the Sētopatī of Ramnad (Maravan). But such grand schemes and designs did not fructify.

Matters went on for about four years till 1748 when certain incidents of momentous significance took place in the Deccan and the Carnatic. In that year Nizām 'ul Mulk died leaving behind him six sons, Ghāzī uddīn Nāṣir Jung, Salabat Jung, Nizām 'Alī, Muhammad Shariff, and Mīr Moghal

6. *Tuzak-i-Walajah* trans. by Dr Muhammad Husayn Nainar, (Madras University), I, pp 82-4 and 106-08

7 See C. S. Srinivasachari, *op cit.*, pp. 115-14 and p 114 fn 17

He had also a grandson Muzaffar Jung by name, by his daughter Ghazi 'ud dīn was at Delhi, engaged in imperial politics. Hence Nasir Jung, the second son of Nizām 'ul Mulk succeeded to the *Nizamat* on the death of his father. Muzaffar Jung was anxious to succeed to the position of his grandfather. A common cause was made between Muzaffar Jung and Chandā Shāhib (the latter anxious to become the Nawwāb of the Carnatic) and Rāza Shāhib the son of Chandā Shāhib sought the help of Duplax the Governor of French possessions in India. It was learnt that the Mahrattas would be willing to release Chanda Shāhib if they were paid a ransom of seven lakhs of rupees. The money was paid, Chandā Shāhib got his release and the confederates marched towards Arcot. The French and their allies effected a junction with them, met Anwar-'ud dīn at Āmbūr, where the latter was killed on 3rd August, 1749, owing to the treachery of one of his own commanders, Husain Khān Tahūr, the Jagirdar of Amburgadh who persuaded Nawwāb Anwar 'ud dīn to fix his camp before his fort having treacherous designs.<sup>8</sup>

It was this political condition in the Deccan and the Carnatic where there were rivals for the *Nizāmī* and the *Nawwābī* that rendered the recall of Muhammad 'Alī and Mahfūz Khān from the south necessary and inevitable. Under such circumstances they left the south for the Arcot region in 1746 placing Madura under the charge of one Mayana apparently a Muslim. It is not known how long he was in charge of his post but within a few years he appears to have been supplanted by one 'Abdul 'Aḥmad Khān who captured the fort of Madura and ruled from that place. This was followed by another revolution at the place. One 'Alam 'Alī Khān probably a brother in law of Mayana took possession of the city from 'Abdul 'Aḥmad Khān. According to Orme, he was a soldier of fortune originally in the service of Chanda Shāhib and the Rāja of Tanjore.<sup>9</sup> Taking advantage of the course of events and the political confusion in the Carnatic he proclaimed himself as an adherent of Chandā Shāhib. He brought under his control Tinnevely, Madura and other places and subdued the *Pālayagārs* of the parts as far as the territory of the Tonḍaimān Rāja of Pudukkoṭṭai. This meant that Muhammad 'Alī the rightful successor of Anwar ud dīn Khān had lost a good slice of territory in the Carnatic and the hands of his adversary had become strengthened. Therefore the Nawwāb of the Carnatic Muhammad 'Alī, sought the help of the English for retaking Madura. Consequently a contingent of force was despatched to Madura under Captain James Cope who was in command at Trichunopoly assisted by 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān, the brother of Muhammad 'Alī. One 'Abdul Rahim an officer who was in charge of the Tinnevely area also helped Captain James Cope in his operations against Madura. 'Alam Khān was a great military general and successfully resisted the attack of Madura. Captain Cope was foiled in his attempt to take the

8. *Tuzak-i-Walajahs* I pp 144-47

9. *Tuzak-i-Walajahs* I pp 169 ff

fort and hence was forced to withdraw to Trichinopoly 'Abdul Wahhab Khan's troops betrayed their master and went over to the side of 'Alam Khan.

Saunders the Governor of Madras thought that he could effect the reduction of Madura by diplomacy and therefore on the 22nd of July 1751 he wrote a letter to 'Alam Ali Khan as follows

I have heard of your courage in the defence of Madura which though against my own people I cannot but highly commend Merit ought highly to be rewarded instead of which I hear you are to be divested of your Government and the French to take possession of the fort This I think is but a bad return for much bravery You are a soldier and your sword may make your fortune. If you will espouse the cause of Muhammad 'Ali and assist his affairs I promise you shall have a Government under him which will afford you wealth and a great name and support you and your family in affluence' <sup>10</sup>

Alam Khan however refused to accept the suggestion In the next year a battle was fought by the British and Muhammad Ali against Chanda Sahib and the French at Trichinopoly Alam Khan went to Trichinopoly, sided with Chanda Sahib and fought against the British In the course of the battle he was killed <sup>11</sup> When he left Madura for Trichinopoly he left the former under the charge of his brother in law Mayana It appears that the latter was not able to maintain control over the region and therefore he sold the city to Kuku Sahib a Mysore general who was moving about the Dindigul area of which the Mysoreans were in possession at that time <sup>12</sup> The city of Madura suffered very much during this period and the sentiments of the people were defiled by him Cows were killed and eaten and cocoanut trees were cut and destroyed

The Hindus became disgusted with this rule and organised a revolution Hence Vellaiyan Servedikaran commander of the Setupati's guard and Tandavaraya Pillai the *Pradhan* of the guard of Udaya Tevar (Zamindar of Sivaganga) took up the cause of the Hindus and laid siege to the fort of Madura for about a month at the end of which as a result of an arbitration made between the Hindu invaders and Kuku Sahib the latter left the city under the charge of the Setupati and retired towards Dindigul Having defeated the Mysore general both Vellaiyan Servedikaran and Tandavaraya Pillai entered Madura and restored order in the city Since Madura had been under Mus-

10 Country correspondence, 1757 No 97 quoted by S. C. Hill *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant* p. 30

11 See Orme, Vol I pp 200 ff

12 Nelson thinks that this Kuku Sahib was the same as General Cope who was in command at Trichinopoly (Nelson *The Madura country* III pp 270-71) This is due to the author's taking that the two persons were one While General Cope died on Feb 3 1752 fighting at Krishnavaran Kuku Sahib lived for some years more and is mentioned by Colonel Heron in a letter to Council dated 29th October 1754 as causing trouble in Madura with some Mysore horse and sepoys. S. C. Hill *Yusuf Khan the Rebel Commandant* p. 31

him rule for about ten years the temples and religious practices in the city had suffered much. Hence both of them performed purificatory ceremonies, threw open the temples that had been kept closed, restored services in them and made provision for the renewal of worship in them. They also restored Hindu rule over Madura by taking Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyaka, son of Vangāru Tirumala from Vellikuricchi and crowning him as the ruler of Madura in the sanctum of the Goddess Minākṣī.<sup>13</sup>

But the revival of the Hindu power in Madura was not to last long. According to certain local accounts Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumalai Nāyaka ruled only for sixteen months and was dethroned on 29th November, 1752, by the combined efforts of three Muslims, Mianah (Mahomed Barkey), Modemah (Mahomed Mainach) and Nabī Khān who were the subordinates of Muḥammad 'Alī. This is indicated by a signed document in which they recognised the authority of the Nawwāb over Madura and Tinnevely.<sup>14</sup> Madura again appears to have suffered under Muslim yoke. Temple lands were confiscated. The gardens and wells were destroyed and the trade of the merchants was paralysed. Therefore Vellaiyaṅ Śērvaikkāraṅ seems to have sought the help of Kūku Ṣaḥīb the Mysore general. Both of them marched towards Madura encamped at a place called Paṇaiyūr Anuppallāḍi near the city and besieged the fort of Madura for six months.

But the forces of Mayana were successful, in the battle and killed both Vellaiyaṅ Śērvaikkāraṅ and Kūku Ṣaḥīb. Thus the Muslim chieftain was able to maintain himself as the Governor of Madura from 1753. Mayana however was not loyal to Muḥammad 'Alī and was not regular in the payment of the annual tribute to him to which he was legally entitled as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic which included Madura and Tinnevely also. Hence Muḥammad 'Alī appealed to the English to help him in the restoration of his authority in the far south. The Governor of Madras sent Colonel Heron and Yusuf Khān (the latter a Hindu convert to Islam who had distinguished himself in the siege of Trichunopoly (1752-54) and had won great praise from General Lawrence as a 'born soldier'). Heron reached Madura early in March 1755 to find that Mayana had fled away from the place to Kōyilkuḍi and taken refuge in the strongly built temple at Tirumbur, and took possession of the city. He also concluded a treaty on his own responsibility with the Setupati of Ramnad. Then he marched to Tirumbur, stormed the temple, set fire to its gates and allowed his soldiers to plunder the temple and carry off a large number of idols from it. But Mayana had made good his escape from that place also. Later Colonel Heron marched into the Tinnevely country and reduced it to submission after attacking Kaṭṭabommu Nāyaka and other chieftains in that region. Mahfuz Khān was appointed as the ruler of Madura and was required to pay an annual rent of Rs. 15,00,000.

13 See *Madurattalavaralaru* in the *Tiruppanimalai* p. 8

14 S. C. Hill, *op cit*, p. 31



# QULI QUTB SHAH, A POET-KING OF GOLCONDA (1543 A.D.—1550 A.D.)

By

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Jamshed Quli Qutb, the son of Subhan Quli Qutb, the founder of the Qutb Shahu dynasty of Golconda—ascended the throne with the title of Quli Qutb Shah. He was the second king of the house to which he belonged. Though a parricide, the historians like Ferishta, Rafi ud din Shirazi and others call him as such, he was in the words of the author of *Hadiqat ul Alam*, a sovereign perfect and excellent, and one who had gained eminence among contemporary rulers. In addition to his abilities as a ruler, he possessed a fine taste for literature. In fact, he has been credited with having composed fine pieces of poetry, noted alike for high thoughts and fine diction.

The Sultan's literary compositions have now totally disappeared but a few specimen of his writings have been preserved by the author of *Hadiqat ul Alam* for which all our thanks go to him. The few remains of the poems composed by Quli Qutb Shah belong to the particular types of Persian poetry, called *qasidahs* and *ghazals*. The former, it need be explained, are "purpose poems" or better panegyrics, that commemorate some memorable event in the career of the poet's patron or are written in praise of the Prophet or his descendants. The *ghazals*, on the other hand literally mean "talking with women about love," and they represent or reproduce the joys and sorrows of love, divine and human. Being a Shia'ite in religion, the Sultan has bestowed unstinted praise on 'Ali, the grandson of the Prophet, as will be evidenced from the single piece of *qasidah* quoted below.

من العصاید

ای شو حتم ملک رسائی کار عشق از تو یافتم مالائی  
کاکل و چی رلف و حال لب هر ییکی در کمال رعائی  
در ره عشق هر که اهاد آخر او سر کشد ر سوائی  
شده شرمده از رخت حور شد مرود لب سپهر منائی  
چشم شوح تو دل رود از لب عسل و هوش و دگر شکنائی  
حلقه شاهان بسته در کبوت مطار تا تو رخ بر آرائی  
آفتاب از رخ تو شرمده ام کرده است برده آرائی  
من بدوائی شدم مشهور تو بحوی و عالم آرائی

تو همت آفتاب می همتا من همت عاشق تماشا  
چند کردم بگرد کویت من طری کن به بی سروپائی  
چند باشم ز دست تو خاقت شده بود چنیت شدائی  
طری کن کمال من وره داد خواهم ز دلت بدائائی  
پیش شاهی که در جهان هرگز کسی ندو خود نکرده هائی  
شاه هر دو سرا علی ولی بنده اوست چرخ خصرائی  
من غلام توام شما از حات کار من زاب گرت مالائی  
آشمنی تو که خصر از دل و جان میکند بر در تو ستائی  
خاکبای ترا من میکنم سرمه سازم مدین یسائی

TRANSLATION

(one of his *qasids*)

Oh thou ' with thee the country's beauty is at an end,  
By thee the affairs of love have attained fame  
(Oh thou ' ) whose hairy locks, their folds and the mole on thy lips  
Each perfect in its beauty '  
He who has put his feet on the road of thy love  
Has at length knocked his head in despair  
The Sun is put to shame at the beauty of thy face  
(And) makes his exit from the azure vault  
(Oh thou ' ) thy playful looks have made me thy captive  
Have carried away my wit, intelligence and all my patience  
All the sovereigns lie waiting at thy door  
In anxious expectation of thy presence  
Ashamed is the Sun at thy beauty  
(It) has caused the clouds to veil its discomfitures  
For madness have I attained notoriety,  
For excellence and beautifying the world hast thou gained renown :  
Thou art the very same sun that has no rival,  
(And) I the very same person—an object of mercy  
How long must I wait in thy expectation,  
Take pity on me who is all helpless '  
How long shall I be tempted by thee,  
(Oh how long) shall I be looked upon as one insane '  
Lookest thou at the condition of mine, if not,  
I shall clamour for justice near the Wise ,  
And near the King, who has in this world  
Hardly ever been challenged by any one  
' Ali is the King of the two worlds,  
This comely universe is under his bidding

Oh King thy most devoted servant am I  
 My service to thee has made me prominent  
 Thou art a King at the entrance of whose court  
 Faithfully serves Khizr as a water bearer<sup>1</sup>  
 I who am destitute, have made the dust of thy feet  
 A collyrium for mine eyes<sup>1</sup>

### من العذلات

می لب لعل آن ماه حرامت مرا لب مکون باحون سر حام است مرا  
 ما سر دلف بو سودای ساهی ارم اسخه سوداست که مارلب حوسام است مرا  
 بر سر کاکل و مرغ دلم شده است حال بوداه و آن رلف حو دامت مرا  
 ه رمان ارنی دندار بو آتم بدوب بر سر کوی ملای بو مقام است مرا  
 برک اس کار خواهم من بدل کردن من که حخدم وان کار بام است مرا  
 کوک بخت مساکه بدون مامد ان اسکس که از دسه رواست مرا

### TRANSLATION

#### *A specimen of ghazal*

To me the wine is forbidden without the vermillion lips of the beloved  
 Show me the ruby-coloured lips when I hold the wine-cup  
 Mad am I in love after thy dark ringlets  
 Oh<sup>1</sup> what an attachment is this that brings ill luck  
 In the locks of thy hair my heart like a bird is ensnared  
 The mole (on thy face) is to me an object of attraction and thy locks  
 a snare  
 In every moment have I approached thee to catch thy glimpse  
 And have (thus) made my habitation at the place of danger<sup>1</sup>  
 D sappointed though I wish not to give up my attempt  
 A Jamshed<sup>2</sup> am I who leaves nothing incomplete<sup>1</sup>  
 All that happen appear to me as stars of fortune  
 It is not tears that come out of my eyes<sup>1</sup>

1 Reference here is to Khizr who discovered and drank the water of life (آب حوان or آب حاب) whereby he became immortal Khizr signifying green is spoken of as the Green Old Man of the sea or the forest who puts those to the right track who lose the r way in the wilderness.

2 Jamshed was a legendary King of Persia who reigned for 700 years. He had in his possession a talismanic cup حام کی یا world reflecting goblet that could foretell events and reflect everything that was going on in any part of the world Jamshed is said to have discovered wine

وله

اشکم از دیده به بینید که چون میآید قاصدی هست که از شهر حنون میآید  
چند در عشق بنان شهره شوی ای جشبد که کند غبر تو نیکار زبون میآید

TRANSLATION.

*Another piece.*

The tears that thou dost see coming out of the eyes  
Are but agents from the city of the insanes !  
Oh Jamshed ! how long should'st thou be frantic for the love of the  
beloved ?  
This act of thine if done by others might bring them shame !

له - نور مرقدہ

آن بر بروی بینید چسان میآید دل زمن برده کنون از بی جان میآید  
جان بسودای تو دادیم که سود بیریم آنچه سود است که ایم بدبان میآید  
زان سبب آرزوی سوختن شمع شد که چون من شعله آهش بدبان میآید  
چو بینند بنان از سر نازم گویند عاشق دل شد جشبد جهان میآید

TRANSLATION.

*Another piece.*

'May the light of God be on him.'

Behold, how does the fair-faced come  
She has taken the heart out of me—now she comes for my life :  
My heart I have pledged to you, so that I may secure profit,  
Oh, what a return ! —a misery everlasting :  
It's for this I desire the candle of my ownself to the consumed  
And words of lamentation come out of me !  
When the beloved looks at me, she speaks out in proud disdain  
Lo, here the ruler of the world comes out of attachment for me !

وله

ای رخ نورده دیده صاحب نظران خورشید از محنت هجرت دل خونین جگران  
عمرها رفت که رفتی و براه تو هنوز همچنان چشم ترم مانده بحیرت نگران  
زندگی بی تو حرامست نیکوایم عمر که چنین میگذرد باقی عمر گذران  
همچنان مهر تو دوسینه ماهست که بود ما بدانیم که بودیم باش به آت  
خبر از درد ندارد بنان ایجشبد آه ازین پیغرات آه ازین پیغرات

## TRANSLATION

*Another piece*

Oh thou ! thy face illuminating the vision of the clear sighted  
 It is thy separation that has bled the heart of thy lover  
 Ages have passed and thy lover is expectant till now  
 My eyes are wet out of steady gaze fixed at thee  
 Life is not worth anything without thee nor do I wish to live (in thy  
 separation)  
 If the years pass like this and there's repetition of it in the years to  
 come !  
 As in the past, thy beauty is still stamped on my heart  
 I am what I was may you be what you were !  
 Oh Jamshed cares not the beloved for the lover's anguish  
 Pity for this neglect of thine oh what pity !

وله

سر بلدی من از مالای رعای تو شد / اس بر شام از رات من مای تو شد

## TRANSLATION

*Another piece*

My glory lies in my attachment to thy beauty  
 My disappointments are due to my love for thy silky ringlets !

وله

سر و روان خوش را به دم درون دندۀ جا / ما برورش ماند دگر آن سرو راب حشم ما

## TRANSLATION

*Another piece*

I have put the cypress<sup>3</sup> of my heart within the eyes  
 So that it may get nourishment from the tear drops !

وله

مار حمای سر و نگاری مکم / عرار حما و حور و ری مکم

## TRANSLATION

*Another piece*

I cannot bear the burden of oppression but thine,  
 I hardly need anything else than thy tyranny

3 In Persian literature سرو (sarr) the cypress tree stands for a sweet heart.

# THE SOUTHERN POLIGARS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

By

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## I *Their Origin and Character*

From about the middle of the 17th century, the poligar system was in active swing in the southern districts of the present Madras Presidency. The poligars of the Trichinopoly and Madura country were a prominent element of administration and well known to the Pondichery Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, who, writing in 1751, has furnished us with the names of 34 poligars belonging to the Trichinopoly country and 38 as belonging to Madura and Tinnevely. According to the *Fifth Report* (1812) the poligars were military chieftains of different degrees of power and consequence and their origin could be traced to a number of factors. Thus those whose pālayams were situated in the jungly and frontier parts of the country were represented to have been, for the most part, leaders of banditti or free booters, while others had been entrusted either expressly by the indigenous rulers with the charge of the police, or had been suffered to take upon themselves, that kind of service. Some of them traced their descent from the ancient rulers of the land or from their chiefs and officers, and their ancestors had received certain villages in *inām* either as personal holdings for the support of their rank, or as rewards for their services. Their tenure was mostly based on the feudal principle of supporting "a body of horse and foot, which were to be at the call of the sovereign, whenever they might be required." Other poligars had been renters of taxes, or revenue officers who had contrived to become hereditary and had succeeded in usurping the lands which had been originally given for the support of their offices. These had consolidated their position and come to constitute a subordinate, but very potent, class of rulers by themselves. Further "even potails of villages had by these means, attained the footing of poligar chieftains though on a smaller scale. In some districts which were favoured by the natural strength of the country, it appears that this description of people had generally assumed the character and name of poligars, and though in some cases, their incomes did not exceed a few hundred pagodas, yet they kept up their military retainers, and their nominal officers of state, and were regularly installed with all the forms and ceremonies of a prince of an extensive territory, assuming and exercising, in this contracted sphere, many of the essential powers of sovereignty."

The poligar considered his territory as a *pālayam* or encampment, and the Nayak rulers of the Madura country (cir 1550 1736 A.D.) and their successors (the Nawabs of the Carnatic) did not attempt to exercise, or even to claim the right of exercising civil or criminal jurisdiction in the limits of the poligars dominions. If the ruler's tributes were paid and his feudatories sent him assistance in his wars his demands were satisfied. A very considerable portion of the country south of Trichinopoly had thus passed into the hands of the poligars. Hardly anything remained in the hands of the sovereign in the Madura and Dindigul regions while all the country north of the Tamraparani river was in the hands of poligars. The *palaiyam* organisation likewise spread into the Carnatic and Mysore regions as well.

Discussing the origin and nature of institution of the palaiyam system the following information has been gathered from authoritative treatises. The term, Poligar is peculiar to the Madras Presidency and the persons so called were properly subordinate feudal chiefs occupying tracts more or less wild and generally of predatory habits in former days they are now much the same as zamundars in the highest use of the term. The word is Tamil *Palaiyakāran* the holder of a *Pālayam* or feudal estate. Tel *Pale gadu* and thence Mahr *Palégár* the English form being no doubt taken from one of the two latter [Yule and Burnell—*Hobson Jobson*—New edition by W. Crooke (1903) p. 718]. In Tamil the word *Palaiyam* means the country or district of a feudal chieftain—camp or town or village surrounded with stones and *palaiyapattu* means a town or village governed by a poligar or his estate<sup>1</sup>.

Poligar according to Wilson [*A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India* (1855) p. 391] means a petty chieftain in the south of India especially in Karnataka occupying chiefly tracts of hill and forest subject to pay tribute and service to the paramount state but seldom paying either and more or less independent subsisting in a great measure by plunder.

The poligars founded by the dynasty of the Madura Nayaks are known by the name of Southern Poligars many of them are of the Tōtier caste and preserve the Telugu language of their ancestors as distinct from that of the Tamils<sup>2</sup>.

Bishop Caldwell gives the literal meaning of *palaiyakāra* as the holder of a camp and secondly as the holder of a barony on military tenure. The English seem to have taken their favourite name Poligar not from the Tamil *Pālayakāra* but from the Telugu *Pālegādu* or the Canarese *Palegāra*.

1 M. WINSLOW. *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil* 1862 p. 766.

2. Vide MARK WILKS. *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore* 2nd Edn Vol. I p. 34 note.

the meaning of which is the same. Similarly the Anglo-Indian word, Pollam, (Poligar's holding) is derived rather from the Telugu, Pálemu, than from the Tamil Pálayam.<sup>3</sup>

There is a tradition that under Vijayanagara rule, each pálayam was normally composed of 33 villages, but there is no trace of this prevailing among the fiefs of the Tamil country. In the Kannada country, the Poligar was originally deemed to be an Udayár (Wodeyar—*lit* proprietor). The Tamil term, Udayár, was frequently used by the Tamil country chiefs and is found occasionally among the titles of ancient rulers in inscriptions. The Zamindari of Udayárpalayam is an illustration of the use of the term Udayár in the sense of proprietor, and feudal chief. The far famed fort of Palamcottah (in Tinnevely) is held to be derived from Pálayan (a chief, meaning a Poligar) and Kottain (fort).

The Madura country, as organised by Visvanatha Nayak, the son of Nagma Nayak and the founder of the Nayak rule of that region (cir 1529-1564 A.D.) stretched from Cape Comorin to Válkandapuram on the north and from Coimbatore, Erode, and the Western Ghats to Rameswaram and the sea on the east according to the *Mṛtyunjaya Manuscripts*, translated by W. Taylor. Visvanatha and his chief co-adjutor, Ariyanátha (or Ariyanāyaga) Mudali, who combined in himself the double offices of commander-in-chief and prime-minister (*Daśavády* and *Pradhani*) were very efficient administrators and restored order in the country by the institution of the Pálayam system of administration as the most practical and organised solution of the many difficulties confronting the settlement of the country. Visvanatha was trained in the administrative system of the Vijayanagara Empire and made his mark in applying its principles in a systematic manner. The chronicles of the time attribute a larger share of constructive work to Ariyanatha than even to Visvanatha, in the matter of the establishment of the Pálayakara (*Poligar*) system.

The number of poligars in Tinnevely and Madura is considerable even to day, and the title is held by one writer to have been given by the Vijayanagara kings to the chiefs of the Telugu colonies planted in the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of overawing the original inhabitants. Visvanatha Nayak had brought with him to Madura a large number of his own dependents and adherents whom he had to reward, besides these there were the old hereditary Tamil chieftains and the Telugu and Canarese adventurers who had previously settled in the land in Hoysala and early Vijayanagara days and whose good will it was necessary for him to secure, and above all, there were the impoverished and discontented adherents of the ancient Pandyas and their clansmen whom he had practically abolished, as well as "the old and turbulent Canarese and Telugu adventurers who had seized with a



strong grip the northern and western divisions of the country. The poligar system was the solution of Visvanatha and Ariyanatha of the difficult problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of all these classes, its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class and at the same time to secure their and their descendants' allegiance.

The scheme was possibly the best that was devisable under the circumstances but it contained elements of danger and seeds of decay and contributed in a large measure to the decay and subversion of the dynasty. The turbulent adventurers had to be conciliated and rendered loyal to the dynasty and they knew only too well how to profit from anarchy and misrule. As has been remarked there are two opinions on the merits of the Poligar system expressed however only by those who had intimate knowledge only of the decadent phase of their rule. One view is that the evils of the system would apply with equal force to feudal institutions in Europe in the middle ages, and the system served the purpose in the epoch in which it actually flourished and it secured protection from foreign foes and internal order and progress though frequently accompanied by oppression and misrule to an extent which would have been otherwise impossible. On the other side, Dr Caldwell while admitting the appropriateness of the parallel drawn would not admit that the system could have been productive of any marked internal order and progress he laid disproportionate stress on the part these poligars played in the devastating internal wars of the 18th century and on the evidence furnished by Orme, Welsh, Fullarton and other contemporary writers on the devastating anarchy of that century that marked the evening and not the midday of poligar rule.

## II *The Powers of The Poligars*

Every considerable town and village in the Madura kingdom was fortified and garrisoned with regular troops artillery trained elephants and horses and a *dalakartan* was in charge of the defence of each town and responsible for its safety. Madura was also under a *dalakartan* who commanded the garrison and the police of the capital and who had become a most powerful official by the commencement of the 18th century. The poligars were all to perform their military duties effectually and were to keep in perpetual readiness a mind of military properly equipped for service and ready to take the field at a moment's notice. This militia was exceedingly numerous in fact nearly all the able bodied ryots resident in the Poligar's dominions were militia men and liable to be called out whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service. Some of the feudatory nobles supplying troopers were placed in authority over others and they were made answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates. Thus the Sethupathi of

Ramnad was the head of a section of them; the Poligar of Dindigal was the chief of the 18 poligars of that district and "occupied a most distinguished position in the time of Tirumala." Whenever troops were required by the Nayak for military operations, the *Daḷavāy* (*Daḷakartan*) of Madura sent requisitions to the poligars concerned and directed them to furnish the required number of armed men within a certain time; the poligars immediately sent round orders to the *daḷakartans* and headmen of the towns and villages in their respective jurisdictions, and on the appointed day the levies were expected to be ready for service at the headquarters and in marching order. In times of pressing necessity every great leader of these levies throughout the kingdom would be called to arms, and large bodies of troopers would hurry to the Nayak's assistance from every quarter. The soldiers of the poligars were mostly ryots supporting themselves by tax-free lands granted to them on condition of their rendering military service, and received only batta when they were marching or fighting, while the expense of maintaining them in military efficiency was very trifling.

The defects of such an organisation have been well pointed out by Nelson. "Apart from the lack of training and discipline characteristic of such troops, they were kept in order only so long as their leaders continued to be animated by a common hope of plunder and personal advancement, or restrained by a common fear of the enemy, or of the king's vengeance. A jealous quarrel among the leading chiefs or the retirement from the scene of action of one or two Poligars, who fancied themselves slighted or ill-used, would be amply sufficient to break up a force in the presence of the enemy or even in the very hour of success. Consequently, however numerous might be the King's battalions, however brave his generals and officers, he could never for a single moment feel absolutely safe or regard even the slightest indications of disaffection with indifference. This was a fatal obstacle in the way of Madura becoming a first-rate Hindu power and ultimately as we shall see, contributed not a little to the bringing about her downfall."<sup>5</sup>

The poligars' *peons* exercised police duties not only in their own villages, but presumed to protect the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the adjoining sarkar villages and roads. This extension of authority was wholly based on encroachment and easily converted into a pretext, "for the most severe oppressions of the people in the form of fees and ready money collections." The power exercised by the Poligars of the Carnatic (the dominions of Nawab Muhammad Ali) in regard to police and the manner in which it was exercised either to raise revenue or to augment their influence is described in the report of Mr. Lushington, the Collector of the Poligar *Peshcush* in the Southern Districts, dated 20th August, 1799. The poligars collected two sorts of fees, as district-watchers, and village-watchers.

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5. *The Madura Country, A Manual*, Part III, p. 158.

The village fees known as *Tallum* (*Stalam*) or *Kudi Kaval* were of a much older creation than the poligar's influence and authority, "being coeval with the establishment of villages and constituting the fee for the support of the *tallars* or officers of police." The poligars had so encroached upon and assumed these rights that more than four fifths of the villages in Tinnevely had come under their influence and their peons had superseded the *tallars* or retained them on condition of receiving from them a share of their perquisites. The *Désa* (properly *Disai*) *Kaval* or district watching fees originated either from a grant of the ruler or from the voluntary action of the villagers, who being unable to protect themselves submitted to such contributions. The former was generally known as the village fee and the latter was the district watch fee. In later times these were levied by the poligars from defenceless villagers as the price of forbearing to plunder them.

The claim of *kaval* was the most usual method employed by the poligars for the purpose of extending their power. Every village from time immemorial had its *Kaval karas* (spelt usually *Cauwalgars*) or watchmen, and they had been remunerated for their services by a small fee usually in the form of a rent free holding. The right of exercising this function of collecting this fee and of levying a still heavier fee for protection from abnormal danger like war was in time claimed by the poligars and their dependents, and this claim had been so generally submitted to, that Mr Lushington found in 1799 that out of 2113 villages in Tinnevely the *kaval* of 1635½ was in the hands of the poligars and their men. Another step of encroachment was taken when the poligars wherever they found they could not appoint their own followers to the *kaval* of a village rigorously levied an annual contribution on the *kaval karas* who were appointed by other agencies, like the indigenous village corporation. The *disai* (direction) watch, called usually *desa kaval* was the additional fee imposed on all the inhabitants of the area concerned for the exercise of a wider guardianship, especially over roads and wastes, than the village watchmen were capable of. Probably, the amounts claimed in both cases were originally insignificant and were paid willingly. They were violently and arbitrarily increased probably in the years 1740-6, and by 1799, they had risen tenfold of their original level. These contributions were levied by the poligars from the defenceless villagers as the price of their forbearing to plunder them and were confirmed by the strength of the poligars and the inability of the Nawab's government to enforce a due authority over them. Mr Lushington adds that "when this contribution is not quietly submitted to, torture and the whip are applied, whole people of the village put into confinement, every occupation interdicted, the cattle pounded the inhabitants taken captive to and not unfrequently murdered in, the pollams (the Poligar's own domains), and in short every outrage of violence and cruelty is committed until their purposes are obtained."

The poligar received a contribution from the area around his fort in consideration of protection afforded against armed invasion. His servants and retainers received fees and sometimes rent-free land for undertaking to protect the property of the villagers against theft and to restore an equivalent in value for anything lost. "These contributions comprehended payments of money, grain, plough cattle, and various other articles, and were made by armed peons detached from the fort of the Poligar for that purpose; they were not regulated by any fixed principle; but the amount depended upon the conscience of the Poligar. The fees and collections thus made on account of the police, were exclusive of other assessments to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring *circar* villages were subject equally with those in the pollams, under various pretences such as hunting, batta, marriage expenses and presents."<sup>6</sup>

They also claimed rights over lands in the sarkar villages which they presumed to hold rent-free. This was partially caused by the fact that the palayam lands were indiscriminately intermixed in many places with the circar villages and to some extent caused by the poligars being allowed by the Nawab's government to farm the lands in those villages. They frequently ejected the ryots from the lands of which they themselves held the *inam* rights and acquired a permanent interest in the *kāval* villages.

The details of the traditional account of the institution, rather reorganisation of the poligars, by the founder of Nayak rule in Madura as given in the Mackenzie Ms. Chronicles are thus condensed by Nelson. There were 72 bastions to the fort of Madura and each one of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief who was bound for himself and his heirs to keep ready at his post at all times and under all circumstances. He had to pay a fixed annual tribute to the *Karta* (Nayak) and to supply him besides with a quota of cavalry troops and lancemen and maintain peace over the particular tract of country entrusted to him. In return he was given charge of a number of villages proportioned to the size of his contingent and his rank as well as the title of *Pāḷaiyakāran* (Poligar), besides other

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6. Besides the Poligars also levied in all possible cases taxes on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers. They confused by their encroachments the distinction between palayam lands and sarkar lands. They had usurped, in a large number of the *sārkār* villages, the power of appointing and controlling the *Stala Kāvālkārs* and receiving from them *russooms* or fees. They also levied hunting batta, contributions to marriage parties and a number of other payments, either fixed in a lump on the whole village, or levied on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers. They also received allotments of lands in the *sarkar* villages on which they received the government share or assessment and claimed the right of *madisum* (*madyastam*) on behalf of the *sarkar* ryots as against the latter's revenue collectors; and thus discontented *sarkar* ryots would be settled in palayam villages. Their right of arbitration was recognised, the *sarkar* renter's power was diminished and the *dēsākāval* of the poligars fortified.

valuable gifts and privileges. The sources of Nelson's information stand now somewhat discounted in their historical value. All that can be regarded as probable is that the existence of the Poligars as a class dates from the period of the commencement of the rule of the Nayaks. Very few of the Zamindars (the principal exception is the Sethupathi of Ramnad) can claim that their estates or chiefships were conferred upon them prior to the Nayak period by the old Pandya Kings.

### III *Their classification*

Some of the chronicles of the Madura poligars who owe their origin to Visvanatha Nayak claim a much higher antiquity for themselves. A list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanatha and Ariyanatha can be made out from the materials contained in Ward's *Survey* and in the two lists published in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (Vol. II pp. 160-68) as well as from an unpublished Mackenzie Manuscript. Many of these chiefs are called Nayakkars<sup>7</sup>—one is a Reddiar, another is a Tondaimánár and

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7 The Tottiyars are, according to H. A. STUART writing in the *Madras Census Report of 1891* a caste of Telugu cultivators settled in the districts of Madura, Tinnevely, Coimbatore and Salem, and they are probably the descendants of poligars and soldiers of the Nayakkan kings of Vijayanagar who conquered the Madura country about the beginning of the 16th century. The traditional story of their migration to the Madura district is given in several of the Mackenzie Manuscripts. They are also called Kambalattars and they reverence the Pongu Tree (*Pongamia Glabra*) and believe themselves to have originally lived north of the Tungabhadra river from where they migrated and took service under the kings of Vijayanagar. There were two sections of them—cultivators and petty zamindars and those who wandered about begging and doing menial work. They are divided into endogamous sects and their most important sub-divisions correspond to the Telugu Gollas and Yerragollas. (Thurston and Rangachari *Castes and Tribes of South India* 1909 Vol. VII pp. 183-197.)

Besides the first section comprising these, the second section contains the *palayams* of Ariyalur (Malava Rayar or Namar), Tura-yur (Reddiar), Illuppa-yur, Kullattur and Kattalur, Perambur. Attached to the Manappar taluk were Marungapuram, Nattam and Ramagiri. Attached to the Dindigul area were Palani, Virupakshu, Ayakudi, Mamparai, Idayakottai, Ayyalur, Marumuttu, Enakalapuram, Tavazipadi, Amartaru, Periyakulam, Cambam, Gudalur.

Attached to the Madura country were Kavandankottai, Velliyakundam, Sirupalai, and Kacha-katti. Attached to the Tinnevely country were Elayuram, Panjai, Ettayapuram, Panjalankurichi, Sivagiri, Seitur, Kolarapattai, Nagalapuram, Ottumalai, Kurukkavetti, Alaga-devi, Maniyachi, Chokkanpattai, Surandai, Naduvukurichi, Talavankottai, Kollapattai, Singampattai, Neykattansevvai, Orkadu, Kadambur, Kadal-gudi, Kulattur, Memandai, Mavilodai, Arankolam, Sennal-kudi, Pavalai, Mannarkottai, Attankarai, Alagakudi, etc.

Attached to Coimbatore: Talaiyethu.

Attached to Salem, Taramangalam. Others were Mannama, palayapattai, Kuruvikkulam, Yelambaram, Rajanpalayam.

Forts on the boundary at Dindigul: Dhárápuram, Coimbatore, Satyamangalam.

others are Kaunder, Sévai, Tavar and Náyanár. The actual number must have frequently fluctuated. Taylor's list divides the fiefs into nine sections, beginning with the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore) and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga, and Pudukottai, which were "like adopted children of the Madura Government." Ramnad was founded in the year 1605 by Muthukrishnappa, rather restored to the ancient line of the Sethupathis—guardians of the Isthmus of Rameswara (according to the manuscript *History of the Carnataka Governors*, and the other accounts of the Sethupathis, translated by Taylor and the historical memorandum furnished to Nelson by Ponnuswami Thevan the then manager of the Ramnad Zamindari). The ancient line of the Sethupathis had always been dependent on the Pandya kingdom and had been in existence for centuries before Sadeika Thévan Udayán Séthupathi was crowned as Sethupathi by the Nayak, and Sivaganga was an offshoot from Ramnad, and it dates as a Zamindari only from about 1730 A.D., from which time Ramnad came to be known as the Great Marava and Sivaganga as the Lesser Marava or Nálukóttai. The Tondaimans of Pudukottai got first into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks, and Pudukottai was given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad, and Sivaganga—these four being called the "adopted sons of the Kings of Madura" while the other chieftains were called Palaiyakara servants.

Ananda Ranga Pillai the famous Diarist of Pondicherry, writing under date May 1751, under instruction of Duplex, to the Rajahs of Tanjore and Mysore and to the 72 Poligars of Trichinopoly and the South Country whose names he enumerates divides them into two general categories the 34 poligars belonging to Trichinopoly and 38 as belonging to the South asking that the poligars should not help Muhammad Ali on pain of losing their fiefs but should help Chanda Sahib who had the support of Muzaffar Jang the Nizam. W. Taylor gives from the Mackenzie MSS a list of the 72 palayams established to guard the bastions of the Pandyan capital as they were in the time of Tirumala Nayak, including Travancore, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukottai [the three last being like the adopted children of the Madura Government] and Ayalur, Turaiyur, Iluppur, Marungapur, Nattam etc.

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Andiyur Erode Kángayam Vijayamangalam Karūr Namakal Sendamandalam, Periya Salem Semalur Sangeigai Kunchi Sambal Kávénpuram Áttur Anantagiri Bramattu Mohanur Arava kunchi. (W. TAYLOR *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* Vol II 1835 pp 161 167)

The list should have been subject to perpetual fluctuations, being "increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power among them" (WILSON'S *Historical Sketch of the kingdom of Pandya* English Tamil Edn p 43)

This list is based on the traditional account of the 72 palayams appointed to guard the bastions of Madura fort in the time of Tirumala Nayak and also on a sort of synopsis of the chiefs and their towns (Vide the Mackenzie MSS).

The following table comparing Taylor's list with Ranga Pillai's enumeration may be useful. Where it has not been possible to equate names in the Diarist's list with those of Taylor a blank space has been indicated.

TAYLOR	ANANDA RANGA PILLAI
1 The Ramnad Sethupathi	Sethupathi (Sella Tevar <i>alias</i> Vijayaraghavanatha (1748-60))
2 Udaiya Tévar of Sivaganga	Udaiya Tevan
3 The Reddi of Turaiyur	The Reddi of Turaiyur Basava Reddi (1742-62)
4 Puchi Nayak of Marungapur	Puchi Nayakan
5 Leckiya Nayakkan	Lakkaya Nayakan (of Kumaravadi)
6 Viramalaipalayam Kama Nayakkan	Kamaya Nayakan (of Valayapattu in the Dindigul taluk)
7 Huppaiyur Kámakshu Nayakan	Kámákshu Nayakan
8 Nattam Lingama Nayakan	Lingama Nayakan
9 Pillai Muzhongi Muttaya Nayakan	Muttayya Nayakan (of Kadavur in the Madura taluk)
10 Ideiya kottai Ayalur Valakondama Nayakan also Maduvur Valikondama Nayakan	Vallakondama Nayakan
11 Ramagiri Sami Nayakan	Samaya Nayakan
12 Maruluttu Amiya Nayakan	Ammayya Nayakkan (of Ammaya náyakanur)
13 Yemacalapuram Kulappan Nayakan	Kulappa Nayakan (either of Nilakottai or Sandaiyur)
14 Kannivadi Appayya Nayakan	Appaya Nayakan.
15 Palni Chennama Nayakan	Sennava Nayakan (of Palnipayam)
16 Periakulam Ramabhadra Nayakan	Ramabhadra Nayakan (of Virupakshu resumed in 1802)
17 25	The nine Gounders and Poligars of Kangayam
26-32	The seven Hill Poligars living in Kambam and Gudalur west of Dindigul east of Uttamapalayam and north of Nagamalai range.
33 Malayalam Nanjinattu Raja	Nanjanadu
34 Ayalur Nayanar	Malavarayan (of Ariyalur) North-east of Trichinopoly (he made himself master of Udaiyarpalayam and assisted Basava Reddi)

*The Poligars of the South*

## TAYLOR

## ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

(Chinnananja)

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1  |   | Sinnananja Tevan (probably of bhokkampattu)                                   |
| 2  | Sivagiri Varagunarāma Vanniyar                  | Sivagiri Vanniyar   |
| 3  | Alakāpuri Rettai kudai (Rettai kottai) Vanniyar | Irattakkudi Vanniyar  |
| 4  | Alakāpuri Rettai kudai (Rettai kottai) Vanniyar | Alagapuri Vanniyar  |
| 5  | Seitur Tiruvannata Tevar                        | Seitur Turuvana Tevan   |
| 6  | Kolling kondai                                  | Vanda Tevan Kollangondan (west of Palamcottah)                                |
| 7  | Ettaiyapuram, Ettappa Nayakar                   | Ettappa Nayakan   |
| 8  |   | Annichu Nayakan (of Kolattur west of Palamcottah)                             |
| 9  | Dumbichu Nayakan                                | Tumbinju Nayakan (of Perniyur in Madura district) chief of all the Tottiyars. |
| 10 |   | Kama Nayakan (of Saptur)  |
| 11 | Kollirpattu Kalanka Nayakar                     | Kalinga Nayakan (of Kolarappettai north west of Palamcottah)                  |
| 12 |   | Kandama Nayakan   |
| 13 | Framadai  | Elumadai Nayakan (Elumalai)   |
| 14 | Chokkanpattu                                    | Chokkathalavan (of Maniyachi)   |
| 15 |   | Thadiyathalavan (Kadambur)  |



## TAYLOR

## ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 24. | Ananja Thalaivan.  |
| 25. | Ramabhadra Reddi.  |
| 26. | Ramaswami Reddi.   |
| 27. | Ramaraswami Reddi.   |
| 28. | Venkatachala Reddi.  |
| 29. | Sankaranarayana Reddi (Panṇaiyārs<br>of Mulaikaraipatti in Nanguneri). |
| 30. | Kechalappa Nayakan (of Gollapat-<br>ti)                                |
| 31. | Pethana Nayakan (of Attankarai).                                       |
| 32. | Kadalkudi Nayakan  |
| 33. | Nagalapuram ; Irayappa Naya-<br>kan                                    |
| 34. | Mēlmāndai Nayakan  |
| 35. | Śīrumalai Nayakan (of Melamandai<br>north-west of Palamcottah).        |
| 36. | Indra Thalavan (of Talavankottai).                                     |
| 37. | Kumara Thalavan  |
|     | Eravappa Nayakan (of Nagalapur-<br>am).                                |

(Only 37 *poligars* are enumerated by the District).

A number of palayams mentioned by Taylor are not found in the list of the Diarist which includes several later creations. The chiefs of Perambabur and Kattalur who were Tevans by caste were among the *poligars* of Tirumala Nayak's time ; and Marungapuri of the Puchi Nayak family threw off an offshoot which formed a separate palayam (of Karisalpattu-Varappur) of the Boma Nayaks.

Mr. Dodwell's notes to the Diarist's list (pp. 6-9 Vol. VIII of the *Diary* footnotes) identify the then fief-holders of Ariyalur, Turaiyur, Kollankondan, and Kolarapettai ; he fixes also the fiefs of several of the *poligars* mentioned by the Diarist ; but the places mentioned by him are not in all cases the same as those of Taylor and can be explained by the assumption that the original palayams might have been shifted. Light's Report (Military Consultations) of 1781 has been thoroughly utilised by him in locating these.

A list of palayams with the amounts of their tributes or *peshkash* is given as they stood in the 5th article of the Treaty of 12th July 1792, concluded by the British with the Nawab of the Carnatic (22nd Zulkada 1206 A.H.)

## PESHKASH AMOUNTS

	Pagodas	Fanams
1. Lingama Nayak of Nattam	8,598	12
2. Sangama Nayak of Comavady (Kannivadi ?)	10,483	12

Venkatagiri, Kalastri, Saidapur (Madras) and Arne and from Bonnavasse.

#### IV—The Chief Fiefs

Sivaganga was an offshoot from Ramnad, and its existence as a separate fief dates only from about 1730, as noted already, it was then ruled by Periya Udaya Tevar, the son of its founder Sasivarna Periya Udaya Tevar. The Tondaimans of Pudukottai, not mentioned separately by the Diarist, and evidently included by him in the divisions of the Kallars came into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks, about the close of the 17th century. They rose from one of the Kallar tribes settled near Anbil, in the land east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, which were originally known as *Arasu*. Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman was the ruler at the time and took a very prominent part in the operations round Trichinopoly that followed.

The main sub-divisions of the Kallars which were returned in the greatest numbers at the Census of 1891 was Isanganadu (Visanganadu), Kungiliya, Menadu, Nattu, Pirānmalainadu, and Sirakudi. The Kallars of Madura are however divided into 10 endogamous sections which are territorial in origin. Mr T. Turnbull, writing in 1817, says that the Kallars appropriated to themselves various *nads* (regions) in different parts of the southern districts, and in each of these territories they had a chief among them whose order and directions they must all obey.<sup>8</sup> The Visinganattu Kallar, the Pirānmalai Kallar and the Tannarasunattu Kallar seem to have been tribes living in the Pudukotta territory.<sup>9</sup> The filiations of the Kallars are hard to fix but they have got according to tradition some close connection with the Maravars and the Agambadiyans.<sup>10</sup>

In the time of the famous Tirumala Nayak (1623-59) of Madura, the greater part of the lands constituting the several territories under his rule were held as military fiefs by the poligars, the Sethupathi of Ramnad (the Great Marava of Anglo-Indian historians) rendered him homage, but paid no tribute, and the ruler of Tiruvadi (a portion of Travancore) paid tribute only when compelled, and the others were held under a fairly firm grip.

Studying the result of the organisation of poligars by the Nayak rulers of Madura it can hardly be said that the idea of governing the country by means of an order of rule, rapacious feudal nobles, such as the Poligars generally were turned out to be a happy one, for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to British authority in 1801, whenever

8 Thurston and Rangachari *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. III, p. 53

9 *A Manual of the Pudukottai State*, (2nd Edn 1938), pp. 106-12, and S. Radhakrishna Iyer's *A General History of the Pudukottai State* p. 67

10 Sir Athelstane Baines *Indian Ethnography* (*Encyclopaedia of Indo Aryan Research*), pp. 81 and 47-48

they were not at war with the central authority, they were at war with one another, and it was rarely possible to collect from them the tribute or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force, which added greatly both the unpopularity and the expense of the collection

### V *The Poligars in the 18th century*

A palaiyam or pollam as the English wrote it, was not merely a jaghir or zamindary. It was a district conferred by the sovereign on a chief, the holder of which, the palaiyakaran or poligar, was bound not only to pay his lord annually peishcush or tribute, but also to help his lord in his wars. Palaiyam literally means a camp. Palaiyakaran means the chief of a camp. It may therefore, be concluded that originally the poligar was the leader of a body of armed men who placed his services at the disposal of his sovereign, and who held the district he received in return for his services by a military tenure. He was always to consider his territory not as a *nadu* a country but as a palaiyam an encampment. Hence, though the sovereign might have exercised civil and criminal rights in the portion of country that remained in his own direct possession he did not seem to have attempted to exercise, or even to have claimed the right of exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction whatever within the limits of his poligars domains. If his tributes were paid and his feudatory sent him assistance in his wars his demands were satisfied.

The events that happened between 1741 and 1801 are remarkable for "nothing but a wearisome state of anarchy and confusion the monotony of which was but slightly varied at intervals by various fortresses changing hands after more or less bloodshed and treachery. The *Sritala* Chronicle of Madura and other manuscript sources may be used to supplement the accounts of Orme and the Madras records, recording the activities of the Muhammadan governors of Madura from the time of Chanda Sahib (1736) and Murari Rao's deputy Appaji Rao (1741) onwards. Yusuf Khan's period of rule was vigorous but distracted by the claims of the renters appointed by Nawab Muhammad Ali at the instance of the English Presidency. The encroachments of Haidar Ali into the Dindigul district were another complicating factor.

The poligars were bound to attend the camp of the Nawab whenever summoned, with troops proportioned to their power and territory. They were often truculent and disobedient to him and retaliated their spite upon his officers and representatives like Mahfuz Khan, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Barkatullah and others. As early as 1756 *i.e.*, soon after Muhammad Ali was firmly established in the Nawabship the English resolved to take more decisive action with regard to the political settlement of Madura and Tinnevely country. Orme describes, in a detailed and admirable manner, the desultory warfare that had to be waged by the Company's officers Caillaud

and Yusuf Khan who according to Malcolm was the bravest and ablest of the native soldiers that ever served the English in India —against the Poligars and their tools the Mussalman adventurers from the Nawab's Court. In 1760 Hyder Ali<sup>11</sup> having made a secret alliance with the French at their last gasp in Pondicherry, where they were besieged fought with some Poligars whose estates lay between Dindigul (already in the possession of Mysore) and Trichunopoly Yusuf Khan made himself very powerful in Madura subdued most of the Poligars over ran the Sivaganga and Ramnad countries and even exacted payments from the Rajah of Travancore for his territories east of the ghats The capture of Pondicherry by the English in January 1761 and the departure of Mahfuz Khan the rebellious brother of the Nawab, from the Tinnevely country where he was so long giving trouble had damped the rebellious ardour of very many poligars The subsequent rebellion of Yusuf Khan his siege in Madura by an army of English soldiers

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11 About 1742 Dindigul passed into the hands of the Mysoreans and its history *The Dindigul Polayams* for the next four decades consist largely of the alternate resumption and restoration of the palayams included in it Madur was first sequestrated for arrears in 1748 Haidar's memorable incursion in 1756 resulted in the plunder of the poligars of Palni Kannivadi Eriyodu Chokkampatti Bodinayakanur and Uttamapalayam When he entered the Dindigul country only two of the palayams were under resumption By the time he left he had resumed all the palayams except five viz Ammayyanayakkanur Idaiyankottai Kombai Nilakkottai and Mambarai In 1772 the Dindigul country was granted on military tenure to Mir Sahib a brother in law of Haidar and he resumed several more palayams only a few having been restored in the meantime When Dindigul surrendered to the English in the Second Mysore War in May 1783 all the dispossessed poligars were reinstated. But when the Province was restored to Tipu Sultan by the treaty of Mangalore it was granted to Sayyad Sahib a nephew of Mir Sahib on much the same conditions. Sayyad Sahib resumed five of the palayams and in 1788 Tipu Sultan himself came to Dindigul and resumed fourteen others for arrears leaving only three palayams not under attachment viz Idaiyankottai Kombai and Mambarai

In 1790 the English took the Dindigul fort and district and all the dispossessed poligars were reinstated by them. The Dindigul Poligars were then 26 spread over the present Dindigul Palni and Periyakulam taluks. At that time the Poligari example was so infectious that even Government land was annually leased either in blocks for fixed sums to renters or village by village to the headman. By 1803 when Mr Hurdis wrote his monumental report on the settlement of the Madura district 12 of these palayams had come under Government management viz Eriyodu Palni and Virupakshi forfeited for rebellion Devadanapatti Madur and Rettambadi for want of heirs and six others including Idaiyankottai Nilakkottai Sandaiyur and Chokkampatti resumed for arrears. These 12 sequestrated palayams along with government lands in the Dindigul country were carved up into 40 zamindaris and sold to sundry purchasers or previous owners. On the surviving palayams which were left in the hands of their owners a charge peshkash of 70 per cent. of their value was made

Mr Hurdis was able to deal with the turbulent Poligars of the Dindigul country one by one since they acted isolatedly in the disorders of 1797 and 1798.

and Maravas, and his subsequent execution which at this distance of time seems all but inexcusable, should not blind us to the fact that it was for the first time during his governorship of Madura, the tributes from the poligars were regularly collected, the property of individuals was secured from the depredations of the Kallars (the Colleries of Orme) and the public revenue was greatly augmented<sup>12</sup>

12 *The more southerly palayams*—Yusuf Khan's suppression of the Poligar troubles is very noteworthy. In 1756 as an assistant to Mahfuz Khan, Yusuf posted a strong garrison in Srivilliputtur to threaten the Western Poligars who were mostly Maravas and whose leader was the redoubtable Pulī Tevan of Nelkat tansevval. The Nawab's renter turned against Yusuf, but was defeated. Mahfuz Khan proclaimed himself to be the renter of the Nawab and allied himself with the Pulī Tevan and his allies. Muhammad Yusuf tried to break this combination which was worsened by the Travancore troops in possession of Kalakkad. When Yusuf Khan was recalled to Madras to help against the French besiegers towards the end of 1758 Pulī Tevan effected an alliance with the eastern Poligars of the Kolpatti country, prominent among whom were those of Pānjālankurichī and Etaiyapram and the powerful Kattabomma Nayak now declared himself against the English and Yusuf. When the latter returned to the Tinnevely country in the summer of 1759, he tried his best to break this alliance between the eastern and the western chiefs. He captured Kollankondan near Srivilliputtur from Pulī Tevan and the fort of Surandai from the Poligar of Uttumalai and Vadagarai from the Poligar of Chokkampatti near Shencottah. Yusuf Khan got the alliance of the Travancore ruler and made an attack on Vāsudevanallur,—a strong mud fort of Pulī Tevan, but had to retire. The Dutch who had several factories on the Tinnevely coast were now invited by the rebellious poligars and sent some of their troops (1760) but they withdrew them as soon as Yusuf appeared with a formidable force before them.

In 1761, Yusuf claimed that he had reduced the entire district to submission. After his miserable end (October 1764) Major Campbell secured the surrender of Palamcottah, and after some negotiations an agreement was concluded with Travancore in 1766.

In 1797, the Western Poligars again rose in revolt and in February an English force was repulsed in an attempt to storm the fort of Pānjālankurichī. But the forts of Seitur and Sivagiri were levelled to the ground. Vāsudevanallur was captured and garrisoned and a cantonment was established at Sankaranainarkoil. An attempt was made to cease hostilities against the poligars. But a new danger suddenly appeared. The Poligar of Sivagiri was in open revolt, had entered into a treaty with the Dutch at Colombo and had collected ammunition for the supply of the force that he expected from Ceylon. He was also negotiating with Haidar Ali, while the Nawab's renter was suspected of treachery. On the other hand the Dutch at Tuticorin were then actually professing friendship with the English as against Haidar Ali and the Governor General was engaged in negotiating with them an agreement by which in return for a force of 1 000 European infantry, 200 European artillery men and 1 000 Malays, the whole district of Tinnevely was to be given over to them, of course under the nominal sovereignty of the Nawab. It was in 1782 that open hostilities with the Dutch broke out. Tuticorin was captured and the negotiations came to a dead stop.

In the latter part of 1781, the Nawab assigned by treaty to the Company the

The subsequent administration of the Madura country under the Nawab continued to be as greatly troubled as before while the situation grew worse after Haidar's celebrated invasion of the Carnatic in 1780. The campaign of Col Fullarton in 1783, into the country south of Trichinopoly, following on the Assignment Treaty of 1781 produced some quiet as was reflected in his report of 1785 on the state of the country.

### VI *Fullarton's Account of them*

Col Fullarton, writing in 1783, thus describes the Poligars of Tinnevely — 'Adverse to industry they suffer their own possessions to remain waste while they invade each other and plunder their industrious neighbours. Such is the dread of these ravagers that every district in the province has been forced to purchase their forbearance by enormous contribution.' His account of the whole south country is very interesting and accurately des-

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management and control of the revenues of the districts of the Carnatic, and superintendents were appointed to the districts for revenue collection. But the country was still in confusion. In 1782 a poligar erected a fort near Tirukurugudi and plundered the neighbourhood. Finally Col Fullarton who commanded the army of the south had to march into the Tinnevely country and attacked Pāñjalankunchu, which he took with an enormous quantity of guns of ammunitions and in which he found the original of a treaty above noted between Kattabomma and the Government at Colombo. Fullarton next proceeded to Sivagiri and defeated its forces.

The assignment was surrendered to the English in 1785 but later, since the Nawab was unable to pay his share of the Company's expenses Government assumed by proclamation the management of the country and established a Board of Assigned Revenues and appointed a Collector of Tinnevely and the dependant Poligars. In July 1792 by virtue of a definitive treaty with the Nawab Government undertook to collect the whole of the peshkash or dues of the Poligars and to allow the Nawab credit for the amount collected as against the contribution due by them and in the same year an English Collector was appointed for the collection of the Zamindar and Poligar peshkash in the Tinnevely Madura, Trichinopoly, Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga districts.

The poligar troubles however did not end. While the Collector proceeded to make a settlement with the poligars, numerous acts of violence and anarchy continued to be perpetrated by the chiefs of Sivagiri and of Pāñjalankunchu. There was great confusion in Sivagiri and Settur. The Nawab's ultimate sovereignty continued to be recognized over the poligars and by virtue of their *katal* rights the Poligars exercised control over sarkar villages (See Directors' Despatch dated 10th June 1796). The system showed itself to be clearly unworkable and the poligars readily took advantage of the opportunities which the divided control between the Nawab and the English gave them. The chief centre of disaffection was the Poligar of Pāñjalankunchu the leader of the Eastern Poligars who joined the great rebellion of the Ramnad country in 1797. He was supported by the poligars of Nagalapuram Kadalgudi Melmandai Kulattur and Elayirampagai. The situation reached a climax in 1797 with his murder of Lieutenant Clarke at Ramnad where he was summoned by the Collector of Poligar peshkash and from which he escaped. Kattabomma was acquitted in the trial that followed. The Collector was recalled and an impetus was given to the Nayaks' depredations and lawlessness.

## VII *Their Final Pacification by the English*

When the poligars of the Carnatic including the Southern Districts were transferred to the control of the Company in 1792 by a treaty concluded with the Nawab the Company regarded them as usurpers of authority, but subject to the Nawab whose camp they were bound to attend whenever they were summoned with a military force proportioned to their power and territory. They had been a perpetual source of violence and distraction to the weak government of the Nawab upon whose officers they frequently retained

After the Company took up the management of the Carnatic the Court of Directors issued a despatch in 1795 in which they entered into a very full discussion of the principles underlying the treaty of 1792 and of the rights acquired by the Madras Government to reform the administration of the poligars possessions. An interesting report was submitted by the Board of Revenue on this subject in 1797 and a minute was afterwards recorded by Lord Hobart in which he pointed out to the Court of Directors the means by which the Poligars might be rendered useful subjects and obedient tributaries of the British Government. The Directors expressed their agreement with the views of Lord Hobart, and in their despatch of 5th June 1799 in

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the Mussulmen in the course of this century and the depravity of its rulers, have counteracted the benefits of nature. Even when a native Rajah governed this province, the flat and open country only was reduced, and was let for specific sums to great renters, who were invested with despotic powers, and harassed the peaceful subjects while various leaders, possessing considerable territory maintained armed force and withheld their stipulated tribute on the first appearance of disturbance.

It was in 1782 that the English Presidency began to tackle the situation. The Ramnad country was then infested by a host of rebels under Mappillai Tevar, a relation of the ruling family who overran the country and invested for many months the garrison of Ramnad. Sivaganga was controlled by the Murdu brothers, who frequently ravaged the territories of the Company and the Nawab. Madura, Melur and other neighbouring districts were harassed by the Collettes. All the Poligars of Tinnevely were in rebellion and in close communication with the Dutch Government at Colombo from which attempts were planned in conjunction with their own forces and with Mappillai Tevar to reduce both the Tinnevely and Marava dominions. Nearly a hundred thousand Poligars and Collettes were in arms throughout the southern Provinces. The situation was worsened by the oppressions of the renters and the revenue officials. The campaigns of Col. Fullarton are detailed in this above letter and included the reduction of the Poligars of Melur and Sivaganga, a march into Tinnevely, an attack on Pānjālakunchi and on Sivagiri. Finally peace was concluded with the poligars on their paying or giving a bond for 15 000 pagodas each and agreeing to the demolition of the defences of Pānjālakunchi. Col. Fullarton's dealings with the poligars were marked by a combination of severity and clemency. He released most of the Poligar prisoners held in detention in Palamcottah and expected that the poligars of Pānjālakunchi and Sivagiri who had been singled out for punishment would be punctual in their payments and the rest of the poligars would also be equally punctual.

sisted on "the absolute suppression of the military power of the Poligars and on the substitution of a pecuniary tribute, more in proportion than the ordinary *peshkash* to the revenues of their pollams, and more adequate to the public demands for defraying the expenses of general protection and government."

The Collectors of the Southern and Western Poligar Countries were ordered to report fully on the military establishments of the poligars and the mode of their maintenance as well as on the revenue and other resources of each Poligar, and on the nature of the various oppressions to which the inhabitants were subjected. The events preceding Major Bannerman's expedition on the so-called Bannerman-Poligar War which centred round the conduct of Kattabomma Nayak, the poligar of Pānjālam-kurichi, convinced Government that the time had come to fully and finally vindicate their authority and quell the rebellious spirit that was beginning to spread; but they temporised a little till Seringapatam was taken and their anxieties had vanished. Major Bannerman restored peace in some measure; but within two years there had to be waged another Poligar War which had been well described in the Military Reminiscences of General Welsh who was staff officer to the commander throughout the campaign. After the final suppression of this rebellion<sup>14</sup> Government in a proclamation, dated 1st December

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14. *The Poligar Wars of 1799-1801*—The recrudescence of anarchy which culminated in the murder of Lieutenant Clarke at Ramnad in 1798, led to the undertaking of strong measures by the British. Kattabomma Nayak was now entirely alienated from all the Marava Poligars of the West. The Vanniyan of Sivagiri suffered from the depredations of the Poligars of Kolarpatti who was looting his country. A dangerous confederacy of the Eastern Poligars was concentrating on Elāyirampannai with the plan of attacking all the palayams of the west. Thus, west was closely united against the east and even the Pulli Thevan had seceded from the ranks of the rebels. But the Chief of Ettaipuram did not join his brother poligars of the east and proved himself strictly loyal to the Company. Mr. S. R. Lushington, who was the new Collector of Poligar *Peshkash*, could not try persuasive measures with Kattabomma Nayak. In September 1799, Major Bannerman proceeded against Pānjālankurichi and attempted to storm the fort. After some struggle the Poligar and his followers evacuated the fort. At Kollar-patti, Kattabomma Nayak was engaged in a battle and his troops were disbursed; but he himself escaped. His minister, Subramania Pillai was captured and hanged. Bannerman got the surrender of Nagalapuram and its Poligar and executed the latter's younger brother, who was a more dangerous rebel. After some time, Kattabomma was secured from his refuge in Pudukottai and was condemned to death in the presence of all poligars. He was hanged at Kayattar and the memory of that event is even now kept alive and all passers-by throw handfuls of small stones by the side of the site for repose of the soul of the victim and for the freedom of the traveller from the torment of his visitations; and offerings of sheep, rice and fruits and chaplets are made for the cure of diseases and for the remedy of blight on land. Various legends and some ballad literature have grown round Kattabomma. Pānjālankurichi was confiscated and also the estates of the five Poligars who



1801 suppressed the use of all weapons of defence and promised besides a general amnesty a permanent assessment to the Poligars on the principles of Zamindari Tenure. According to Bishop Caldwell writing in 1881 the most remarkable of the changes brought about is that of the Poligar himself. The Poligar has become a Zamindar and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Nayaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untameable chiefs of whose deeds of violence and daring the history of the last century is so full. One asks can it be really true that the peaceful Nayaka ryots of the present day are the lineal descendants of those fierce retainers of the Poligars? The change brought amongst the poorer classes of the Maravas is not perhaps quite so complete but many of them have merged their traditional occupation of watchmen in the safer and more reputable occupation of husbandmen, and it may be fairly said of the majority of the members of this caste that though once the terror of the country they are now as amenable to law and reason as any other class.

The proclamation of Lord Clive, dated 1st December 1801 was made soon after the assumption of the Carnatic by the British consequent upon the new treaty of July 1801 entered into with the nephew and successor of Nawab Umdatul Umara. It insisted on the surrender by all inhabitants of the provinces of Dindigul Tinnevely Ramnad Sivaganga and Madura of all arms consisting of muskets matchlocks pikes *gingouls* and *sarabogis* into the hands of the British military officers. It gave amnesty to all the

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had joined in the rebellion viz Elaiaram Pannai Nagalapuram, Kolarpatti Kadalgudi and Kulattur. It was ordered that all the forts should be destroyed and every firelock matchlock, pike or spear should be surrendered on pain of death. The other rebel Poligars were sent as prisoners including two brothers of Kattabomma and garrisons were stationed at Sankaranamarkoil, Kayattar and Palamcottah.

After over a little more than a year of peace trouble broke out again. The imprisoned polgars escaped from Palamcottah to Pāñjalankurichu (February 1801) where the walls were defended against the attack of British troops. One by one the forts fell again into the hands of the Poligars and it was not till reinforcements arrived from Trichinopoly that Pāñjalankurichu was again attacked and reduced. The fugitives including the dumb brother of Kattabomma escaped to Sivaganga and joined in the rebellion of the Marudus there who had to be suppressed after a most difficult campaign ending with the capture of Kallarcoil (October 1801). The brothers of Kattabomma were brought to Pāñjalankurichu and hanged. The Marudu brothers were hanged at Tirupattur. The Pāñjalankurichu fort was razed to the ground the site was ploughed over and sown with castor seed and the very name was expunged from the records. Lushington hunted down gangs of rebels that were still at large. The Dalavay Pillai one of the chief supporters of Pāñjalankurichu fled to the Maravas of Nanguneri where a little rebellion was enacted and had to be suppressed by troops. (*vide Caldwell's History of Tinnevely—Tullivan's Tracts upon India* (1795))

Poligars and Servaikaras except Virapandya Nayaka and Mookkat Nayaka of Pānjālankurichi, (the brothers of Kattabomma) Mulapen of Ramnad and the persons under restraint and it assured a permanent assessment of revenue on the lords of the palaiyams upon the principles of zamindari tenure.

Thus the real dawn of a new peaceful and prosperous era began for the southern countries with this Proclamation. It was like the emergence of light after the darkest hour of predawn, when the situation had reached the Nadir of anarchy. As Dr Caldwell remarks: "Things were worse under the Nayakas than under the Pandyas, worse still under the rule of the Nawab, and worst of all—as the night is at its darkest just before the dawn—during that deplorable period immediately before the interference of the English—when the Nawab's power had become merely nominal and the real power that survived was that of fierce Poligars and avaricious 'renters' "

# THE MORAL RÔLE OF INDIAN ART

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## *Integration of Personal Emotions and Attitudes into Social Universals*

The more significant the art work, the more universal and impersonal is its appeal. It is a paradox that the artist selects and presents his subject matter for interpretation through the mediation of a specific pictorial pattern, but the success of his artistic expression lies in that pattern embodying some universal quality or relation. Artistic genius consists in the expression of universals from concrete relations and situations. For man is so constituted that his profound satisfaction can come only from a conscious or unconscious identification of himself with other than self. A lyrical poet, a musician, a painter, or a sculptor may so express the individual passions and sentiments of love, grief and exaltation that these become abstract, typical, and universal as embodied in all actual or possible relations and situations.

When personal emotions, attitudes and experiences are thus intellectualised or organised into the abstract, the impersonal and the generic æsthetic pattern, there is change in quality and intensity, breadth and distance associated with a sense of competence and insight. These are lifted to another plane and aid in social adaptation and integration. We may call these æsthetic expressions 'social universals'. Their appeal unlike that of the 'sensuous universals' in art work is not of the widest range, bound up as they are in some measure with the mental and social characteristics of a particular civilisation. But within a particular civilisation they are the chief instruments of the good, and working through the desires and emotions of man disclose human relations not to be found in axioms and admonitions, precepts and codes.

The social universals are products of a complex process of creative imagination in which idealisation, synthesis, selection, and variation of individual features and attributes and evaluation are involved so that personal moods and eccentricities are eliminated, on the one hand, and the type does not become too abstract or insipid but elicits a large variety of human reactions on the other. Thus the social type, symbol or universal in art is created and it may be created in such form as by its power and imaginative unity acquires far greater strength and preeminence than a living example the experience of single individuals. Art thus becomes the incomparable implement of education not directly but through appeal to man's imaginative ex-

perience, through the creation of the social universal that raises him above the narrow range of personal moods and emotions, and envisages new human relations and possibilities that are as yet unrealised, and that insinuate themselves into his consciousness and purpose. Art has been the means of clarification and strengthening of man's aims and goals of life that transcend moralities and social conventions, the moral precepts of scriptures or the injunctions of the state. Tradition and custom, myth and religion come to reinforce the expression of the social universals that an individual artist presents out of the crucible of his own experience. These also create the so-called archetypes that the artist adopts, beautifies and strengthens capturing the imagination of a people and eliciting their devotions and sacrifices. Much of the material of artistic vision is in fact supplied by the religion and poetic heritage of a community.

The moral function of art lies in the artist's individual gifts of selection and interpretation of such human relations and experiences as may induce social universals i.e. generic social attitudes, values and aspirations and bring about the integration of self and society. But the artist is guided in this by the experience of his race, community or epoch that creates and re-creates ideals and archetypes and the less conscious purposes and faiths—the powerful and cherished products of the collective mind comprising the pervasive moral and artistic environment without which neither morality nor art can be kept alive. Their massed constant influence shapes culture and the desires and purposes of the individual in a manner that anything directly taught by word and axiom can never aspire to. In Europe however, this encompassing moral and artistic environment has been largely disintegrated since the Renaissance, and the artist, left to his own resources, fluctuates between an extreme form of subjectivism and a pale and futile reproduction of past ideology and emotional unity. In a well integrated society or epoch the problem of art for art's sake would not arise. All art work is moral vision. The archetypes of the community do not permit the separation of art, morals and ordinary life and bring about on the plane of meanings and values the fusion between man's emotions, imagination and achievement.

### *Art and Social Control*

Art induces the range of human emotions and experiences by opening up new vistas of man's oneness with fellow man, and with the entire realm of Becoming. The power of art consists in the presentation of the universal and the symbolical in the individual.

What is presented with great charm and attraction as the social, the unpersonal and the typical thus determines and regulates the thoughts, feelings and faiths of large bodies of men in all epochs and religions. All great art has created archetypes and symbols of social universals that have contributed towards the cohesion of society and solidarity of the race and effective and

sure guidance for the individual in selecting the values of life. Art has been the chief and easy means by which man's collective consciousness or the insight of individual artists into the finer things and relations and profounder truths and values of life has aided him in facing the trials and tribulations of the world. Both the genius of single individuals and the creations of the people or race have enriched the heritage of expression of social universals in art.

### *Art and Social Tradition*

The greatest of the world's art forms have not been the work of single individuals. Myths, parables, stories and doctrines have given the world the finest and the noblest ideals, types and symbols. What more beautiful and truer products of imagination can be conceived than the majesty and detachment of the sphinx in Egyptian art, the fortitude and enterprise of Hercules and the physical charm and alertness of Hermes in Greek art, the severity and poise of Siva who has conquered life and conquered death and the compassion of Bodhisattva who has tendered his life as sacrifice for all sentient creatures in Indian art and the suffering and faith of Jesus on the cross or the immaculate purity and universal maternity of the Virgin in the Gothic Cathedrals of France? All these gods of religion and living faith differ from those of metaphysics. They have been loved and adored as ideals of their own hearts by men and art forms. Hindu, Buddhist and Christian have been the spontaneous embodiments of this passionate love and adoration. Thus the materials of metaphysics, faith, history and tradition are melted and refashioned by the pious imagination of sculptors and painters into the glorious figures of Siva, Buddha, Christ and the Virgin in art that command the loyalties, penances and charities of men through the centuries. On the other hand, art spreads and conquers territories and people by bearing its message of social universals and morals. A remarkable example in world's history is the establishment of Indian art in Central Asia, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo. Chinese art made little impression in these territories that came under the ambit of the influence of Chinese traders for long centuries, chiefly because it could not, unlike Indian art, present through imaginative vision such social and moral ideals with attraction and clarity among the indigenous peoples of these lands.

### *Art as an Escape from Society*

Though mankind's visions of truth, beauty and goodness is the same, in the context of the social system, morality assumes different accents among different peoples. Society in the Orient has shown a sharp and rigid gradation of castes and classes that have thwarted individual initiatives and achievements. Thus both religion and art stress the supreme values of compassion, non-violence and self-sacrifice, while the doctrines of transmigration

of births of Karma (deed) and its fruition and of God's immanence in every form, however fixed that may be, enter into their very substance. It is thus that art smoothes the acerbities and excesses of the social system, enabling the individual to accept his lowly status and position in society with greater complacency, and his adversity in a long sequence of births and deaths with greater fortitude. Art, therefore, is a most efficacious cultural instrument for expressing man's repressed and baffled emotions and sentiments, for securing his psychological and social adjustment. As a matter of fact the success of Oriental art in bringing about social equilibrium is illustrated by the stress of different levels of existence and the sequence of births and deaths and transmigration of souls in a vast panorama of life, where sorrow and joy, despair and promise intermingle, bridging the gulf between actual conditions and possibilities. The notes of frustration sadness and pessimism are in fact drowned by the elegant display of the delights of the senses and the intoxication of enjoyment embodied in the array of surging and dancing figures, scenes of domestic life and love sports of animals and the blossoming of flowers and the ripening of fruits that one comes across at Ajanta, Borabodur and Angkor.

At the other extremity of the world of art, we find in Greece a kind of art that stressed the harmony of proportions in statuary, temple building, vase making and composition of the tragedy that are in such utter and sad contrast with the political turmoil and moral chaos of the Hellenic world. If the social and political system could not assure sanity and serenity to the Greek citizens the harmony and the order were to be found in the magnificent art works of Hellas glorifying Gods and heroes rather than ordinary mortals, and depicting the ideal events of myths and legends rather than the affairs of the earth. But the Hellenic gods and heroes were imbued with all human desires and passions, acting and suffering like the mortals of the earth. Yet the sovereign power of Zeus the heroic manly strength of Hercules, the womanly dignity of Hera and the noble wisdom of Pallas Athene, though largely conceived in human terms were the sources of consolation for the individual, though not of integrity of the Hellenic city states that pursued their sanguinary course of class struggles and internecine conflicts. Similarly the High Renaissance Painting of Italy, with its marvellous linear rhythms and colour harmonies and idealisations of the human situation was a counterbalance in the domain of art to the egoistic individualism and license of the aristocracy and the common people and the chronic turbulence and wickedness of the Italian towns. The immense vitality and terrific vigour of the art of Michael Angelo, who denied himself all the pleasures of companionship and good living and devoted himself to endless toil had their counterpart in the grandeur, magnificence and brutality of Italian life. Similarly the touching humanism and mysticism of Fra Angelico revealed the faith and devotion of the ineffectual minority that were being smothered by the sensualism

and luxury as well as the storm and the stress of life. Art expressed the social universals that were challenged by the crass materialism, unashamed vice and extraordinary release of energies in the new social environment. Through the epochs, art provides a refuge and an escape to the individual when society appears to him as a system of chaos and disorder.

### *Art as Remaking Society*

Art by bringing about the unity and the order in the ideal plane, saves civilisation from disintegration and bears within its bosom the elements of its re-making. It is for this reason that one cannot call art, 'religious', or 'secular', or 'ethical' for art mobilises, all the truths of religion and metaphysics, and all the axioms of morality to give peace to the individual in his social regime. Art in fact combines metaphysics, philosophy, religion and ethics, and makes all these human and concrete in its task of bringing about the equilibrium between the individual and the society through an ideal collective representation that sometimes has an even greater power to mould humanity than the actual society and its institutions.

### *The Social and Ethical Significance of Early Buddhist Art*

In the Orient what largely passes for religious content of art is social and ethical. In those early Buddhist sculptured decorations at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhi Gaya and Amaravati we see illustrations of the birth legends of Buddha (Jatakas) with exquisite characterisation and loving attention to details, neither articulating a religious experience nor portraying a religious episode, but depicting a moral tale that for all time to come stands for the glorification of certain generic social virtues like self sacrifice, tenderness, compassion, purity and truthfulness that have been accepted by the Oriental peoples. At Sanchi we find illustrated in several reliefs the generosity of Prince Vessantara who gave away all what he had including his children and wife, thus exhibiting "the perfection of benevolence". Similarly there is the story depicted of the monkey king who to save his suite of eighty thousand monkeys against archers who surrounded them cleared the river Ganges by a prodigious leap with a rope permitting the monkeys to cross safely. But a malevolent monkey who was no other than the traitor Devadatta in his past birth dropped on his back and broke his spine. Or, again, among the reliefs at Amaravati and the frescoes at Ajanta we find the touching episode of the royal elopement with six tusks (Chaddanta), sawing off with his own trunk his tusks in order to gratify the wish of the Queen of Benares, once his wife, who devoured with jealousy, due to the favour unconsciously shown by the elephant to another wife of his, sought her own death to wreak her revenge. Similarly, there is the story of the King of the Sibi portrayed in sculpture, who in order to save a dove that had sought refuge against a pursuing hawk in the king's lap gave his own flesh and ultimately his whole body as offering when the weighing balance showed

that his freshly killed flesh grew lighter and lighter in comparison with the dove's

### *The Jataka Illustrations at Ajanta*

About the frescoes of Ajanta a whole book, may be written. We have here the entire procession of Indian life from love-making, dice playing, hunting procession of horsemen and elephants and march of armies in foreign lands to the episodes in the birth, life and death of the Buddha, from the sports of monkeys and elephants, and cock and buffalo fights to the flowering palasa tree along the trunk of which a swarm of ants climbs up. Nothing is here left out. A strong sense of naturalism and a broad humanitarianism have mingled with an intense spirituality to animate the graceful men and women and their chaste gentle poses and gestures. Even lovers have a refinement in their reciprocal attitudes and gestures which make amorous approach something of a ritual. The drama of human life, of love and death, happiness and suffering is dominated by the sense of the transience of existence and a profound emotion of piety, with which the beholder becomes saturated as he devoutly wends his way from cave to cave in this sanctuary. In fact the idyllic scenes of Indian life, the rich panorama of the flowering jungle or the pomp and pleasures of the King's court merely form the setting of the enchanting figures of the holy beings of wisdom and compassion, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas some of the loveliest and purest visions ever dreamt of and executed by artist. It is they who epitomise in their lovely slender bodies and meaningful, supernatural gestures the universal values that are dispersed among the variegated scenes of the pageant of Indian life at Ajanta. As an embodiment of the social ideals of Buddhism, Ajanta vies with Mathura, Sarnath and Borobodur and influenced Central Asia, China and distant Japan.

### *The Borobodur Bible*

Not merely Buddhist legends but also legends from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are depicted in bas reliefs and paintings in a thousand temples within the frontiers of India and in Java Siam and Cambodia where the Indian art traditions spread. In the great stupa at Borobodur in Java we have the procession galleries adorned by a series of some two thousand bas reliefs illustrating the life of the Buddha according to the Lalita Vistara the Divyavadana, the Karmavibhanga the Gangavyuha and the Jatakamala as well as various other legends. Referring to these Coomara swamy observed "We have here a third great illustrated Bible similar in range but more extensive than the reliefs of Sanchi and the paintings of Ajanta. This is a supremely devout and spontaneous art naturally lacking the austerity and the abstraction of the early Buddhist primitives, but marvellously gracious, decorative and sincere. The episodes represented are by no means so exclusively courtly as is the case at Ajanta but cover



the whole circle of Indian life alike in city and village. The narrative element is more conspicuous than at Ajanta the craftsmen closely adhering to the book," while he portrays social life, bird and animals and vegetation of his own land, the reliefs at Borobudur are so extensive that if laid end to end they would cover a space of about three miles. In these magnificent sculptured panels which have been seen by thousands of devoted pilgrims through the centuries, we see unfolded a poignant epic drama of human emotions in a cosmic setting where man reaps the fruits of good and evil deeds (karma) in previous births, where god, man and animal form links in a continuous chain of sequence of existences inexorably working out the universal law of Karma, and where the profound lesson is to end the uninterrupted cycle of births and deaths through the absence of desires and the good deeds of love, compassion and sympathy for all. Nothing is discarded in the scenic representations, the pomp of wealth the might of arms, the ardent passion and serene grace of women and the beauty of nature, but all is subdued by the sincere expression of the triumph of purity and wisdom as embodied in the story of Buddha's enlightenment. This triumph is expressed in every single gesture and mood of gods and angels, men and women, animals and birds in the vast panorama. Step by step from gallery to gallery pilgrims are led through illustrations of the law of retribution of good and noble deeds the story of the Buddha's preparation in the course of hundreds of past lives, the episodes in the life of the historical Buddha until they witness the search for the highest wisdom revealed by the Bodhisattvas of the Mahayana. "When at last" writes Vogel "the pilgrim has reached the summit of the *Stupa* the phenomenal world vanishes from his sight and he is transported into the sphere of mere thought.<sup>1</sup>" The unity of the realm of Becoming has nowhere been more sincerely expressed in sculpture than here. Over the procession of human episodes which are linked together under a master plan and in each of which every figure is absolutely unique and sincere in expression of face, gesture and pose of body, there broods the ineffable mystery of the oneness and harmony of life. Art here has immortalised itself by transforming small episodes and personal moods into the universals that help in the realisation of the oneness of life and of the divine wisdom which creates it.

#### *The Intermingling of Gods and Men at Angkor Vat*

In Siam and Cambodia as well as in Java we similarly see the legends of the Ramayana the Mahabharata, the Srimadbhagavat, the Harivamsa and other tales connected with Vishnu and Siva illustrated in fine sculptures adorning the walls of the temples. The churning of the milky sea, the death of Bhishma, the banishment of Rama, the loss of Sita, the fight between Vali and Sugriva, the alliance of Ram and Sugriva the meeting between Sita and

1 J. P. VOGEL *Buddhist Art* p. 100

Hanumana in the Asoka grove in Lanka, the fight between the armies of Rama and Ravana as well as the episodes of the life of Hari and of Krishna are all depicted in the famous temple at Angkor Vat. Here again art has truthfully portrayed social universals among peoples who did not know the legends, but who have absorbed them so sincerely and deeply that modern artists now draw frequently on them for their mural decorations in the pagodas of today. In the *sanctus sanctorum* Buddha Vishnu and Siva are installed in their divine aloofness like stars that dwell apart. But on the paintings and bas-reliefs on the walls of the corridors leading up to the divinities are depicted the conjugal love and trials of Rama and Sita, the brotherly attachment of Lakshmana, the fidelity of Hanumana, the marriage of Siva and Parvati and the trials sufferings and sacrifices of Bodhisattva in an all too human setting. The gods who are the apotheoses of the social virtues come down with their human desires and sufferings to the level of the common people, while the men and women in their devotion, thanksgiving and purity raise themselves to the level of the gods. Siva in order to save the gods and all living creatures undertakes the stupendous sacrifice of drinking the poison cast by the ocean or by the universe serpent, Vasuki. Vishnu, Ramchandra and Krishna go through their hundred adventures for the sake of the protection of heaven and earth, gods and men against the Asuras. Similarly Buddha prepares himself for the message of enlightenment for humanity through innumerable lives of sacrifice and compassion. Then they come down to the earth and mingle with all life. What brooding pity and tenderness for all living creatures then radiate from them, and this is reciprocated by what trustful adoration of all! The figures of nude female worshippers arranged in serene yet animated throngs with their infinitely sweet and chaste poses and gestures of adoration cannot but be an unfailing source of inspiration for the pilgrims. Even the foliage of the forest the sheep, the elephants and the lambs the nagas or the water sprites and the ripple of the waters participate in the cosmic devotion not to speak of the homage of gods angels and spirits of the upper air. Such is the picture the succession of mural paintings and sculptured panels unfolded before the throngs of observant pilgrims as they used to wend their way to the main shrine. Religions may change, kingdoms may perish but the art which aids in elevating the moral tone of social life lives so long as society endures. It is the stress of the social universals that has brought about the merging with irresistible power of Beauty and Truth at Ajanta, Sanchi Amaravati Borobudur and Angkor Vat.

#### *Biblical Scenes in European Christian Art*

The Javanese sculptured panels have been compared with Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise in Florence designed at the opening of the 15th Century. Ghiberti, Jacopo della Quercia Donatello and the della Robbias presented many Christian scenes with marvellous verisimilitude and elegance of composition.

The creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation and Expulsion, the story of Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection were all pictured by Ghiberti in delightful natural backgrounds with superb illustrational effect. Like the Javanese scenes the various events from the old Testament and of the life of Christ and the Fathers of the Church formed the source of inspiration to generations of pilgrims who visited the Baptistery at Florence. Similarly, Donatello presented with tragical pathos the Scourging the Crucifixion and the Deposition of Christ and with great dramatic vigour the scenes of Salome and St. John. A profound pity, tenderness and compassion as revealed in the poignant Christian drama were unfolded and the figures of Mary, Christ, Magdalene and the dancing angels and cherubims were especially depicted with great fervour and piety.

But the difference of treatment between Oriental and Renaissance art in Europe can hardly be missed. There is, in the first place, a tendency towards sentimentality marked in the Christian sculptors that found its apotheosis in the delicious bambini and sweet madonnas of the della Robbias and Raphael. This is far different from the chastity and restraint of movements and the serene rhythm of gestures of men and women in the Amaravati or Borobodur reliefs. Many of the angels, madonnas and cherubims in Christian art are similar, pictured it appears from local models. In the East there is no attempt at naturalism or realism, but at the same time a marvellous plastic beauty of nude figures has been reached, soft, smooth and chaste, that is enhanced by the rhythm of the poses and gestures, every one of which is of high plastic value. The beauty of the human body in Oriental sculpture is far different from the Grecian or the Renaissance conception. Such beauty, constituted by the harmony of limbs and movements and expressions of the face, is plastically transmuted into something more subtle and expressive of the deep and noble stirrings of the human soul, thus aiding in its attainment of wisdom and bliss.

### *The Notion of Super sensual Perfection in Art*

Man's physical beauty appears in Indian art as the rapture of the soul. It suggests supernatural capacity transcending the limitations of physical well-being. It is far different from the form of physical perfection derived by classical Greek sculpture from the spectacle in the national games, and that became almost an obsession of Europe for several centuries. Mankind has also dreamt of other kinds of perfection and so the norms and types of physical human beauty differ. The luminous beauty of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Vishnu or Siva is in subtle unison with the supernatural aims of the body as the receptacle of the soul. The glory and majesty of these gods in Indian sculpture represent the apotheosis of man's beauty. Woman's charm in India with the emphasis of full rounded breasts and ample, slanting hips is the grace of motherhood that hides in the fair sex her supernatural possibilities.

For every woman the ideal of physical perfection is that of the primordial Mother of the Universe in the full radiance of her maternal glory

The ideal of beauty of the human form in the West no doubt has been largely dominated by the inclinations and standards of classical Greece where friendship was preferred to love and the well poised athletic form of the human male became the standard of human beauty. In the Orient the norms of the perfect male and the perfect female are different and woman's beauty is the flower and herald of motherhood. The Orient in its sense of beauty shows on the whole not merely a sounder biological judgment but also a sounder psychological judgment. In Western art, except in the Middle Ages with their Madonnas, Angels and Saints, woman's loveliness and charm rather than the serenity and beauty of her soul have been stressed. In Oriental art we have not only the Apsara's and the Nayika's captivating loveliness, like that of Aphrodite, but also the wisdom and tranquillity of Prajna paramita, Tara and Parvati. Like the unique, serene and well balanced figures of Buddha and Siva Indian sculpture, stirred not merely by the physical charm but also by the tenderness, wisdom and mystery of womanhood, has produced new types of feminine beauty that only have a spiritual import.

### *Metaphysical Conceptions In Art*

In Indian metaphysics the feminine symbolises the mind in creation and movement not in rest and withdrawal that are symbolised by the masculine. Indian art represents the female divinity in the state of profound meditation only in such Buddhist images of the goddess of wisdom as Prajnāparamita and Tara seated in the rigid padma and vajrasana with the legs firmly locked in. In some Buddhist images of Tara and the Brahmanical images of Saraswati, Lakshmi, Kali and Parvati we find a relaxation of the rigid meditative pose by the adoption of sukhasana or lalitasana with the right leg hanging down and the foot resting on a lotus. Usually, however, the female divinities express movement, and are in the standing, gentle tribhanga or in alidha and pratyidha poses in vigorous action against the forces of evil.

The female divinity or Sakti in Indian religion and art symbolises form, energy or manifestation of the human spirit in all its rich and exuberant variety. Thus the images of female divinities are far more diverse than those of Vishnu, Siva or Bodhisattva. The icons of the mother deity range from the benignant brooding motherliness of Parvati, the serene dignity of Prajnāparamita and Saraswati or the nubile charm of Uma to the omnipotence and majesty of Durga slaying the demons and the weird vigour of the dancing and grinning Chamunda and Kali wearing the garland of skulls.

Religious doctrines in India lay down the injunction forbidding the sight of the nude female figure. But in India this injunction is got over by covering the female form with thin or transparent apparel or by representation

only of the upper part of the body as undraped. This has been due to the ancient and medieval Indian habit of clothing for women who did not cover the upper part of the body or used loose garments. Such, however, is the dominating sense of mystery and illusive-ness in Indian iconography that the nude mingles freely and unconventionally with figures of religious or symbolical import.

### *The Significance of Poses and Gestures Feminine*

Of the poses of the female form the most characteristic is the three fold inflexion, *tribhanga*, that combines the fullness and straightness of the woman's torso with the soft and graceful slant of the right, or occasionally, the left hip, and that expresses a most delicate and harmonious blend of poise and charm, serenity and springiness. This characteristic flexion goes back to the images in Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati. The most elegant instances are afforded by the images of the Tree spirits (*Yakshu* or *Sala bhanjika*) at Mathura, Konarak and other places of Parvati at the Elephant cave, of the river goddesses—*Jamuna* and *Saraswati*—at Ellora, of Tara at Munshiganj, of Mahesvari at Bhuvaneshwar and of the South Indian bronzes, Parvati with Subramanya in her arm, *Parmeswari* and *Gouri*. This pose is obviously derived from the Indian woman's natural movement as she carries in her arm her child or a pitcher of water that cannot but strike an Indian artist.

The exaggerated hip effect (*atibhanga*) produced by the mother bearing the child in her own arm is seen at its best in the image at Khajuraho and the Tanjore bronze image of Parvati with Subramanya. On the other hand, the *atibhanga* flexion is also illustrated in the voluptuous forms of the couple on the railing post at Amaravati, of Rati (with Kamadeva) at the Kailasa temple in Ellora, of the *apsaras* in the temples of Bengal and Orissa, of the many *maithuna* couples at Khajuraho and Konarak and of the South Indian bronze *Mohini*.

The *tribhanga* pose is formed as Stella Kramrisch remarks as if brought about by a rotating movement, now circular, now flattened—a movement which proceeds from below upwards, like a chalice it raises the globular breasts almost to shoulder height. The dynamic movement proceeds beyond the physical reach of the figure and symbolises the urge within the perfect human feminine body to ascend towards its ultimate spiritual destiny i.e., towards salvation. It is noteworthy that the *tribhanga* pose is adopted for masculine divinities in Indian art whenever the softer qualities such as love, compassion and benignity are sought to be stressed. Thus this pose is characteristic of the figure of *Bodhisattva* at Ajanta, of Buddha at Bagh, of *Vajrapani* at the Visvakarma cave, of *Maitreya* and *Lokanatha* in Bengal and Orissa, of the many figures of Krishna throughout Northern India and of the South Indian images of Siva as *Gangadhara* or *Kalasamhara*.

The balanced tribhanga flexion has been adopted in images in all Asiatic countries from Central Asia and China to Java and Cambodia wherever Indian art traditions have established themselves. Thus both man's and woman's body in Oriental art is, in the first place, so transmuted as it may attain something beyond the possibilities of physiology that confine the Grecian and Renaissance search for physical beauty, and, in the second place, the human body is so abstracted and rearranged in its essentials as to be useful in formal shape, proper to stone, metal or wood. The significance of Oriental art forms lies not merely in its rich symbolism and attempt to create super sensual norms of beauty but even more in their abstract formal rhythms and movements.

No attempt is made here to imitate human anatomy, but the features of the body, especially the face, hands and feet are so represented as to make the supernatural aims of the body easily comprehensible. Thus in a sense the representation of Buddha, Vishnu and Siva is a symbol. It expresses the idea of Being or Becoming. Secondly, if it be a stone, bronze or wooden image, its abstract formal or geometrical quality transcends the naturalistic, for the copying of nature is the real enemy of symbolism. In different Oriental countries man's beauty or perfection is represented by art in different media in a blend of formal element and naturalism that has markedly differed in different epochs. But the emphasis is always twofold: first, towards the notion of extra physical or supernatural perfection, secondly, towards the formal, highly simplified image, almost geometrically conceived, that can express the inner life where the conflicts and struggles are resolved into a profound tranquillity, competence and majesty.

The supernatural beauty of the male divinity, such as Buddha, Bodhisattva, Siva or Vishnu, is expressed in Indian sculpture by the smooth modelling of broad shoulders such as those of the bull or the elephant and of a slender waist such as that of the lion and by an elegant roundness and softness of the limbs such as those of the female body. All divinities are youthful and should look like sixteen years old as enjoined in the Vishnudharmottara, should never show any muscles, veins or bones, and should bear a nimbus. The Vishnudharmottara adds that the face of the gods should be well finished and benignant, large arches, triangles and other geometrical shapes should be avoided in representing gods. A smooth and rounded bodily frame in which anatomical details are largely eliminated easily suggests superhuman grace and power.

An elaborate variety of ornaments decks the undraped divine figures. The crown or tiara, the ear ring, the chain and the girdle are especially carved with great artistic effect contributing towards the enchantment and illusiveness of the figures. An abstract, super sensible form becomes the fit vehicle of ideal attributes of the deity that are further symbolised and supported by the addition of hands and heads so harmoniously balanced in the

whole plastic composition that they do not engender any suggestion of the abnormal or the grotesque but on the contrary logically and happily translate the underlying motive of the icon

### *The Significance of Poses and Gestures Masculine*

Most of the male divinities in Indian Sculpture are in rigid standing or sitting meditative poses. The heavy solidity of the lower part of the body and of the firmly placed legs (*samapadsthanaka*) that are not much articulated as well as the unshakeably straight vertical line from the crown to the feet express powerfully in stone or bronze the omnipotence and inflexibility of truth asserting themselves above the impermanence of life and the world. The same notion is also represented by the rigidity of the seated pose of meditation in *baddha padmasana*, with the legs firmly interlocked and the soles turned upward. Buddha, Vishnu or Surya that belong to the highest level of spiritual existence are usually depicted in the above poses. But Bodhisattva, Siva and above all Krishna show curvilinear movement (*bhanga*) and rhythm of the body symbolical of the grace and compassion to man that are stressed. Since the deity is not a human individual but the embodiment of a supernatural or metaphysical abstraction, there is also often a striking departure from the human form or symmetry in the multiplicity of heads, hands and feet so as to suit the cosmic vision. Oriental sculpture oversteps anthropomorphism, and seeks nothing more and nothing less than the expression of the Beyond, reached by cosmic meditation with none of the limitations set by measurable human goals and ideals. Thus what is a symmetrical form from the standpoint of naturalism and realism becomes in sculpture the vehicle of the cosmic and the transcendental. It must, however, be remembered that in certain schools and epochs art retained its human anthropomorphic character, as instanced by Gupta art in India, Tang and Sung art in China and Nara art in Japan.

Finally, the play of fingers of the hands, *mudra*, as these hold some flowers or implements, the sway of the limbs as well as general movements are devised in Indian sculpture as suggestive of the deity and of His or Her divine actions (*divyakriya*) far remote from human gestures and movements. Yet these are invested with a remarkable tenderness and subtlety of expression of what are really superhuman and spiritual emotions and attitudes. On the other hand the practice of such movements, postures and gestures has been found in Oriental yogic experience to engender the spiritual atmosphere, attitudes and virtues associated with the particular deity. Thus the artist for his image-making must resort to spiritual and aesthetic contemplation (*dhyana*) and not the imitation of any human model that he has been strictly enjoined to eschew. Thus he works directly from his own mental image that represents some aspect or other of the cosmic essence. Even where the image of a horse is to be made from a horse actually seen

the artist is required as we read in the *Sukraniti* to form a mental image in *dhyana*. Defect in portraiture is attributed in the Hindu canon of art not to lack of observation but to imperfect identification (*añhilā samadhi*). Thus the practice of Hindu art is a discipline of meditation which eventuates in the skill of operation and technique (*śilpasthana kausala*). On the other hand those who look at earthen images do not serve the clay as such but without regard thereof honour the deathless principles referred to in the earthen images.<sup>2</sup> It is serene perfect meditation that can beget the perfect bodily poise of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Śiva and Viṣṇu.

But while the Orient has produced some of the world's most perfect inevitable and inspiring male and female images and poses of the profound serenity and silence of Being certain other spiritual moods that embody the processes of Becoming or divine actions (*divyākriyā*) have also received magnificent and unique plastic expression. These have usually taken the plastic forms of the various forms of *Saktis*. Hindu and Buddhist. Such mother goddesses are found both in their static as well as active poses. In their postures of repose as in the images of *Parvatī*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Tara*, *Mahapratisara* and *Sarasvatī* they represent the very incarnation of youthful charm and energy. But sometimes they are also represented as engaged in strenuous struggle against the *Asuras* or powers of evil when their gestures and movements become wild and terrible although their faces depict unperturbed tranquillity. A profound detachment and absence of emotion in the movement or action are combined with an absolute sense of omnipotence devoid of any the least inkling of brutality or vulgar exhibition of physical force. The *Asuras* again seem to succumb without opposition or conflict as if pre-ordained according to the immutable cosmic law of the supremacy of truth and righteousness that the goddess symbolises. Or again the goddess is represented in a single image symbolising the struggle within the human soul the power of destruction of the flesh and the devil in the mind of the worshipper and the beholder. Such are the animated images of *Durga*, *Kālī*, *Chamunda*, *Tara* or *Parasavari* that yet exhibit a magnificent beauty and feeling import contrasted with those implicit in the more serene and pleasant types of beauty as *Parvatī*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Uma* or *Gaurī*. Their sitting posture is also relaxed in *sukhasana* or *lalitasana* with the right leg pendent or placed on a lotus in soft self-conscious gesture of love and benediction to man. It is noteworthy that in Buddhist or Brahmanical art outside India the perfect pose and symmetry that the Indian sculptor could give to the various images in their various seats and gestures (*asanas* and *mudras*) following the Indian yogic traditions could not be achieved. Many of these poses were no doubt unfamiliar to the Buddhist

<sup>2</sup> *Dvyavadāna* Ch. XXVI and *Sukranitisara* quoted by Coomaraswamy in *The Part of Art in Indian Life Culture Heritage of India* Vol. III pp. 501-502.



and Brahmanical converts in China and Further India. Finally when the divinity is represented in Indian sculpture in its wild destructive aspects dwarf and pot bellied bodies having none of the youth and elegance of Buddha Vishnu Siva and Parvati are figured. Heruka a dancing Buddhist divinity terrible in his aspects, is a well known illustration from the sculpture of medieval Bengal.

### *The Terrible In Art*

In the art of very few countries has the universal mood of the terrible (bhayanaka) been expressed and that in such cosmic significance. Nara Simha or the God lion and the female deities such as Parnasavari Durga Chamunda Kali and Ugra Tara symbolise the destructive aspects of the cosmic process. All that is terrible and repellent are combined in such images intended to detach the beholder or devotee from the life of the senses for reaching the truth which is indeed assured by the grim dancing figures through the gesture of hope (abhaya) in one of her many swirling hands the other hands usually holding skull corpse spear kettle-drum or bone.

It is easy to understand that in the human mind spiritual truth or wisdom becomes fierce resentment or righteous indignation when it encounters wickedness, vice and ignorance and that love and compassion that encompass everybody enforce themselves upon those who deny its power of deliverance. It is this psychology that underlies the expression of the terrible in Oriental painting and sculpture. In Mahayana Buddhism and Tantrikism of Tibet and China and in Shingon Buddhism in Japan several representations of the terrible are met with. In Eastern India and Tibet the God of Death is a familiar figure. In Japan there are the formidable images of Dai Itoku and Fudo. The former is a modification of the Brahmanic Yamantaka the god of death and the latter is a fierce manifestation of Maha Vairochana, representing the subjugating powers of Buddha over the human passions.<sup>3</sup> Often in oriental religious doctrine and art the serene and the fierce the compassionate and the furious are contrasted phases of the supreme manifestation of the deity.

No such reconciliation of opposites of grimness and hope darkness and light, sacrifice and renewal of life will be found in the treatment of the terrible in Michael Angelo's Last Judgment Goya's Saturn or Delacroix's Medea three of the rare representations of the terrible in Western art while in the representation of the Dance of Death by Holbein Rethel or other master artists or in the recent treatment of the same theme by Albin Egger Lienz in Germany we encounter a morbid consciousness of mortality of the omnipresence of death that has not freed itself from the narrow medieval spirit.

*Impersonal Love and Beauty in Art*

Contrasted with the silent and the poised or the vigorous and the grim supernatural types of beauty in Indian art are the types of loveliness as represented by the Yakshus Vrikshakas and Salabhanjikas in Sanchi and Mathura and the Apsaras and Nayikas (celestial nymphs) in Khajuraho and Orissa in the later centuries. The Apsara is the danseuse of heaven as the Nayika is of the earth. Each is free in her loves and wiles unattached to the home and the family. In these figures Indian art expresses the delights and sports of sex, the incomparable charm of woman that lures men and gods. Such figures abound in the temples of gods and goddesses and embody the Indian ideal of feminine loveliness. About these Apsara figures Rothenstein observes: "Today we look at Sanchi, Badami and Ellora or at the loveliest of all the medieval carvings at Konarak, Bhuvanewar and Khajuraho<sup>4</sup> and accept them gratefully with the dancing Greek nereids, the figures from Botticelli's Primavera or Venus rising from the sea as enchanting manifestations of man's delight in human beauty. The Apsara takes an equally important place in the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina art. So racial a conception could not be changed with the form of religious dogma."<sup>5</sup>

The tree spirits, the nymphs and the heroines of love embody in plastic language all the similes that classical Sanskrit poetry has used to meticulously delicate the features of female charm. The norms of beauty and of expression of erotic and seductive attitudes are in this case also not derived from any human models. Thus the Apsaras and the Nayikas of the medieval temples of Central India, Bengal and Orissa do not suggest gross sex, but the sport and delight of the primordial energy (Sakti) that underlies the causation of the universe and of every manifestation or appearance. Such images of female beauty have in fact contributed towards the sublimation and elevation of sex to a supersensible plane, following up the entire medieval Indian religious thought that found the sex motif as the symbol of the cosmic energy explaining the conception and creation of the universe.

Enchanting male forms of human beauty are represented by the figures of Krishna in the medieval temples. There are for instance the South Indian bronze images of dancing Krishna (15th Century) and the supremely elegant wooden image of Krishna Govinda of Southern India (17th Century). It was however Rajput painting that created the most graceful types of human loveliness in the figures of Krishna and Radha, the incarnations of eternal youth and beauty in Krishna legend. Nowhere in Oriental art has such bewitching loveliness of the human figures been limned with such lyrical intensity and tenderness. But even here the symbolism of the human soul

<sup>4</sup> And also at Mayurbhanj. Vide the figure in R. D. Banerjee, *His ory of Orissa*, Volume 2, p. 420.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington, *Ancient India*, Introduction, p. 3.

(Radha) forsaking the world to unite with the Divine, the eternal and universal bridegroom Krishna lends a profound mystery and otherworldliness to the treatment. Oriental art metamorphoses and exalts man's natural delight in human beauty and the associated eroticism into an abstract, intellectualised and universal sentiment that becomes the clue to profound knowledge, insight and striving. The incomparable figure of loveliness becomes also the social symbol or universal that effectively drains the unconscious of the individual, and prepares him, according to the state of his psychological development, for a generic and impersonal vision of love, goodness and beauty.

## VEDIC GODS

*By*

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr R SHAMASASTRY, B.A., PH.D

Who are the Vedic Gods is a question as old as Yāska, the author of the Nirukta. His attempt to answer the question has failed to satisfy not merely his contemporaries, but also modern scholars. The classification of Vedic gods as transparent and translucent has been of no help. It is however hoped that what has been stated in the "Drapsa," "Eclipse-cult" and in my papers published in Oriental Journals will be of some help in clearing the obscurity of Vedic gods and of the phenomena described in connection with them in the Vedas. The Vedic gods are no other than the seven planets, the twenty seven asterisms, Agastya or Canopus, and Sunasira the Dog star Sirius and a few other periodical stars. These are the Devas. The Asuras are the imaginary dark spirits of night. Thus Agni is Mars, Angirasa called also 'Go' meaning cow or bull is Jupiter. Dirghatamas is Mercury and Bhṛigu or Kanya is Venus. Varuṇa with his Pasas is Saturn with his rings. Venus, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury are also called Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu in order. The sun is Indra while fighting with eclipse-demon. He is Savitar while revealing the world during the clearance of eclipse. The moon in eclipse is Soma juice under filter to be drunk by Indra and other gods. The sun is Mitra when he arrives at the equinoctial asterism. The old father and mother are the winter and summer solstices. The Devayāna is the portion of the ecliptic between equinox and summer solstice. The Pityāna is the path from summer solstice or winter solstice to equinox. The seven sages (Saptarshis, such as Atri, Bhṛigu, Kutsa, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Kāśyapa and Angirasa, are also the same seven planets. Bhṛigu is Venus, Vasiṣṭha is Mars, Kāśyapa is the Sun, Kutsa is Saturn, Atri is Mercury, and Angirasa is Jupiter. These are quite different from the seven sages of the Great Bear, though some names are common to both the groups. These are known as Atri, Marichi, Vasiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Angirasa, Pulaha, Pulastya, and Kratu. The seven vāyus are the seven intercalary months functioning as wind. The seven lords of intercalary months, such as Dhata, Aryama, Mitra, Varuṇa, Amsa, and Bhaga, and Indra are also the same seven planets, with different names having different functions. Dhatar is the moon, Aryaman is Jupiter, Varuna is Saturn, Mitra is Equinoctial sun, Indra is the Sun, and Amsa and Bhaga are Mercury and Venus.

The Vedic poets such as Viśvamitra, Vasiṣṭha and others are not ordinary mortals, each poet is a representative of a particular planet speaking

of his own functions and merits. Thus Viṣvamitra is the moon a born Kṣatriya. He becomes Brahman by adopting Gayatrī the sun's merit reminding us of the necessity of combination of the sun and the moon. Vāsiṣṭha is Agni Mars. The Aitareya Brahmana (I 28) says Agniravī devānam Vāsiṣṭha. Venus and Jupiter are poets and priests. (See the Panchajanya Poona Orientalist Vol VII Nos 1 & 2)

The following analysis of the functions and the natural phenomena through which these gods or planets pass as depicted in the first Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda will show that the subject matter not only of the Rig Veda but also of the other Vedas is premeditated and preplanned by the learned among the Vedic people—

Agni is as important a Vedic deity as Indra. He is called the son of the earth (V 61) Grahapathi or Vastopathi (Lord of the House-hold). He is also called Sruta bandhu being one of the four brothers (X. 57-61). The period of his yearly revolution round the ecliptic or his own orbit consists of 687 days being equal to two nodal years of 343 days each. If we add to it one more nodal year it amounts to 1029 days which is equal to an eclipse cycle of 1000 days and an intercalary month. Seven such cycles make up 7000 days and seven intercalary months and are equal to 19 lunisolar years the so called Metonic cycle. This idea is referred to in the verse

Trimurdhanam Saptarasmin he has three heads and seven ropes (held in seven hands) in the last hymn of Rig Veda (I 146)—his domination over both the minor and major eclipse cycles is very well described in oft quoted enigmatic Vedic verse Catvari Śringa (IV 58 3). This verse has been variously interpreted. No less an authority than the author of the Mahabhashya takes it to be a description of grammatical parts of speech. Sayana's explanation is too well known to need repetition here. The real meaning of the verse seems to be the description of Agni Mars as the lord of the three nodal years making up one of the seven chakras or cycles of 1000 days. The verse may be translated thus —

Four are the horns three the legs two heads seven hands are there to Agni. Fastened or bound with three ropes he bellows like a bull. This great god known as Mahadevan has taken possession of the mortals.

Explanation —

The two nodes are the two heads as each of them is given two horns, the number of horns with which the bull assails his victims are four. Each of the three nodal years which make up the body of the bull has one leg. So the whole body has three legs. As each of the three legs is given a fastening his fastenings are three. The seven hands seem to be the seven cycles of 1000 each presided over by Agni. As he is regarded as Eclipse-fire he is said to have power over mortals. There may also be some reference to number 7 the cube of which makes a nodal year  $7 \times 7 \times 7 = 343$ . Three

such years  $3 \times 343$ —one thousand and twenty-nine days. Agni or Mars is believed to have three heads and seven ropes or rays (in I. 146) to have the power of burning eclipse-demons and thus help Indra in his fight with Vritra, Śambara and other demons in solar or lunar eclipses.

Agni Vaiśvanar (58-60) is Indra or Vāyu—(See Sūyana's Commentary on I. 59). 1, 12, 21, 31, 36, 45, 58-60, 65-79; 93-99; 127-129, 143-150.<sup>1</sup> There are the numbers of the hymns in which Agni is praised in the first Maṇḍala.

Indra—He is identified with Sūrya, he is Manu and Sūrya. He is called Sūrya (RV. X 89). S. B. identifies Indra with the sun, Vritra being the moon. Ven'atamādhava quotes Brāhmaṇa in Rv I. 6, 4 in support of the identity of Indra with the sun. It follows therefore that the sun in his fight with Eclipse-demon or causing lunar eclipses is called Indra. In his fight he is sometimes accompanied by Vāyu or horse, the intercalary month in each cycle of 1000 days (three nodal, years) being regarded as the sun's horse. Seven Vāyu indicate seven intercalary months at the close of seven cycles or seven thousand days 19 luni-solar years. Rv. I. 2 is in praise of Indra-vāyu. He makes his appearance in solar eclipse as a conqueror and as a drinker of soma juice (the moon) in lunar—(4-11; 14-15, 17-18). In solar eclipses Minor planets become visible. They are called Charshmis, 19. The close of the major cycle of 19 years with an eclipse, Jupiter being visible, 21 years 23 close of a cycle. 24-25 eclipsed moon is called Sunahṣepa 26-30 the same story of Sunahṣepa 32 lunar; 33 Navagras and Daśagras mentioned here are of the class of several cyclic jupiters. Jupiter's appearance for 9 or 10 months before becoming invisible when the sun comes near him for two or three months in each year is regarded as Jupiter's departure to heaven for two or three months after performing Satra sacrifice for 9 or 10 months. Once in 12 years when Jupiter happens to be in Leo he becomes occulted by the moon. This is considered Atirātrasatra (See Rv. 10, 57-62 and my papers on "Planets in the Vedas"). The Jupiter's recovery of brilliance after the sun's departure to Libra from Leo, is described here as recovery of Jupiter's cows from Panis or non-sacrificing merchants intesting Libra by Indra under the guidance of Sarma dogs, or two groups of 4 stars in the Canis major or minor. In verse 8 eclipse is also mentioned. In 10 recovery of sun's rays by Indra is described as Indra's milking the cows. 34 Asvinis here are Mercury and Venus who are regarded as the sons of dawn appearing during the solar eclipse. 35 Savitar is seen emerging out of solar eclipse, making the world visible. 37-40 seven vāyus or intercalary months are Dhatar, Mitra, Aryama, Varuṇa, Amsa, Bhaga and Indra. 41 Ādityas are Dhatar, Aryan. They are the lords of seven intercalary months.

1. These numbers refer to the hymns of the first Maṇḍala.

44 Lunar, 46-48 lunar, 50 Dawn, 51 Lunar, Mercury becomes visible (Read the story quoted by Sāyana here) 52 solar, 53 lunar at the close, 1099 days or 1059 days 54 solar at the close of 40 years which is equal to two cycles of 19 years each Indra is said to have fought in 99 solar eclipses 55 lunar, 55 56 lunar, 57 solar 61 solar 63 Indra's old exploits 80 83 lunar 84 Indra and Dadhyanh The latter is moon who is reduced to skeleton in new moon and Indra's slaying Vritra with his bone means removal of the moon resulting in the destruction of Vritra or shadow in solar eclipse 85 88 seven Maruts indicating 19 years cycle. 89 90 all gods 91 92 lunar 100 solar, here Sayana says that five planets represent four varṇas with Nishadas as the fifth caste (See also Varahamihira's Brihajāṭaka on the castes of Planets) 101 104 lunar 108 109 Indra and Agni and Varuṇa in lunar 121 solar 129 Indra's exploits 130 Eclipse-demons, 131 133 lunar, 134 137 lunar 33 34, 46 49, 92, 112 113, 115 120, 123 Aśvins or Mercury or Venus with or without Dawn in solar or lunar If it is second Dawn then it is solar Eclipse

20, 110 111 and Ribhus called Prabhva Vibhva and Vāja three sons of king Sudhanva, divided the Chamaśa cup i.e., the celestial sphere into 4 divisions of 90 degrees each, assigning three months to each. (2) Made one horse i.e., one lunar month into two horses for the sun's chariot (3) They made Mercury and Venus the charioteers of the Sun since they are fore-runners of the sun (4) They made out of the hide of a cow two cows or one cow and one calf here the cow is pūrvaphālgunī and its calf is Jupiter (See Rv X 57 62 also my paper on Planets in the Vedas) 5 The renovation of father and mother i.e., the solstices so as to make them appear ever in youth 22 35 Savitar, the sun is called Savitar when he is emerging out of an eclipse making the world visible 13 and 142 Apriverśas for adjustment of calendar or luni solar years (See my Drapśa) 43 and 114 Rudra i.e. the moon and also Vayus, his sons are praised here 64, 85 90 Maruts or seven vāyus indicating the close of 19 years cycle with or without an eclipse.

*62 reappearance of Jupiter after Sun's departure from Leo and Vergo and Jupiter's recovery of Cows i.e., his rays of light with the help of Indra or the Sun, is here referred to*

89 90, 105 107, and 122 Adityas. They are seven known as Dhatar, Aryama Mitra, Varuṇa, Amsa, Bhaga and Indra. In other words the moon the Jupiter, the Sun in equinox, Saturn, Mercury and Venus and the Sun in his fight against Vritra or causing lunar eclipse. They are also the lords of seven in intercalary months.

125-126 so called Danastutis or praises of gifts The gifts are really animals immolated on the occasion of eclipses

159 160 Dyāva Prithvī, the loci of the two solstices Uttarāyana and Dakṣiṇāyana known as father and mother

122 Viśvedevas or all moving luminaries are no other than the seven planets indicating the close of a cycle with an eclipse solar or lunar

105 Trita Aptya is no other than the third Rohita eclipse at the close of a cycle of 1000 days In this series of three eclipses each falls back by 10 days compared with the same in the previous cycle (See my Eclipse cult)

From the above analysis it is clear that the same seven planets are differently named according to change in their functions and that eclipses, occultations of planets are the most important subject matter of the Vedic hymns necessitating the performance of suitable sacrifices to appease the gods



## THE BUDDHIST SECTS : A SURVEY

By

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Buddhism, in its historical, religious and philosophical aspects, has received a fairly exhaustive treatment in the hands of the present-day orientalists. Still, it seems, the appearance of a number of sects in the second century after Buddha's death has not received the amount of attention it deserves. It was noticed by distinguished scholars such as Burnouf (*Lotus*, 357) and Wassilief (*Buddhismus*, 223), Beal (*Ind Ant*, 1880, 299) and Rhys Davids (*JRAS*, 1891, 411, 1892, 5), Takakusu (*I-tsing*, xxiii) and Csoma Korosi (*As Res* xx, 298), Burgess (*Cave Temples of India*) and Buhler (*JRAS*, 1892) Walleser (*Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*), Oldenberg (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Intro) and La Vallée Poussin (*Ind Ant*, 1908), and lately by Masuda (*Asia Major*, II) and Mrs Rhys Davids (*Points of Controversy*, Intro). The galaxy of names, mentioned above, reveals that the importance of the topic was well realised but materials were lacking to add flesh and blood to the skeleton. Masuda's notes and translation of Vasumitra's work made a substantial contribution to the topic, and now by a comparative study of the *Kathavatthu* and Vasumitra's work, it has been possible to form a fair idea of the sectarian differences, and it will be our attempt in this paper to point them out within a small compass.

Towards the end of the first century of its existence the Buddhist sangha began to split up into several sanghas on account of the differences of opinion in matters of doctrines, disciplinary rules and even in the manner of cutting and wearing robes.<sup>1</sup> According to the Vinaya traditions of almost all the principal schools the first split in the Buddhist church took place at the Second Council held about a century after Buddha's death. The split is attributed to differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of ten points or discipline. An attempt was made in the Council to make up the differences, but it met with failure. There formed two parties, one favouring a more rigid interpretation of the rules while the other preferred the use of a little more discretion in the application of the rules. Among the former the monks of Kauśāmbī, Avantī and other western countries were predominant while among the latter were the monks of Vaisālī, Pāṭaliputra and other eastern countries. Once the split commenced, it went on multiplying till we hear of the appearance of eighteen sects. From differences in disciplinary rules the split encroached upon doctrines as well, and the Buddhist monks developed

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1 Takakusu's *I-tsing* p 6. "Each school has traditions handed down from teacher to pupil, each perfectly defined and distinct from the other."

distinct divisions among themselves, one espousing certain doctrines as against another, and some of the doctrines even going to the length of being almost un-Buddhistic.

As far as the tradition goes, the party who were in favour of the letter of the law claimed themselves as more orthodox than the other, though it is doubtful if their claim was agreed to by the other. The orthodox party also could not remain in unison for a long time, for within a short time of its existence we hear of its being split up into eleven sub-sects known as Theravāda (or Ārya Sthaviranikāya),<sup>2</sup> Mahāsāsaka, Dharmagupta, Sarvāstivāda, Sam, Kāśyāpiya, Sankantika (Sautrantika) and Suttavāda, Vātsīputriya (or Sammitiya), Dharmottariya, Bhadravāsiya, and Chanagarika.

The un-orthodox party too were split into seven sub-sects known as the Mahāsāṅghika, Gokulika (Kukkulika), Paññāptivāda (Prajñāptivāda), Bahusrūtiya, Cetiya-vāda, Ekavyavahārika and Lokottaravāda.

Besides these eighteen, we are told that there occurred a few more sub-divisions known as the Siddhatthika, Rājagiriya, Aparasāila, Pūrvasāila (collectively called the Andhakas), Uttarāpathaka, Vetulyaka, Hemavatika (Haimavata), Vājirīya, Hetuvāda, Vibhajjavāda, Abhayagiri-vāsin, Mahāvihāravāsin, Dhammarucika, and Sāgaliya.

The traditions slightly differ in naming the sects but on the whole there is a fair agreement and the differences may be overlooked at present.

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE SECTS

In the Ceylonese chronicles, the emergence of the sects has been shown in a genealogical form without any indication of their chronology while in Bhavaya and Vasumitra's treatise some indication by centuries has been given, e.g., Sarvāstivāda appeared at the beginning of the 3rd century after Buddha's death followed by the Vātsīputriya, Dharmottariya, Sammitiya, Channagiriya, and Mahāsāsaka. At the end of the 3rd century and beginning of the 4th, appeared the Dharmagupta, Kāśyāpiya and Sautrantika. As far as the sub-divisions of the Mahāsāṅghikas are concerned the sects appearing in the 2nd century after Buddha's death were the Ekavyavahārika, Lokottaravāda, Kukkuṭika (Gokulika) and Prajñāptivāda. Towards the close of the 2nd century appeared the Cetiakas and the Śāila schools. There is no doubt that the sects appeared one after another, and it seems these came into existence in close contiguity, and probably most of them may be dated within the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Buddha's death.

### INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCES

The only safe data by which we can proceed to establish the antiquity

<sup>2</sup> *It'sing* p. 10, Masuda's translation of Vasumitra's treatise in the *Asio Major*, II (henceforth referred to as "Masuda" only).

of a particular sect are the inscriptional evidences. Bühler<sup>3</sup> pointed out that he did not come across the names of any sect in Bharhut and Sanci inscriptions. In the inscription on Mathura Lion Capital (*circa* 120 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> the Mahasanghikas and the Sarvastivādins are mentioned as two rival sects. In the inscriptions during the reign of Kanishka and Huviska these two sects are mentioned more than once<sup>5</sup>.

It is only in the Amaravati and Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.), we come across the names of the Mahāsakas, Bahusrutiyas Caityakas and the Śāila schools. In the Sarnath inscription (300 A.D.) there is a reference to the Sammitiyas as ousting the Sarvastivādins who had previously ousted the Theravadins<sup>6</sup>. If we rely on the inscriptional evidences alone, we may chronologically place the origin of sects thus

- (i) Theravada and Mahāsanghika
- (ii) Sarvastivāda and Mahāsaka
- (iii) Bahusrutiya, Caityaka and Śāila schools
- (iv) Sammitiya

#### LITERARY EVIDENCES

The Ceylonese chronicles place the origin of the eighteen sects within a century after the Second Council pointing out only the gradual subdivisions of the sects. Bhavya Vasumitra and Vinīta-deva are not more helpful in this respect. The only literary evidence which is of any use to us is furnished by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*. He attributes the views discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* to particular sects and thereby helps us in finding out how many of the sects were in existence before the *Kathāvatthu* was composed. The list of sects so mentioned is as follows — Vatsīputriya (Sammitiya), Sarvastivāda, Mahasanghika, Kāśyāpiya, Pubbaseliya, Aparaseliya, Rajagūrika, Siddhatthika, Gokūlika, Bhadrāyānika, Mahāsaka, Uttarāpathaka, Hetuvādīn and Vetulyaka.

Unfortunately the date of composition of the *Kathāvatthu* is still a matter of uncertainty. The fact that it discusses views of a sect like the Vetulyakas or Suññatāvadins shows that though its compilation might have started quite early, accretions went on till a late date. The Vetulyakas or Suññatāvadins need not be placed later than the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and so we may take it for granted that the sects that the *Kathāvatthu* had in view were in existence about the 3rd century A.D. The inscription too does not take us much earlier regarding the date of origin of the Śāila and a few other sects. Vasumitra's date would have been the best landmark but the difficulty

3 J.R.A.S. 1892 p. 597

4 E. I., ix pp. 139, 141, 146

5 See my *Early Monastic Buddhism* (henceforth abbreviated as *EMB*), II, pp. 58 f., 122

6 E. I., ix p. 135

arises regarding the identification of Vasumitra the author of the treatise on the sects

### ORIGIN AND HOME OF THE SECTS

During the first century of its existence, Buddhism did not spread beyond Vesālī and Campā on the east, Kosambi and Avantī on the west, Mathura and Śrāvastī on the north, the southern limit being the boundaries of Anga and Magadha. The participants in the deliberations of the Second Council also hailed from this area. The two parties formed in this council lived together in Magadha but one preferred to proceed towards the west and the other to the east. The former adhered to the orthodox views and became known as Theravadins or Sthaviravadins, and the latter sided with the unorthodox and came to be called the Mahāsaṅghikas. The division between the two groups grew wider and wider, ultimately one paved the way to Hīnayāna and the other to Mahāyāna.

### THE MAHĀSANGHIKAS

The Mahāsaṅghikas continued to wield their influence at Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra and send out their monks to the north as well as to the south. Fahien<sup>7</sup> found the Vinaya of this school at Pāṭaliputra while Yuan Chwang<sup>8</sup> states that the Hīnayānic monks of Pāṭaliputra began the Mahāsaṅghika school. I tsing<sup>9</sup> found the adherents of this school mostly in Magadha a few in Lāṭa and Sindhu and some in a few places in northern southern and eastern India side by side with other sects. From the statement of the three Chinese pilgrims it is evident that the Mahāsaṅghikas remained in Magadha and had a few adherents in the northern and southern countries. The *stupa* at Andarab (Afghanistan)<sup>10</sup> and the cave at Karle (Bombay Presidency)<sup>11</sup> are dedicated to the teachers of the Mahāsaṅghika school. These are clear testimonies to the authenticity of the statement of I tsing.

The offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas however were mostly local ones. The most prominent of them were the Śāila schools known as Purvaśāilas, Aparāśāilas and Uttaraśāilas and Caityakas. The Śāilas or hills and mountains from which a particular branch derived its name are located around Amarāvātī and Nāgarjunikonda in the Guntur district. Along with the Śāila schools there were the Caityakas who probably derived the name from the Mahācaitya erected there and the Lokottaravadins who were so called for their dedication of Buddha.

From all these evidences we may conclude that the Mahāsaṅghikas were predominant in Magadha having their centres at Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra and that their offshoots were localised in the Guntur District, in and around Amarāvātī and Nāgarjunikonda.

7 Legge's Fahien, p. 98.

9 I tsing p. xxii.

11 E I vii pp. 641-711.

8. Watters, Yuan Chwang I p. 269.

10 E I xi p. 211.

## THE THERAVĀDINS

The Theravadins lived side by side with the Mahāsaṅghikas at Pāṭaliputra and other places in Magadha but as they probably could not maintain their orthodoxy in the observance of Uposathas and other ecclesiastical functions they preferred to withdraw themselves to centres which were not so assailed by unorthodox monks. They mostly retired to the west, and settled in Kauśambi and Avantī. The Theravadins also could not retain their solidarity for a long time for we hear of its disruption into several sub-sects, the prominent of which were the Mahīśasaka Dharmagupta Sarvāstivāda Sammutiya and Sautrāntika.

## THERAVĀDA VIBHAJYAVĀDA

There are ample evidences to show that the original Theravādins preferred Avantī to Magadha. Mahinda, the propagator of this school in Ceylon also hailed from Vidisa. In Ceylon the teachings of this school underwent certain changes for which it was distinguished there as Theravada Vibhajjavāda.<sup>12</sup> The Ceylonese monks of Mahavihara preferred to call themselves Vibhajjavādins<sup>13</sup> and not simply Theravadins. In Ceylon again the original school became further sub-divided into three sects known as Jetavanīya Abhayagiri-vāsins and Mahāvīharavāsins.

## THE MAHISASAKAS

Those of the Theravadins who wended their way southwards and sought an asylum in ancient Mahīśamaṇḍala became known as the Mahīśasakas. They settled in Vanavasi (North Kanara) and Mysore.<sup>14</sup> It is an old school claiming Purana of Dakṣinagiri as its patron saint. This school had doctrines and disciplinary rules closely allied to those of the Theravadins.

## DHARMAGUPTA

Some of the Theravada monks must have proceeded north adopting Sanskrit as the medium of their *piṭaka*.<sup>15</sup> They became known as the Dharmagupta. Prof. Przyluski<sup>16</sup> suggests that this school very probably derived its name from its founder Dharmagupta who may be identified with Dharmarakkhita, the Yonaka missionary sent to the north western countries.

12 We have similar distinction made in the case of another school viz, the Bahusrutiya vibhajjavāda — Prajnaptivāda there was also a Sarvastivāda vibhajjavāda. See *EMB* II p 196.

13 See *Cullavagga* chap. III colophon *Tiskapaṭṭhana* Cy, Colophon, *Dīpa* *ṭamisa* xviii 41 44.

14 *EMB* II p 113 114. Fa-hien found the Vinaya text of this school in Ceylon.

15 One of their texts is the *Abhinīṣṭramāṇa Sūtra* containing the life of Buddha.

16 *Le Concile de Rajagṛha* pp 325-6.

by Moggaliputta Tissa. Later evidences show that the Sogdians and Parthians took interest in the disciplinary rules of this school, and De Groot also remarks that the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas was actually in use in the Chinese monasteries<sup>17</sup>. Kouei ki, the commentator on Vasumitra's treatise, remarks that this school was popular in Central Asia and China.

### SARVĀSTIVĀDINS

Another branch of the Theravadins also moved northwards, making their seats at Mathura, in Gandhāra and Kāshmir. This school, called the Sarvastivādins on account of its fundamental doctrine of "*sarvam asti*", adopted Sanskrit as the medium of their *piṭaka*. It became very popular all over northern India and carried the palm in the days of Kanishka. It put into shade the oldest school the Theravadins and was for some time recognised as the best Indian exponent of original Buddhism. The monastic universities of the north made a special study of the Tripiṭakas of this school and it could count as its adherents some of the most distinguished writers on Buddhism like Saṃghabhadra, Vasubandhu, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva. Besides the three Piṭakas it possessed an extensive literature in the shape of commentaries (*Vibhāṣās*) for which it became later on known as the *Vaibhāṣika*. It extended its influence beyond the borders of India upto Central Asia but does not seem to have obtained a footing in China. Its Tripiṭaka was carried to China by the Chinese pilgrims and so was preserved there in translation. Kanishka became an ardent supporter of this sect and that accounts for its popularity all over northern India. The fact that its doctrines particularly were assailed by Nagārjuna, Vasubandhu (after his conversion to Yogācāra), Śāṅkara and other philosophical writers shows the amount of attention received by it from its opponents for several centuries.

### THE SAMMITIYAS

This school is better known as the Vātsīputriyas or Vajjiputtakas. It issued out of the Theravāda, and so its earlier home was Avantī for which it had the other appellation, Avantaka. It is mentioned in the Sarnath inscription proving thereby its existence for sometime at that place. According to I tsing it became popular in Lāṭa and Sindhu, with some followers in Magadha, and a few in southern and eastern India.

It is not possible to locate the remaining sects of the Theravāda branch. The only suggestion that we can offer is that the Kāśyāpiya, Sautrāntika, Haimavata and others remained, it seems, in the north, as they were collectively called the Uttarāpathakas by Buddhagosa. The rivalry of the Sautrāntikas with the Vaibhāṣikas, and the frequent mention of these two

17 *La Code du Mahayana en Chine*, p. 3

sects hint that they lived side by side in the monasteries of the northern countries, and had no particular local habitation

### DIFFERENCES IN VINAYA RULES

Vasumitra's text and the *Kathāvatthu* have pointed out the doctrinal differences of the sects but there is no source of information regarding the differences in disciplinary matters. That there was a certain amount of differences among the sects is evident from the account of the Third Council, the remote cause of which was that the monks of different sects refused to hold the Pātimokkha assembly together, as one group of monks was regarded as *aparīsuddha* (unclean) according to the disciplinary code of another. In the account of the First Council too, we read of differences of opinion between Mahākassapa and Purāṇa of Dakkhinagiri, relating to seven rules,<sup>18</sup> and these seven rules were actually incorporated in the Mahāsāsaka and Dharmagupta Vinaya texts. The differences between the Theravadins and the Mahāsāṅghikas regarding the ten points are too well known to be recounted here. A detailed study of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, which is now being published, clearly shows that differences in disciplinary rules were no less important than differences in doctrinal matters. Regarding the Sammitīyas, I t'ing remarks that their Vinaya had special rules regulating the use of undergarment, girdles, medicines, and beds.<sup>19</sup> These Chinese travellers also point out in a general way that in the cutting and wearing of robes the sects differed. In view of these findings, though stray and scanty, one has to admit that there were differences among the sects relating to disciplinary rules. In Chinese, as many as five Vinaya texts of five sects are preserved, indicating that there were differences in the recensions.<sup>20</sup> The remarks of I t'ing (pp 67) in this connection are interesting and so they are reproduced here: 'There are small points of difference such as where the skirt of the lower garments is cut straight in one, and irregular in another, and the folds of the upper robe are in size, narrow in one and wide in another. The Sarvāstivādins cut the skirt of the lower garment straight while the other three (Mahāsāṅghika, Sthavira Sammitīya) cut it of irregular shape. The same school ordains separate rooms in lodgings, while the Sammitīyas allow separate beds in an enclosure made by ropes. The Sarvāstivādins receive food directly into the hand but the Mahāsāṅghikas mark a place on which to place the food.'<sup>21</sup>

These points may appear minor to an outsider but were seriously taken by the monks, and even now such controversies rage among the monks in Chittagong, Ceylon and Burma.

18. *EMB*, I, p 331

19. *I t'ing*, pp 7, 66, 140

20. See Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*

21. This is also the practice at present followed by the monks at Chittagong in Burma and Ceylon.

## DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES

Along with the differences in disciplinary matters among the various sects, the differences in doctrines were no less keen. The *Kathāvatthu* and Vasumitra's treatise are devoted exclusively to the doctrinal differences, but their list does not take into account all the sects. From this it may be inferred that some of the sects had disciplinary differences only and not doctrinal. In doctrines also, many minor matters of faith and psychological analysis have been included, for our present purpose however, we shall skip over those and point out only the broad differences.

*Re Buddha and Bodhisattva* The Theravādins and their offshoots<sup>22</sup> were more or less in favour of conceiving Buddha as a human being who after strenuous exertion, attained full knowledge<sup>23</sup> and visualised the Truth. He was subject to the human frailties though by his *yogic* powers he could overcome the everyday events of a man's life. The Sarvāstivādins and Uttarāpathakas added only that the Buddha is above *maññā* and *karuṇā*, to which however, the Theravādins were not prepared to agree.<sup>24</sup>

All the sects held that the *mukṭi* of the Śrāvakayāna and Buddhayāna was the same though the *mārgas* might be different.<sup>25</sup>

Those who subscribed to the above view could not attribute to a Bodhisattva any superior qualities. According to them Bodhisattvahood indicated only the previous lives of Gautama Buddha.

The Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots were quite opposed to the above view. They held that Buddha is *lokottara* (supra mundane) and is made of *anāsrava* (pure) *dharma*s. His body, length of life, powers, etc. are all unlimited. It is his created body that appears in the world. In the words of the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 167-8), everything of the great *ṛṣi* is transcendental, including his advent into the world.<sup>26</sup>

As a corollary to the above conception of Buddha this group of schools conceived the Bodhisattva also in semi-transcendental form. According to them Bodhisattvas are self-born, and not born of parents. They do not pass through the embryonic stages. They take birth out of their own free will in any form of existence.

*Re Arhats* Next to the Buddhological speculations come the controversy relating to the attainments of an Arhat. In the eyes of the orthodox group, i.e., the Theravādins and their offshoots, *Arhat*hood marks the final stage of Śrāvakayāna, i.e. an arhat is a fully emancipated person, he has

22 Mahāśālikas, Sarvāstivādins, Uttarāpathakas, etc.

23 It is the attainment of *bodhi* and omniscience that make a Buddha (EVB II p. 172)

24 EVB., II pp. 147-8, 172

25 EVB., II, p. 164

26 For details, see EVB II, pp. 63-154



attained Nirvāṇa, the *summum bonum*. He cannot have any impurity, or ignorance about the truth, or doubt about the *Triśatna*. He is not subject to temptation and is above good and bad deeds and so cannot be said to acquire merits. He can have no retrogression from *arhat*hood.

The Sarvāstivādins however, differ on certain points regarding the attainments of an Arhat. They state that arhats are of two categories, viz., *sa(śva) dharmakuśala* (aware of one's own dharmas) or *paññāvimutta* and *paradharmaakuśala* (aware of one's own as well as other's dharmas) or *ubhatobhāgavimutta*. The Sarvāstivādins hold that Arhats of the former category acquire only *kṣaya*<sup>27</sup> and not *anutpāda*<sup>28</sup> *jñāna* and they are subject to retrogression, they do acquire merits. Of the 12 links of the causal chain four only, viz. *nāmarūpa*, *saḍaḥatana*, *sparśa* and *vedanā* remain active in the case of arhats. They are also subject to the effects of past *karma*.

The Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots on the contrary hold that arhats can have no retrogression from *arhat*hood but there was a section of the Mahāsaṅghikas who were probably followers of Mahādeva who attributed to the arhats the following frailties —(i) that they can be tempted by others (ii) they may have ignorance on certain matters, (iii) they may have doubt, and (iv) that they gain knowledge with others' help.<sup>29</sup>

The Śāila schools however, hold in agreement with the Sarvāstivādins that an arhat is subject to the deed of his former lives.

*Re Anupubbabhisamaya* (gradual realisation of the stages) According to the Sarvāstivādins and Saṃmitīyas the realisation of the four stages of sanctification takes place gradually but there is no bar to the realisation of the second and the third stages at one and the same time.

The Theravādins and Mahāsakas agree with the Mahāsaṅghikas in holding that the realisation of the four stages may take place all at once.<sup>30</sup>

*Re Percipient* The question raised is whether the organs of sense by themselves perceive or it is the *viññāna* of the organs of sense that perceives. The Theravādins and a section of the Mahāsaṅghikas subscribe to the latter view while the Sarvāstivādins and the Śāila Schools uphold the former.<sup>31</sup>

*Re Asaṃskṛtas* The Theravādins hold that there are only three *asaṃskṛtas* viz. *Pratisaṃkhyānirodha*, *Apratisaṃkhyanirodha* and *Ākasa*.<sup>32</sup> The Śāila schools increase them to nine by adding the four higher *saṃapattis* (trances), *prafītyasamuṭpadāṅgikatva* (or the unchangeable law of causa

27 That his impurities are gone

28 That he will have no more rebirth.

29 For detailed expositions of these four items, see *EMB*, II pp 64-65 85 ff

30 See *EMB* II pp 67 156

31 *Ibid*, pp 67, 101

32 *Kathāvatthu* points out that even *ākasa* should be excluded from the 1st of *asaṃskṛtas* as it is not *tanam lenam accutam amalam*. See *EMB*, II p. 102

tion), and the *āryamārgāṅgikatva* (or the fact of attainment of a *mārga* or *phala*) The Mahīśāsakas also count the number of *asaṃskṛtas* as nine, and their list of the additional six is as follows (i) *Acala* (or immovability), (ii) *kuśaladharmatathatā* (or the eternal law of good *dharma*), (iii) *akuśaladharmatathatā* (or the eternal law of bad *dharma*), (iv) *avyākṛta-dharmatathatā* (or the eternal law of indeterminate *dharma*), (v) *mārga-gatathatā* (or the eternal law of the path) and (vi) *pratityasamutpada-tathatā* (or the eternal law of causation) <sup>33</sup>

*Re Antarābhava* The conception of a temporary existence of a being after death and before rebirth (*mṛtyupapattibhavayorantarābhavatika yah*) was brought in for the first time by the Sarvāstivādins and then taken up by the Sammitīyas, and other schools Buddhaghosa says that this conception was unknown to the Theravādins but it was suggested by the class of beings known as the *Antarāparinibbayaī arhats* According to the Sarvāstivādins and others, this *antarābhava* serves as a link between one existence and another In the *Saptabhavasūtra*<sup>34</sup> it is even counted as one of the *gatīs* (forms of existence) and in the *Dharmaskandha* it is said to have *caḥṣus*, *caḥṣurindrya*, *caḥṣvāyatana* and *caḥṣurdhātu* <sup>35</sup> In the *Prakaranagrantha* as also in the *Prajñaptisāra* of the Sarvāstivādins, it is not counted as a *gati*, as it is neither *kliṣṭa* (bad) nor *kuśala* (good), it is *avyākṛta* and *akliṣṭa* <sup>36</sup> They further state along with the Sammitīyas that there is *antarābhava* in Kāma and Rūpa dhātus only and not in Arūpa The Theravādins and Mahīśāsakas, and the Śāila schools deny the existence of *antarābhava*

*Re Reals* The Sarvāstivādins maintain that five dharmas subdivided into seventyfive<sup>37</sup> exist in their subtlest form at all times whether in the past, present or future. They contend that constituted *objects* disintegrate but not the subtle *dharmas* themselves, *vedanā*, e.g., exists at all times, though it may temporarily be good bad or indifferent. From the controversy as given in the *Kathāvatthu*, the opinion of the Sarvāstivādins may be stated thus —

(i) The past and future do not exist but they are perceptible in the present.

(ii) It is the *bhāva* of each of the five *dharmas* and not *dharma*s that persist in the past present and future

(iii) An object may lose its pastness presentness, or futurity but not its objectness but that objectness is not identical with *nibbana* or *nibbana bhāva*, an arhat, e.g. has *atila raga* but he is not therefore *saṭṭāga*, in other words his *raga* is so subtle that it is ineffective

33 Masuda in *Asia Major*, II p 61

34 See *Abhidharmakośa* iii p. 13

35 *Ibid*

36 *Ibid.*, iii 4, pp 14 15

37 For the list see *EMB*, II pp 141 2

Among the Sarvāstivādin teachers, there are again differences of opinion relating to the interpretation of *sarvam asti*. Bhadanta Dharmatrāta maintains *bhāvānyathāhva* i.e. the past, present and future are differentiated on account of the non identity of *bhāva* and not of *dravya*. Bhadanta Ghosaka maintains *lakṣananyathāhva*, i.e., the dharmas in their transition from past to present and present to future undergo changes in characteristics (*lakṣanas*) only. Bhadanta Vasumitra holds *avasthanyathāhva* that the past, present and future of a *dharma* indicate only the difference in condition (*avastha*) of the same *dharma*. Bhadanta Buddhadeva maintains *anyonyathāhva*, i.e. past, present and future are spoken of relatively. Vasubandhu accepts the third interpretation as given by Vasumitra<sup>38</sup>.

The above opinion of the Sarvāstivāda is accepted by the later Mahīśāsakas but not the earlier who state that the present only exists but not the past and future. All other schools including the Sautrāntikas are opposed to this opinion of the Sarvāstivādins.

*Re Pudgala* The Sammitiyas or the Vātsīyas or the Vātsīputrīyas advocate the doctrine that there is a *pudgala* (a self, a personality) besides the five elements (*skandhas*) composing a being<sup>39</sup>. The *pudgala* is indefinable and persists through the several existence of a being till it reaches *nirvāna*. It is however, neither identical nor different from *skandhas*. It is changing along with the *skandhas*, and disappears when the *skandhas* disappear in *nirvāna*. It is not *kṣanika* (momentary) like the *skandhas*, and it has not all the properties of a constituted object, again it is also not unchanging and ever existing like *nirvāna*. In short, the *pudgala* is neither a constituted nor an unconstituted component of a being.

The Sautrāntikas may be pointed out as holding a doctrine similar to that of the Sammitiyas. They assert the continued existence of the very subtle *citta* (or *bīja* or *vāśana*)<sup>40</sup>. Vasumitra attributes to them the doctrine of the transference of *skandhamatra* from one existence to another, for which they may be identified with the Saṃkantika or the Saṃkrantivādins.

38 See *Abhidharmakośa-tyakhyā* Jap. ed., pp. 470-1

39 The Bhadrāyānikas, Dharmaguptas and Saṃkrantivādins accepted this view

40. The Dārṣṭāntika Sautrāntikas state that *citta* only exists and not *caittas* while other Sautrāntikas admit the existence of *citta* as well as *caittas*

# SOME SANDEŚĀ KĀVYAS & MALABAR GEOGRAPHY

By

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA

Kālidāsa has described many places in Western India in his Meghasandēśa. The description starts from somewhere near Nagpur and goes up to the Himalayas. It is mainly the Malwa country that he describes. After Malwa, the whole region up to the Himalayas is practically left off. Evidently Malwa was his home. After Kālidāsa, poets have written many Sandeśa Kāvya. But there are not many that have an interest from the point of view of either history or geography; many of them have taken a philosophical and religious turn. It is only when countries, cities, temples and other places are described, that the poem has an interest for us from the point of view of history and geography. Such Sandeśa Kāvya are rare, though the number of Sandeśa Kāvya is very high in Sanskrit Literature.

In imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghasandēśa, the poets of Malabar have composed many Sandeśa Kāvya and they have a real interest for the students of Malabar History. In these Sandeśa Kāvya, the poets find an opportunity to describe many kingdoms, many temples, many palaces, many rivers and many such places. Many of these Sandeśa Kāvya are not available in print and no attempt has been made to tap the rich source of information for the reconstruction of the history of ancient Malabar.

What is called Malabar is the land on the west coast where the Malayalam language is spoken. The people have preserved a distinct mode of life through many centuries. It is only in recent times that the life in Malabar has shown signs of change and a tendency to be equated with the life in other parts of India. *Caste distinction, the village organisation, marriage and inheritance, dress and food, houses and temples*—in all such matters Malabar shows some distinctive feature. Malabar is at present divided into three political units, namely the States of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency. The advent of the Portuguese and the Dutch, the wars between the Zamorins of Calicut and the Rajas of Cochin in which the European nations took sides, later the rise of the power of the Muslim rulers of Mysore and their interference in the affairs of Malabar, the appearance of the English on the scene and the part played by them in shaping the political structure of the west coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—these factors have changed the whole phase of Malabar history and geography.

There was a time when Malabar was parcelled out into a large number of small kingdoms. There was no power that could be called the Paramount

**Power of Malabar** The history of the days of the Perumals when Malabar was supposed to have had a political unity, is shrouded in the veil of mythology and anecdotes. The Pāṇḍya and Cola kings had some sort of power over portions of Malabar at times, especially in the southern parts. But at the time I propose to deal with there was no such external authority wielding power in Malabar. In describing the geography of Malabar during this particular period, which I propose to consider in this Paper, I have to deal with the following Sandeśa Kāvyaś. I give below a brief account of each of them.

**I THE ŚUKASANDEŚA** This is by tradition known to have been written by a Nambudiri Brahmin named Lakṣmīdāśa belonging to the house of Karṇāmpilly on the banks of the Alwaye River in modern Travancore. In this Sandeśa the message is sent through a parrot from Rameswaram on the east coast to a place called Triṅkanamattilakam (Item 28) near Cranganore (Item 27). This was the seat of the kings of Malabar in ancient days and it was a very important city till a few centuries ago. The route is through Cape Comorin and Trivandrum. The work is available at the Mangalodayam Ltd Trichur (Cochin State).

The exact date of this work is not known. According to local tradition it is before the time of Śaṅkarācārya. But such an early date is not accepted by many scholars. Anyway it must be earlier than the thirteenth century A.D., as will be evident from the description of the next Sandeśa. Sukasandeśa will be designated as SK.

**II UNNUNILISANDEŚA** This is a poem in Malayalam. Except in the matter of language, it follows the technique of Sanskrit Sandeśa Kāvyaś, and it is an imitation of Kālidāśa's Meghasandeśa. The only difference is that in this poem there are six verses as an introduction in which there is a Mangala and a description of the heroine and a dedication of the work for the joy and glory of the heroine by the hero (who is evidently the poet himself). The author is a member of the Vadakkunkūr royal family, the northern branch of the Bimbili kings, now a part of the Travancore State.

This poem must be assigned to the fourteenth century since there is the reference to the messenger (a member of another royal family) having fought against the Tuluṣka army (evidently the Sultans of Madura). The route is from Trivandrum to Sindhudvīpa the capital of the Vatakkunkūr or northern branch of the Bimbili kingdom (see item 16). This poem will be designated UN.

**III KOKILASANDEŚA** This is by the poet Uddanḍa who is supposed to have been living in Malabar in the early part of the fifteenth century. The route described is from Canjeevaram in the Chinglepet District of the Madras Presidency to a place called Chennamaṅgalam (now a part of the Cochin State) between the two arms of the Alwaye river (item 24). The messenger is asked to enter Malabar through Mysore (Hosala kingdom) in its north

eastern corner The poem closely follows Kālidāsa's Meghasandeśa in technique, and is supposed to be a complement to Śukasandeśa (No I above), in so far as this poem describes such portions of Malabar as are not included in the other This will be designated as KL The work is available at Manalodayam Ltd, Trichur (Cochin State)

IV. MAYŪRASANDEŚA In technique this follows No II above in so far as there are two introductory verses (a mangala and a mention of the heroine and the poem in honour of her) before the hero in separation is introduced The poem mentions Uddanna the author of the previous poem as a living poet and as such its date is also in the fifteenth century The route described is from Trivandrum to a place called annakara (item 35) near Trichur (Item 31)

The author of the poem is identical with the author of Kaumudī the commentary on Abhinavagupta's Dhvanyālokalocana, this is all that is definitely known of the author, so far as available evidences go, there is reason to assume that he belonged to a royal family in modern Cochin State (the writer's own family) The poem will be designated MR, This is printed in the Poona Oriental Series

V. BHĪRAMARASANDEŚA This is by one Vasudeva and must be assigned to the first half of the seventeenth century It mentions Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa whose date is definitely known from many of his works It also mentions his teacher Acyuta (Piṣaroṭi) the date of whose death is also known as 1624 A.D. The route described is from Trivandrum to a place in Malabar District called Śvetadurga (white fort), which may be identified with the present Kottakal, a few miles to the north of the Tirur railway station on the Madras to Mangalore railway line, 388 miles from Madras. (See under item 44) The work has been printed as No 128 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series This will be designated BR

VI. KOKASANDEŚA This is a beautiful Malayalam poem of which only a portion has been found and this portion has been published in the Quarterly Journal of the Pan Kerala Literary Academy for October November 1942 The date cannot be definitely fixed The language is fairly old It must be later than 1500 A.D. in so far as it records the conquests of parts of the Cochin territory by Zamorin of Calicut This describes the route from a place called Thiruprañkot (item 44), a few miles to the south-east of Tirur railway station (mentioned in the previous section), to Quilon (Item 7) in Travancore State This will be designated KK The portion received ends with the description of Idappilli (see under item 20)

Although I have mentioned six works, and although there are many more Sandeśa Kāvyas which describe portions of Malabar, I am taking into consideration mainly three of the above, the Śukasandeśa (No I), Kokulasandeśa (No III) and Mayūrasandeśa (No IV), since they exhaust the whole term

tory from one end of Malabar to the other, and also since they are the earliest. The Sandeśa Kāvya I and III would have been enough for the purpose. Yet the route in IV is slightly different from the route in III, and IV mentions and describes important places on the route not found in the others. I will make ample references to the others when there is occasion.

What is noteworthy in these Sandeśakāvyas is the fact that between Cranganore (item 27) and Quilon (no 7), there is no mention of the places on the present coast line. Now we have two very important Ports in this stretch of land, namely, Alleppey and Cochin. It has to be assumed that in those days the coast line was much more to the east in this part of the country. Perhaps there were sandbanks, which later became habitable places. Thus except in the seventeenth century Sandeśa (No V), no other poem mentions a place on the present day coast line between Quilon and Cranganore. The sea at that time must have been washing the shores at places now represented by Kottayam and Ernakulam and what are now back waters were then open sea.

Another interesting point that I have noticed is that there is no reference to any boat traffic at all along this coastal region. Now, the so-called back waters between the coastal strip of land and the mainland joined together by occasional canals form one of the most striking features of the west coast, and boat traffic along these back waters has become very important. Perhaps in those days there was nothing like a back water system, there was only the open sea with occasional sand banks. It is true that Ibn Batuta mentions his journey from Calicut to Quilon in ten days and his halting at the capital of a chieftain, now attempted to be identified with the principality of Villārvattam which about the year 1600 A.D. was merged into the Cochin State (see Cochin State Manual p. 96). Perhaps he travelled by sea and not by a back water.

Now there is a connected water route from Malabar to Trivandrum for nearly three hundred miles. Until there was the railway line opened and motor vehicles also began to ply, the water route was the only one available for long distance journeys.

We have to assume that the Sandeśakāvyas describe the route ordinarily known and used in those days, and such routes must have taken a direction which would pass along the principal temples and cities and other places of public interest. Or perhaps, such places grew up in those localities on account of the fact that the popular route lay along that line. Thus we are in a position to chart the old route in Malabar from one end to the other by an examination of these Sandeśakāvyas. With these preliminary remarks I give below brief notes on the various places noted in these Sandeśakāvyas.

1. CAPE COMORIN Described in Sk. (35), where there is a temple of Kumārī. Starting from Rameswaram, the route comes to Malabar, which

is spoken of as the country ruled by Brahmins, the mirror for the (prowess of the) hands of Paraśurāma, shining with betel leaves, cocoa nut trees and arica nut trees (24)

2 VĀRAGIRI This comes after Cape Comorin, to the north, a little off the regular route, where sages perform penance and where celestial beings sport. The place is not definitely identified (Sk 36)

3 SUCHINDRA The famous temple of Suchindra is described in SK 37 and 38. Here persons alleged to have been guilty of illicit relations with Brahmin ladies could get their innocence proved through the ordeal of dipping their hands into boiling ghee, this ordeal continued in that place for a long time. There is also a Brahmin Agrahara in front.

4 TRIVANDRUM Designated *Syānandūra*, which is a Sanskritisation of the Malayalam form *Tīrendram* of the Sanskrit *Śrī Anantapura*, which first becomes *Tiru Anantaṭṭura* and then *Tīrendra* in Malayalam (SK 40 to 48, MR 26 to 35). Viṣṇu as *Anantaśayana*, the great *Bali* festival, the jewels, silks and other shining objects that are very conspicuous in that festival—the young men and charming ladies who assemble to witness the festival—all these are described in both. There is no mention of the royal residence there, since that city became the seat of the Government only at a much later time. UN also describes the city, and it too does not mention the royal residence. BR mentions the reigning King there as *Ravi Varman*, but one is not certain if Trivandrum itself was the seat of the Government. It is said that the route starting from Trivandrum lies through the country ruled by king *Ravi Varman*. It is not also quite certain to which political division in southern Malabar this city belonged at that time. Quilon was the most important kingdom at that time, in the south. SK devotes 6 more verses to describe the morning in that place. MR speaks of the ocean immediately after leaving Trivandrum. So does UN also. Trivandrum is, to all the poets, one of the most important places in Kerala even in those times. The temple and the festival must have been known throughout the country.

5 A ŚIVA TEMPLE MR. speaks of a Śiva temple after leaving Trivandrum (50) and before reaching Varkala (next item). It is spoken of as surrounded by sea. There is now a temple called *Kaṭhinakkulam*, which has the open sea on one side and the back water on the other side. There is archaeological evidence of once there having been a Śiva temple in the sea itself, surrounded by ocean which has now disappeared. The temple was known as *Śrīmūlavāsam* and it was at one time a Buddhist Temple. It must have been near Varkala and not further to the north in the middle Travancore (see *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol II, Part II, the Paper on Buddhist and Jain vestiges in Malabar). It is more likely that it is this lost temple that is referred to than the present *Kaṭhinakkulam*. UN also mentions a Śiva temple after leaving Trivandrum and before reaching Varkala (57 to 61).



6 VARKALA This is a famous Kṛṣṇa temple now called Janārdana, where the tank with crystal water is world famous (MR 50, UN 66, 67)

7 QUILON This is another famous place, described in detail in all the Sandeśakāvyaś. It is famous for its wealth and opulence. It is the capital of the Kūkapā kings, who belong to the lunar race (SK 54 to 56, MR 51 to 55, CN 67 to 71, BR 25 to 27)

8 TWO RIVERS SK speaks of two rivers after Quilon (57). We are not sure of the identity of these rivers. The coast line from Quilon to Cranganore has changed considerably and the topography too has altered.

9 OṬANAD MR (57) speaks of the rich country of Oṭanād and mentions the fertile fields before reaching this country.

10 KANṬIYŪR This is another wealthy city on the west coast in olden days and this is the capital of the Kayankulam kings who belonged to the Yadava dynasty. The country was annexed to the Travancore State by king Martanda Varma in the beginning of the eighteenth century. MR specially mentions the handsome ladies of the place (58 and 59). UN also (100) describes the charms of the place.

11 PANAYANĀR This is a Kālī temple described in MR (60), where the name is not given. UN gives the name of the temple (113). MR speaks of Kālī playing with the skull of the Asura as with a ball.

12 TIRUVALLA This is a famous Viṣṇu temple, described in SK (58 and 59), MR (60 to 62) and UN (119 to 121). Special mention is made of the learned Brahmans and the devotees in the temple.

13 MANIKANṬHA TEMPLE SK speaks of a forest after Tiruvalla (60) and MR describes this Viṣṇu temple (63) where there is the Goddess who gives food to all (Items 12 and 13 are in Tekkunkū country).

14 VAṆCULA RIVER MR describes this in 64 and 65 and UN in 129. MR also speaks of the gardens and their beauties after this river.

15 ETTUMĀNŪR This is a great Śiva temple (MR 67 and UN 132). The place is designated in Sanskrit as kīrtimadgrāma. Ettam means "fame" (kīrti), āna means "having" (mat), ūr means "village" (grāma).

16 SINDHUDVĪPA This is the destination in UN. Sindhu means "ocean" (Kaṭal) and dvīpa means "island" (turuttu). So Sindhudvīpa is the Sanskrit equivalent of the modern Katatturuttu, near the famous Śiva temple called Vaikom. This is the capital of the northern branch of the Bimbilī country (Vaṭakkumkūr), the southern branch being round about Nos 12 and 13 above, known as Thekkunkur. Both MR and SK speak of the elephants there. (MR 68 to 70, SK 60 and 61). These two countries were annexed to the Travancore State at a later time.

17 PHULLĀ RIVER MR describes this in 71 and 72 and SK in 62. The river is now known as Muvvattupuzha which joins the back water south of Ernakulam.

18.  **BRAHMIN VILLAGES.** Both SK. and MR. speak of the famous Brahmin villages after crossing this river. These villages were occupied by very learned Brahmins (MR. 73 ; SK. 62).

19.  **RAVIPURA.** MR. mentions this in 74. SK. mentions the temple where the deity has Ananta as pedestal, but does not mention the name of the temple. MR. also describes the deity in the same way. Both speak of the learned Brahmins who were well-versed in the meaning of the Upaniṣads. The place is the modern Tripunithura, the residence of the Maharajas of Cochin.

20.  **SUBRAHMANYA TEMPLE.** SK. speaks of a Subrahmanya temple here through a double meaning, there is reference also to a great Brahmin named Subrahmanya, who used to live opposite the temple. The temple has now been identified as with the Vayattil temple, two miles to the north of Tripunithura.

There is great difficulty in ascertaining a few names after this. Before we take up those names, I must state that although the route described in the old poems are along a more easterly line, that must have been the coastal line at that time. Katatturuttu, mentioned in item 16, can have that name only if that had been on the coast. Turuttu need not mean an island ; it may also mean sandy bank. Now it is a little inland ; then there is the back-water and also the coastal strip of land before we reach the sea. On this present coastal strip is the important port of Allepey and a few miles to the south of this town, there is the temple of Ampalappuzha, where once ruled King Devanārāyaṇa, the patron of poets and scholars, a great scholar and warrior himself. The famous Malabar poet, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa lived in his court ; so did at a much later time, the great Malayala poet Kuñican Nambiyār and also a great Sanskrit poet of the same time named Rāma Pāṇivāda. It is only in BR. that we have a mention of Devanārāyaṇa. One is not sure if even BR. is speaking of the coastal territory or only some town more to the east. The mention is after the two Bimbili countries.

Vaikom is another famous Śiva temple. This is not mentioned in any of the older poems. But BR. mentions it. The route in the older poems lies very near the temple. The inference should be that it was not an important temple at that time or that the temple did not exist at all.

After passing Tripunithura, BR. mentions the great ancestral palace of the Cochin Maharajas on the west coast. Perhaps this is the modern Cochin Palace built for the Maharajas of Cochin by the Dutch.

Even though those places might have become solid land at that time and even though some villages or even towns might have sprung up, the ordinary route in those days lay much to the east of the present-day coastal line. That is certain. It may not be that Cochin and Alleppey did not exist then. The probability is that they were insignificant places and came into

prominence when later the Portuguese and the Dutch came and settled down on the coastal region

21 A ŚIVA TEMPLE. After Tripunithura and the Subrahmanya temple (items 19 and 20) SK mentions a great Śiva temple. It is simply introduced as "that temple". It must have been so very famous at that time that no special mention of the name was needed. In the notes in the edition of the work in Malayalam script with Malayalam translation, the annotator says that the temple is the one at Trikkakara two miles to the east of Idappilly (now a railway station next to Ernakulam on the way to Shoranur). Others say that it is the temple at Trikkarur, a few miles to the east of Alwaye railway station on the same line (one next to Idappilly). There is a third opinion that it is the temple of Peruvaram in Parur, on the island formed by the two arms of the Alwaye river. All that SK. says is that in the temple, the twelve two eight and eleven (total 33) gods reside. MR also speaks of all the gods (certainly the 33 gods) reside there. In Trikkakara there are many minor deities installed. So is the case with Peruvaram. But SK. says that the river Cunnī (taken to be the Alwaye river) flows not far. So the preference is for Trikkarur. The minor deities installed in the two temples have nothing to do with the 33 gods.

Now, KK. mentions a place called Ulanad and also a temple there where the Deity had to give up half his body to Parvatī after his defeat in his fight with Kāma and as for the other half he had to remain content with being 33rd in rank. Now in the Upaniṣad enumeration Prajapati (i.e. Śiva himself) comes as the 33rd. This description has some relevancy only if in the temple there were the 33 gods. MR speaks of the god "who is a moon to the moon stone of the heart of Pārvatī." Taking these things together, we have to assume that in SK. and in MR the temple mentioned is just the one mentioned in KK (SK. 65, MR 75 KK 88 and 90).

MR here mentions a Śankara, who is very liberal and who feeds Brahmins, who is a great authority on Śukra and Bārhaspatya niti. Since the place is in the Parur country, some scholars assume that Śankara is the king of that country who was known as Śankararama. But he is known only as Śankararama or as Rāmaśankara and never as mere Śankara. It is very likely that he is the author of Jayamangala commentary on Arthaśāstra. If this is so this gives us the date of that commentary, namely, about 1400 A.D. which is the date of MR.

22 BALYA COUNTRY. This is the most difficult place to fix. It is described in MR. (78 to 85). The place is not known in any other place in literature. All that we know from MR. about the location is that it is to the east of the route to be followed. In the palace the messenger is told that he could meet the great poet Uddanḍa. Uddanḍa is by popular tradition, known only to be connected with the Zamorin of Calicut and not with such

a southern country. It is also said in the course of the description that the capital of the country is Bhūtivāhinī. This city too is not known in Malabar from any other source.

From the similarity of the name Balya with Villārvattam, which is a known country, there is a tendency to identify the two places. The great difficulty is that Villārvattam is not to the east of the route, but rather on the route itself, in so far as it is identified with Chennamangalam, the place where Paliyat Achan now lives. This is also the destination in KL. (See item 24 below). This is just to the north of Peruvaram temple or Ulanād mentioned under the previous item and much to the west of Trikkakara or Trikkarur mentioned in the same item. There is another difficulty that in MR the hero speaks of this country and its capital as "my own." The author is a king himself and he cannot be expected to speak of the capital of a petty chieftain like Villārvattam as "my own." There is no way of bringing about any sort of relationship between the hero (who is also the author of MR) and the Villārvattam family.

I am inclined to identify Balya with Perumpatappu family the modern Cochin Royal family. According to Pāṇini (V u 120), taken along with a Vārtika, Balya means "having renowned army." Perum means "great" or "renowned" and paṭa means "army." Thus Balya can be the Sanskritisation of Perumpaṭa Śivavilāsa, mentioned in item 26 below, denotes this family in Sanskrit as bahuvyāpti, which means having great expansion (perum patarpu). Balya may be a similar adaptation into Sanskrit. MR has many other similar adaptations like ingudībhūvibhāga for oṭanād (item 9) and kīrtmadgrāma for ettumanur (item 15). This family is known to have had the overlordship of Malabar and they are styled Keraledhāsvara, the Rāja (see item 26 below). Thus one can understand how the hero (and the author, who is himself a king, speaks of this palace as "his own," in so far as it is the palace of his overlord.

Then there is the word "Bhūtivāhinī" which is the name of the capital of the Balya country. Bhūti means ashes and vāhinī means river, or even a tank. So some people try to identify this with a tank called Cāraakkulam (ash tank), which is near the site of the palace, if the country is identified with Villārvattam. It may be that the palace had the name and the tank retains the name now. But Bhūtivāhinī can also mean "Vellār" and it may be the place called Vellārppili, which was the seat of the Perumpatappu family for a long time. Thus the Balya country can be the country of the Perumpatappu family.

In this latter assumption, there is only one difficulty. The river Cūṛṇī is described after Balya country (Item 25). But Vellārppili is after the Alwaye river with which Cūṛṇī is identified. Here one matter must be taken into consideration. The Alwaye river is known only as Marudvīthā and not

**Cūrṃī** In all the descriptions, Cūrṃī is related with Tiruvañcikkulam (item 26) It may be that the name Cūrṃī is given only to the part of the river, after it joins the other river called Chalakkudi river now, and known to Sanskrit as Nau The portion of the river after this confluence is short (Cūrṃī) and Tiruvañcikkulam is on that part If this is what is meant by Cūrṃī, then Cūrṃī comes after Balya (even according to my explanation) and everything is all right

Here I must also say that in KK when Idappillī is described there is the epithet "Vasutatimahāvāhinījūṣṭapārśva" This is identical with Bhūtivahinī The expression in MR is 'bhutivahinyakhyā' (named Bhūtivahinī which may be a mistake for "brutivahinyāhinyāḍhyā" (adorned by bhūtivāhinī) Then bhūtivahinī is a river between the Idappilly country and Perumpaṭappu country Since the coastal region has undergone much change, it is not possible to identify this river now Even the course of the Alwaye river has changed much Its southern arm now is not what it once was, if there was such an arm in ancient times Vasutatimahāvahinī or bhutivahinī can very well be the upper part of the Alwaye river before it branches off into the two arms This may be another name Idappillī is only five miles from it which may be its northern boundary Vellarppillī is on its bank a little further up Bhutivahinī and Vasutatimahāvahinī answer to the Malayalam word Muta-lār Mutal means wealth and Ār means river I am told that there is such a river in that locality But when I made further inquiries the first information has not been confirmed The matter needs further elucidation

The only notable thing about Balya country mentioned is that there are extensive sugar-cane plantations in the country

**23 ABHINAVAKURUMBA TEMPLE** This is mentioned in MR (74) as near the palace of the Balya kings There Brahmans are fed sumptuously There are many Kālī temples on the banks of the Alwaye river which are supposed to be later installations of the Kālī temple called Putiya Kavū (new temple) near the site of Villarvaṭṭam, but that is far too much to the west, to fit in with the route Near Vellarppillī there is a temple called Putiyēḍat (also meaning new temple), and this may be the temple that is meant here Cranganore is called Kurumba and has also the name of Kotunnallur Thus Abhinavakurumba appears to be the Sanskritisation of a name Ilannallūr But I have not been able to locate a Temple dedicated to the Goddess in that locality, having such a name All that I can say is that the Idappallī royal family has the name of Ilannallur also But the description is here about the Perumpaṭappu family and not Idappallī family

**24 JAYANTAMANGALA** This is the modern Chennamangalam which lies within the two arms of the Alwaye river There is the Narasimha temple described by Uddanḍa in his KL (91) This place is the destination in KL Uddanḍa's consort lived here in a house called Mārakkara At present the

residence of the Paliyath Acchans the minister and commander in chief of the Cochun Maharajas for a long time is in this place But no Sandeśakāvya mentions this Villārvattam is supposed to have been here and the last member of the family gave over the rights of the family to the Paliyath Achan

25 CŪRNĪ This is supposed to be the Alwaye river, most likely it is only the lower reaches of the river, after it is joined by the Chalakkudi river that bore this particular name All the poets describe this river with great enthusiasm It is described as a charming lady, whom it is very difficult to ignore and pass by The sports of the ladies of Mahodayapura (next item) is specially mentioned in the poems (SK 65 to 67, KL 87 to 90, MR 86 to 89) In BR Cūrnī is supposed to form a moat on the eastern side of the ancestral palace of the Perumpaṭappu kings on the west coast, which palace is identified with the palace at Cochun

26 MAHODAYAPURA This is the modern Tīruvañcikkulam on the Alwaye river along its lower reaches This was the seat of the Perumals It was also the residence of the Perumpaṭappu kings (modern Cochun royal family) and in a work called Śivavilasa the Perumpaṭappu king is mentioned as living at this place (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras R. No 5146 I have my own copy) The Śiva temple here is called Añjanākṣetra (MR 90, KL 87) and Pañcaranga in BR (63) It is spoken of as the seat of the Keraladhīsvaras (MR 91) and of the Rāja in SK. (68) BR also uses the same expression (61) In connection with a paramount power in Malabar, it must be mentioned in this connection that in ancient literatures which I am now examining the Perumpaṭappu kings are the only paramount power spoken of There is no early literary evidence of the last Perumal having distributed his kingdom and titles to five of his heirs

27 CRANGANORE This is Kurumba temple The Kālī temple here is well known in the whole of Malabar The devotion to the Goddess, of even the trees is specially mentioned (SK 71 KL 91, MR 92)

28 TRIKKAṆAMATILAKAM This city is designated as Gunaka in all the poems This is the destination in SK KL does not mention it MR speaks of it and mentions the great poets and the charming ladies of the place (93 and 94) This city was ruined long ago It was once a very opulent city Now it is only an ordinary village

29 IRINJALAKKUDA This is called Sangamagrāma The Deity is described in all ancient poems as Viṣṇu MR mentions the four arms of the Deity holding the disc, club conch and akṣa bead A very late poem speaks of the Deity as Bharata son of Daśaratha and brother of Rāma The modern notion too is that the Deity is Bharata There is a tank called Kuḷi pinī (MR 95 to 97 KL 85) BR also speaks of this place (70) The Brahmins of the place were well versed in Vedas and were performing the vedic sacrifices.

30 A VILLAGE After Irinjalakkuda MR (98) mentions of villages resided by very holy Brahmins

31 TRICHUR MR (98) and KL (81) mention this place The Śiva temple here is very famous MR. says that the messenger can hear the drum beaten by Nandi during Śiva's evening dance, on his way The route in MR does not lie along Trichur, but only a few miles to the west. The route in KL is through Trichur

32 VENKITANGU This is a village to the west of Trichur This is mentioned in MR (99) and also in KK (38) MR. speaks of the famous Śankamārāyaṇa temple here, which exists even now

33 BRAHMAKULAM This is a great Brahmin village a few miles to the north of the previous and a few miles to the south of the modern Guruvayoor temple The Śiva temple and the great tank in front are mentioned in MR (100 to 104), they are found even now The great scholars of the place who learned the Vedas even in their childhood are specially mentioned Nārāyaṇa the commentator of Raghuvamśa and Udaya commentator of Kauṣītaki Brahmana were natives of this village

34 ILAVALLI Designated abhinavalatā in MR (105), this place has a famous temple of the Goddess the image is supposed to have grown on the spot and not installed there. It is an immense image.

35 ANNAKARA This is the destination in MR It is to the east of the previous which itself is to the south east of the still previous one. The temple is dedicated to the Goddess who is supposed to be the giver of food to all

36 ŪRAKAM This is on the route followed in KL. This is to the north of Irinjalakkuda (item 29) There is a temple dedicated to the goddess It is even now a famous Devī temple (KL 84)

37 PERUVANAM This is mentioned in KL. (82 and 83) There is an ardhanaṛśvara temple, which is one of the so called Grāma temples in Malabar (so are Irinjalakkuda and Trichur) Vasudeva the author of Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya belonged to this village.

38 PORKULAM KL. speaks of this place (78 to 80) The great Mimāṃsakas the Bhaṭṭas of Payyoor house, belonged to this village. In KL. there is a glowing tribute given to these Bhaṭṭas.

39 MUKKOLA There is a famous Durga temple here and KL. mentions the place (77), BR. also mentions this (80) This has been and continues to be one of the most important temples in Malabar Once this was a great intellectual centre Many a well known author of ancient Malabar belonged to this place.

40 NETRANĀRĀYANA'S COUNTRY This is the famous portion of Malabar known as Vanneri country, which belonged to the Talappili Rajas.

Uddanḍa says that this is the most famous portion of Malabar (75) Netra nārayana is the name of Azhavancheri Thamprakkal, who performs the coronation ceremony of the Malabar kings KK also mentions this family of preceptors (29) KL mentions the family in 76

41 CHAMRAVATTAM This is a Śiva temple in the Ponani river (known in literature as Nilā river) It is a frail building, yet in the fiercest flood of the river, even a tile on the shrine is not shaken (KL 74)

42 TIRUNAVAY This is on the banks of the same river, a little higher up There is a stone mark near the Viṣṇu temple here, if the water rises to that mark the temple in Chamravattam would be under flood There is both a Śiva and a Viṣṇu temple on the left bank of the river and a Viṣṇu temple on the right bank This latter is the famous temple of Tirunavay In this place a great national festival called Mamāṅkam (Mahāmakham) used to be celebrated in ancient times The Zamorins presided over the ceremony It is the greatest honour for a Malabar king to be able to preside over this festival The platform where the presiding king stood was attacked by other kings in order to take possession of it and to preside over the festival and this gave occasion for great feats of valour There are many tales of heroism connected with this festival current in Malabar All the poems speak of this festival and the Zamorin who presided over it. (KL 71 and 72, KK 19 to 24, BR 82 to 88)

43 NILĀ This is the Ponani river This is one of the most famous rivers in Malabar The Mamāṅkam festival was celebrated on its sandy banks. This was supposed to have some connection with the installation of the Perumals But there is no historical evidence of any connection between this place and the Perumals

44 TRIPRANGOT This is another famous Śiva temple. It is supposed that Śiva killed Yama at this place. Even now there is a banyan tree on the northern side, which is supposed to have parted itself at the bottom portion of its trunk to give way to Markandeya when he was running towards the Deity for protection from Yama who was chasing him. The banyan tree is even now in that position, the trunk is split each half being on either side of the path and both parts joining together up looking like an archway There is a tank in the temple in which the water is reddish supposed to be due to the blood of Yama when Śiva washed his trident after killing him Another tank is called Vellot tank The temple is in the Vettathunad country (Prakāśa kingdom) The place is mentioned in (KL 69 and 70) This is the starting point in KK.

45 CALICUT This city is mentioned by Uddanḍa (KL 63 to 68) The greatness of the Zamorin Raja the trade and the ships in the harbour the handsome ladies and their sports in the city—all these things are described. But there is no mention of the Academy of learned men, which is famous in Malabar history of the later days.



After item 33 above the route in KK and BR comprehend some important places not mentioned in KL whose route is different Guruvayoor temple is mentioned in KK (34 to 37) and BR (76 to 78) and the latter speaks of the rheumatic patients who get cured by worshipping in the temple. KK. speaks of the mid day worship where handsome ladies participate

KK. (33) also mentions a great Kālī temple to the north of this place called Kaviṭṭal which is a well known temple even now Then there is the village called Vailattur (33) further to the north the residence of the third Raja of Talappillī whose fame spreads there like the scent of flowers (31 and 32) and the Govindapuram temple more to the north (30) where the worshippers immediately reach heaven

To the east of the house of Netranarayana (Item 40) there is the house of Tīrimalaṣṣeri a Brahmin belonging to the Panniyur village who was far famed for his martial feats and also there is the temple of Vivardhanapura (KK 25 to 27)

After Tīrunavay BR speaks of the temple of Trīkkandiyur to the west (89) where there is the great astronomer Achuta who is known as the teacher of Narayanabhaṭṭa Then there is the temple of Chandanakkaṭṭu (paṭravaṭṭi) where there is the great poet Narayanabhaṭṭa and his brother Maṭṭadatta (91 and 92) Further on (92) there is the country of the Vallabha kings (Valluvanad) and the city called Śvetadurga which is the destination in BR This city may be identified with the modern Kottakal the residence of one of the branches of the Zamorin family On further inquiry I find that the place may as well be Nirankaitakotta further to the east of this place Near this place there is a house called Ceriyakkam (Balayakṣari of the Sandeśa) to which house belonged the heroine

46 KOLATTIRI This is one of the most important of the ancient kingdoms in Malabar It is the western half of the part of Malabar to the north of Calicut (KL 60) The place is mentioned as famous for cardamom

The great poet Śankara is mentioned as living there The kings of the place were great patrons of learned men

47 TRICCBARA This is a great Viṣṇu temple (KL 60)

48 TALIPPARAMBA This is another of the ancient Malabar villages where there is a Grāma temple dedicated to Śiva It is supposed to be just like Trichur KL. (49 to 55) speaks of the great Brahmins who perform worship in that temple. Though the route is a little longer yet the messenger is asked to go to the place and see its greatness

49 KOTTAYAM This is the seat of the royal family called Purali KL. speaks of an ancient king named Hariscandra The kings were patrons of the Āmarila school There is mention of the princess Śvatī This kingdom is on the eastern side of North Malabar The last king was defeated by the English The place is described in KL. (43 to 47)

50 VĀNMAYI This is a river to the eastern side of Kottayam There is a temple on the banks Only during the annual festival is the temple open The Deity is supposed to be so very ferocious that no worshipper goes there except during that annual festival

51 TIRUNELLI This is the first place mentioned by Uddanḍa in KL (40) It is a famous place even now, people go there to perform their Śrāddha

In this short survey we have traced the important places in Malabar It will be found that nearly all important places lay along a line from north to south If there were other important places, some poet should have mentioned them. The poets had no special personal affinity to these places They described the places because they were important. The poems dealt with in this Paper help one in understanding the topography of Malabar, the important cities and temples, the important kingdoms and also about the general nature of life in some of the places The history and political division of ancient Malabar are now based mostly on tradition and later literary works, which are unreliable. Most of them were written to glorify a certain king and to trace his descent to the ancient Perumals It is such works as I have dealt with that reveal the real history and political division of Malabar in an authentic way A more detailed study, based on more works, will revolutionise the current notions of ancient Malabar history and political divisions

# THE AJĀTIVĀDA OF GAUDAPĀDA

By

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Gauḍapāda, whom tradition regards as Śāṅkara's parama guru (preceptor's preceptor), is the earliest known systematic exponent of Advaita. His *Kārikā*, which is more than a verse-commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, contains the quintessence of the teaching of Vedānta.<sup>1</sup> The work consists of 215 couplets arranged in four chapters. Following the Upaniṣad, the first chapter, Āgama prakaraṇa, analyses the three *avasthās*, waking, dream, and deep sleep, and finds that the Self which is referred to as the Turiya underlies and transcends these changing states. The second chapter, Vaitathya prakaraṇa, seeks to establish the illusoriness of the world of plurality, on the analogy of dreams, and through a criticism of creationistic hypotheses. The third chapter, Advaita prakaraṇa, sets forth the arguments for the truth of non dualism, gives citations from scripture in support thereof, and discusses the path to the realisation of non duality, called Asparśa yoga. The last chapter, Alātaśānti prakaraṇa, repeats some of the arguments of the earlier chapters, shows the unintelligibility of the concept of causality through dialectic, explains the illusoriness of the phenomenal world, comparing it to the non real designs produced by a fire brand (alāta) and pressing into service modes of Bauddha reasoning, and establishes the supreme truth of non duality which is unoriginated, eternal, self luminous bliss.

## I

The central theme of Gauḍapāda's philosophy is that nothing is ever born (ajāti), not because 'nothing' is the ultimate truth, as in Śūnya vāda, but because the Self is the only reality. 'No *jīva* is born, there is no cause for such birth, this is the supreme truth, nothing whatever is born.'<sup>2</sup> From the standpoint of the Absolute there is no duality, there is nothing finite or non-eternal. The Absolute alone is; all else is appearance, illusory and non real. They are deluded who take the pluralistic universe to be real. Empirical distinctions of knower and object known, mind and matter, are the result of Māyā. One cannot explain how they arise. But on enquiry they will be

1 The commentator on the *Kārikā* says vedāntārtha sāra saṅgraha bhūtam.  
2 III, 48, IV, 71.

na kaścij jayate jīvaḥ sambhavo 'sya na vidyate  
etat tad uttamam satyam yatra kiñcan na jāyate

found to be void of reality. If one sees them it is like seeing the foot prints of birds in the sky<sup>3</sup>. The Self is unborn, there is nothing else to be born. Duality is mere illusion, non duality is the supreme truth<sup>4</sup>.

## II

Gauḍapāda expounds his philosophy of non origination or non birth in several ways and through many an argument. The reality of the non dual self he first establishes through an enquiry into the purport of the *Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. Though extremely brief the *Maṇḍūkya* contains the essentials of Vedānta. For the liberation of those who desire release, says the *Mukṭikopaniṣad*, the *Māṇḍūkya* alone is enough<sup>5</sup>. The *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* begins with the equation 'Om=all=Brahman=self' and proceeds to describe the three states of the self, waking dream and sleep as well as the fourth (Turiya) which is not a state alongside the others but the transcendent nature of the self—the non dual peace the self *per se*. Gauḍapāda makes this declaration of the Upaniṣad the basis of his metaphysical quest and seeks to show through reasoning that non origination is the final truth.

Viśva Taijasa and Prājña are the names by which the self is known in the three states waking dream, and sleep. Viśva is conscious of the external world enjoys what is gross and is satisfied therewith. Taijasa is conscious of what is within<sup>6</sup> enjoys what is subtle and finds satisfaction there. Prājña is a consciousness-mass without the distinctions of seer and seen, its enjoyment and satisfaction is bliss. The three, Viśva Taijasa and Prājña, are not distinct selves. It is one and the same self that appears as three<sup>7</sup>. To show that all the three aspects are present in waking Gauḍapāda assigns localities to them. Viśva has its seat in the right eye, Taijasa in the mind, and Prājña in the ether of the heart<sup>8</sup>. And the three should also be thought of as identical with the three cosmic forms of the self Virāt Hiranyagarbha and Ayaṁkṛta or Īśvara. It is to indicate this identity that the *Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* describes the Prājña self as the lord of all the knower of all the controller of all the source of all the origin and end of beings<sup>9</sup>. The recognition of Viśva Taijasa and Prājña in the waking state, and the identification of the three individual forms of the self with the three cosmic forms are for the purpose of realising non-duality.

The non dual reality is the Turiya. It has no distinguishing name,

3 IV 28

4 I 17 *māya mātrāṁ idāṁ dvaitaṁ advaitaṁ paramarthataḥ*.

5 *Mukṭika* I 26

6 The distinctions of within and without<sup>7</sup> it must be remembered, are from the standpoint of waking experience for it is in this state that inquiry is possible.

7 I 1 *eka eva tridhā smṛtaḥ*.

8 I 2. See commentary.

9 *Maṇḍūkya* 6

hence it is called the fourth (turiya<sup>10</sup>) It is the self luminous self change less non dual one without a second The states that change and pass with their worlds and enjoyments are illusory products of *Maya* *Maya* is two fold in its functioning it veils the one and projects the many Non apprehension of the real (tattva pratibodha) and the apprehension of it otherwise (anyatha grahana) For the Prajna in the state of sleep there is non apprehension alone and not misapprehension It knows neither the self in its real nature nor the not self The Turiya is free from both the aspects of *Maya* It is consciousness *per se* without even a trace of ignorance It is unfailing light omniscient sight.<sup>11</sup> The metaphysical implication of sleep is that it hides the true and of dream that it projects the untrue *Viśva* and *Taijasa* are associated with dream and sleep *Prajña* is associated with dreamless sleep for the Turiya there is neither dream nor sleep Real awakening comes with the realisation of the Turiya with the transcendence of *Maya* in its double role of veiling the real and showing up the non real When the *jīva* wakes from the beginningless sleep of illusion it knows its true nature as unborn as that in which there is neither sleep nor dream nor duality<sup>12</sup>

In the *Alataśanti prakarāṇa*<sup>13</sup> Gaudapada teaches the same theory of the three avasthas employing Bauddha terminology Waking dream and sleep are there called *laukika śuddha laukika* and *lokottara* respectively The difference between the first two is that while in the former there are external objects (*savastu*) in the latter there is none (*avastu*) but in both there is consciousness of duality (*sopalambha*) In the *lokottara* there is neither the external world of things nor the internal world of ideas and consequently there is no apprehension of duality ignorance however persists It is only he who knows these three as non real states that knows the truth For him there is no duality nor ignorance the seed of duality When the real is known there is not the world of duality<sup>14</sup>

### III

As a result of the inquiry into the avasthas it must be evident that the pluralistic world is illusory as the self alone is real That the world which we take to be real in waking is illusory Gaudapada seeks to establish in the *Vaitathya prakarāṇa* on the analogy of the dream world Judged by the standards of waking it will be readily seen that the world of dreams is unreal A person may dream of elephants and chariots but on waking he realises that all of them must have been illusory because they appeared within him within the small space of his body<sup>15</sup> The dream contents do not form part

10 Here again it must be noted that the real is called the fourth from the empirical standpoint in truth, the category of number is inapplicable to it

11 I 12 *turiyaḥ sarvadrśaś cāda*.

12 I 13 16

14 I 18. *jñāte dvaitam na vidyate*

13 IV 87 88.

15 II i IV 33

of the external world which we take to be real in waking, and so they are illusory. Nor do they conform to the laws of space and time which govern the waking world. In a trice of waking time one may travel far and wide in dream. There is no real going to the place of dream, for on waking one does not find oneself there. Nor are the objects experienced in dream real, for when the dream spell is broken one does not see them<sup>16</sup>. Because chariot, etc., seen in dream are non-existent, they are illusory<sup>17</sup>.

The world of waking is in many respects similar to that of dream. The objects of waking are *perceived* as the dream objects are, and they are evanescent as well, like the contents of dream. What is non-existent in the beginning and at the end, is so even in the present.<sup>18</sup> That is real which is not conditioned by time. *Per contra* that which is conditioned by time cannot be real. Just as the dream objects are experienced in dream alone neither before nor after, even so the objects of waking are experienced in the state of waking alone. A difference between the two states cannot be made out on the ground that, while the objects experienced in waking are practically efficient, those seen in dream are not, for even the objects of waking experience are fruitful in practice only in that state and not in dream, and the dream objects are useful in their own way in the state of dream. It is true that the dream water cannot quench actual thirst. But it is equally true that the so-called actual water cannot quench the dream thirst either<sup>19</sup>. It may be argued that the contents of dream are unreal because, unlike the objects of waking, they are strange and abnormal. But when and to whom do they appear abnormal? To him who has returned to waking after a dream. In the dream state itself the contents are not realised to be strange. With perfect equanimity the dreamer may watch even the dismemberment of his own head. We are told that the denizens of heaven have their own peculiarities which to us are all abnormal. Similarly, from the side of waking the dream-contents may seem abnormal, but in themselves they are quite normal<sup>20</sup>. That there is an essential similarity between the contents of dream and the objects of waking may be shown by a closer scrutiny of the two states. In the state of dream, the dreamer imagines certain ideas within himself and sees certain things outside, and he believes that, while the former are unreal, the latter are real. But as soon

16 II 2.

17 II 3, see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, iii, 10

18 II 6 IV, 31

ādiv ante ca yan nāsti vartamān 'pi tat tathā

19 II 7 IV 32

20 II 8 See J A C Murray, B.D. *An Introduction to a Christian Psycho-Therapy* (T & T Clark) p 252. Waking consciousness is, after all a limited affair narrowed by the immediacies of the five senses, and concentrated at every moment on but one moving point. In dreams, we seem to enter a wider kingdom, freed from the fears and restraints of normal life: a field where earthly forces and laws are set at naught, and where the whole immensity of the sub-conscious can have freer speech, and like a rising tide, submerge the petty logics of our daily life.

as he wakes from the dream, he realises the unreality of even the things which he saw in dream as if outside. Similarly in waking, we have our fancies which we know to be unreal, and we experience facts which we take to be real. But when the delusion of duality is dispelled, the so-called facts of the external world will turn out to be illusory appearance.<sup>21</sup> Therefore it is that the wise characterise waking as a dream.<sup>22</sup> Just as the dream soul arises and perishes, the souls of waking come into being and pass away.<sup>23</sup> It is the self that posits the dream-contents as well as the external world. The things created in the mind within and those posited in the world without—both these are the illusory imaginations of the Ātman. The difference between the two sets of things is that while the dream contents last only till the mind of the dreamer imagines them (cittakālah) and are peculiar thereto, the objects of the external world are perceived by other subjects<sup>24</sup> as well (dvayakālāh), and are cognised through the sense organs. Illusoriness (vaitathya), however, is common to both.<sup>25</sup> In dream as well as in waking it is the mind that moves impelled by Māyā and creates the appearance of plurality. As identical with the self the mind is non dual, but owing to nescience duality is figured and there is the consequent saṃsāra.<sup>26</sup>

Illustrations for illusoriness are to be found even in the state of waking. Just as in the dark a rope which is not determinately known is imagined to be a snake or a streak of water, the self is imagined to be the world through nescience. And as when the rope is known as rope the posited snake, etc., vanish, so also when the self is known as non dual, the pluralistic world disappears.<sup>27</sup> Like the Palace city of Fairy Morgana (gandharva nagara), the universe is seen but is not real.<sup>28</sup> The things of the world are believed to exist because they are perceived (upalambhāt) and because they answer to certain practical needs (samācarāt). But these two reasons cannot make them real; for even the objects like the elephant conjured up by the necromancer are observed and are practically efficient but are not real.<sup>29</sup> One more illustration Gauḍapāda gives in the fourth chapter, viz. the *alata* or fire brand. When a fire brand is moved, it appears to be straight, or crooked, and so on, and when the movement stops, the appearances vanish. They do not really come from the fire brand in motion, nor do they enter into it when it comes to rest. The patterns of fire that appear with the movement of the fire brand are illusory, they have no substance whatsoever. Similarly, consciousness appears in manifold forms due to Māyā. These do not come out of it in reality, nor

21 II, 9 & 10, IV, 63-66

22 II, 5 svāpna jāgante sthane hy ekam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ. An ancient Chinese sage said: "Last night I dreamt that I was a butterfly and now I do not know whether I am a man dreaming that he is a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming that he is a man."

23 IV 68

25 II 11 15

28 II, 31

24 Who are also positions of the supreme Self

26 III 29 30, IV, 61, 62

29 IV, 44

27. II 17, 18

do they return to it, for they are naught<sup>30</sup> There is no dissolution, no origination; no one in bondage, no one who desires release, no one who is released—this is the supreme truth<sup>31</sup>

## IV

The establishment of the non-reality of the world by Gaudapāda does not mean that the great teacher subscribes to the view of ontological unreality (śūnyavāda) We have already seen how in the Āgama prakaraṇa he expounds the meaning of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and shows through an inquiry into the nature of the three avasthās that the Self (turīya) is the sole reality. That this is so Gaudapāda argues through reasoning in the Advaita-prakaraṇa, and cites in support the evidence of passages from other scriptural texts as well

The self is unlimited like ether, undivided and the same throughout The jīvas are apparent distinctions therein, as pots, etc., produce in ether divisions as it were We speak of a plurality of souls and a multiplicity of material objects, even as we speak of pot ether, pitcher-ether, and so on The one Ātman appears as the many jīvas, as the same ether seems divided, enclosed in the different things When the things are destroyed, the distinctions in ether too vanish; so also when the jīvas are realised to be illusory manifestations due to Māyā, the self alone remains There is no contingency of the defects of one jīva being occasioned in the other jīvas or the defects of the jīvas defiling the purity of the self It must be noted that Gaudapāda's theory is not *eka jīva vāda* but *ekā 'tma vāda* Since the empirical plurality of jīvas is recognised, there is not the contingency of the defects of one jīva being occasioned in the others or the experiences of one being confused with those of the rest And by the defilements of the jīvas the self is not affected, as dust, smoke, etc., present in the pots or pitchers do not make ether foul Forms, functions, and names differ from object to object, but there is no difference in ether Similarly, the jīvas vary in their physical make-up, mental and moral endowment, in station and status, but the self is unvarying, formless, functionless, and nameless Just as children attribute wrongly dirt etc., to the sky, the ignorant superpose on the unsullied self defects like birth and death, pleasure and pain But these are changes that are not real and do not touch the self The birth of the jīvas and their death their coming and going, do not alter the Ātman They are not products of the self, nor are they parts thereof The non dual reality is partless, it neither causes anything nor is caused by anything<sup>32</sup>

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30 IV 47-52

31 II 32

na nirodho na cotpattir na baddho na ca sīdhakah,  
na mumukṣur na vai mukta ity eṣā paramārthatā.

32 III, 3-9



Scripture in many places proclaims the non-duality of the self and deprecates the delusion of duality. Through an inquiry into the five sheaths (kośas) that cover the soul the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*<sup>33</sup> exhibits the self as the non dual bliss not to be confused with the mutable coverings. In the Honey section of the *Bṛhadaranyaka*<sup>34</sup> the principle behind the cosmic elements is identified with the self which is the substrate of the body and its functions. What is without is within as well. The same honey pervades all beings. It is immortal the self Brahman, the all. As the spokes are fixed in the nave of a wheel so are all beings centred in the self. Thus scripture declares the non-difference of the jiva from the self and denounces plurality. Difference is illusory the one appears as many through Maya. There is no plurality here.<sup>35</sup> Indra through *mayas* assumes diverse forms.<sup>36</sup> Though unborn he appears variously born.<sup>37</sup> The *Isavasya*<sup>38</sup> denies birth of the self and the *Bṛhadaranyaka* asks, 'Who indeed could produce him?'<sup>39</sup> Of what is real birth is incomprehensible and what is unreal cannot even be born.<sup>40</sup>

It is true that in some contexts scripture speaks of creation. Through the illustrations of clay metal, sparks etc creation of the many from the one is described. But this is only to enable those who are dull witted and muddled to understand the fundamental unity of reality. Śruti declares creation in some places and non creation in others. The two sets of passages can not have equal validity. That teaching should be taken as the purport of scripture which is ascertained through inquiry (*niscitam*) and is reasonable (*yukti yuktam*). If birth is predicated of the real it must be in the sense of an illusion and not in the primary sense. The self is unborn sleepless and dreamless nameless and formless, self luminous and all knowing.<sup>41</sup>

## V

That the self is unborn and that nothing else there is which is born Gauḍapada seeks to demonstrate through a dialectical criticism of the causal category in the fourth chapter. Causation like all other relations, falls within the realm of nescience, because on analysis it turns out to be unintelligible. There are two rival views on causation which are totally opposed to each other. The *Saṅkhya* theory is that the effect is pre-existent in the cause and is not produced *de novo*. The *Nyaya Vaiśeṣika* view is that the effect is non-existent prior to its production. On either of these hypotheses there will not result causation. If the effect is already existent there is no need for any causal operation. It is meaningless to say that what is existent is born. If the effect is non-existent, it can never be produced. What is non-existent like

33 Second vall

35 Bṛh Up., IV iv 19 Katha Up IV 11

36 Rg Veda VI 47 18 Bṛh Up II v 19

37 Tait Ar III 13 1

38 Isa, 12.

40 Gh., III 11 13 24 26

34 II v

39 III 9 28

41 III 14 16 23 36

the barren woman's son is not at any time seen to take birth<sup>42</sup> Even without their knowing the two rival schools, *satkārya vāda* and *asatkārya-vāda*, are thus seen to support the view of non creation or non origination<sup>43</sup>

Of what is really unborn the disputants predicate birth But this is a flagrant violation of the laws of contradiction How can that which is unborn and therefore immortal become mortal? The immortal cannot become mortal, nor the mortal immortal, for it is impossible for a thing to change its nature If what is by nature immortal were to become mortal, then it would cease to be changeless, and attain artificiality, illusoriness But this is impossible for what is immortal by nature The Sāṅkhya thinks that the unborn and beginningless Prakṛti evolves itself into the manifold evolutes that constitute the universe But this view cannot be justified by any canon of logic. If Prakṛti *becomes* the world, it cannot be unborn (*aja*) and eternal (*nitya*) Even to admit that there is a first cause is to confess the failure of causation as a principle of explanation To add to the confusion the Sāṅkhya says that the effect is non different from the cause Now, is the effect born or unborn? If it is born, it cannot be non different from the cause which is unborn If it is unborn then it cannot be called 'effect', as the effect is that which is *produced* And if the effect is produced and is non different from the cause, the cause cannot be permanent or unchanging There is no illustration that could be instanced to prove the production of the effect from the unborn cause If to avoid this difficulty it be said that the cause too is born, then there should be a cause for that cause, a still further cause for that other cause, and so on *ad infinitum*.<sup>44</sup>

The Mīmāṃsakas maintain that the cause and the effect are reciprocally dependent Merit and demerit are responsible for producing the body, and the body occasions merit and demerit The chain of causes and effects is without beginning each alternating with the other, like the seed and the sprout Here again we meet with insuperable difficulties If the antecedent of a cause is its effect and the antecedent of an effect is its cause, then both cause and effect are begun How can they be beginningless? Moreover, there is a paradox in the very thesis that is proposed To say that the antecedent of the cause is its effect is like saying that the son begets his father<sup>45</sup> There must be some definite sequence recognised as between cause and effect. It is no use believing that the two are reciprocally dependent If the cause and the effect can be indifferently antecedent or consequent, there would be no distinction whatever between them, and to call one a cause and the other an effect would be entirely arbitrary and void of meaning Now, there are three possible ways of stating the sequence. It may be said that first there is the cause and subsequently the effect takes place (*pūrva krama*), or it may be

42. IV 4 bhūtaṃ na jāyate kiñcid abhūtaṃ na va jāyate

43. IV 3-5

44. IV, 6-8, 11-13

45. IV, 15, putrā janma pitur yathā.

held that the effect is followed by the cause (*apara krama*), or it may be thought that the cause and the effect are simultaneous (*saha krama*). None of these alternatives is intelligible. That the cause cannot produce the effect we have shown already. If the cause is unborn, it cannot change and therefore cannot produce, if it is born there is infinite regress. The reverse order too is impossible, for, as we said it is just like making the son antecedent to the father. The effect by definition is that which is produced by the cause; and if the cause is not there before the effect, how can the effect be produced? And from the unproduced effect how can the cause come into being? The third alternative also is untenable. If what are simultaneous be causally related, there must be such a relation between the two horns of an animal. But as a matter of experience it is well known that the two horns are not so related. Thus, then is the crux of the problem. Without settling the sequence, the distinction of cause and effect would be unintelligible. And it is impossible to settle the sequence. In despair, appeal might be made to the illustration of seed and sprout. But a little thought would reveal that these—seed and sprout—cannot serve as illustration. It is only when the causal sequence has been settled that the relation between seed and sprout would become intelligible. Since the latter is a particular falling under the wider relation of cause and effect it cannot be used as an illustration. It is in short, *sadhya sama* still to be proved.<sup>46</sup>

A thing is not produced either from itself or from another. A pot is not produced from the self same pot, nor from another pot. It may be urged that pot is produced from clay. But how is pot related to clay? Is it non-different, different, or both different and non-different from it? If pot is non-different from clay, it cannot be produced, since clay is already existent. If it is different there is no reason why it should not be produced from another pot or a piece of cloth which are also different. And it cannot be both different and non-different, because of contradiction. Similarly, neither the existent nor the non-existent nor what is existent and non-existent can be produced. It is meaningless to say that what exists is produced. The non-existent cannot be produced even because of its non-existence. The third alternative involves us in contradiction.<sup>47</sup>

It is true that empirical distinctions are observed between knower and known, pain and the source of pain, etc. From the standpoint of reasoning based on relative experience (*yukti darśanāt*), there is difference as also causal relation governing the different. But from the standpoint of the Absolute (*bhūta-darśanāt*) there is no difference and the concept of cause is unintelligible.<sup>48</sup>

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46 IV, 14 18 20

48 IV, 24 25.

47 IV, 22.

## VI

Gauḍapāda admits creation in the sphere of the empirical. But creation, according to him, is neither *de novo* nor transformation of an original stuff. 'It is of the nature of Māyā, illusory manifestation or transfiguration. The world is not related to the self either as a piece of cloth to the threads or as curds to milk. In fact, no relation is intelligible. The one reality somehow appears as the pluralistic universe through its own Māyā (ātma-māyā). The complexes that constitute the world are projections, like the dream-contents, effected by the illusion of the Ātman.<sup>49</sup> Things are said to be born only from the standpoint of empirical truth (saṃvṛti-satya); they have therefore no permanence. Just as an illusive sprout shoots from an illusive seed, all things arise from Māyā.<sup>50</sup>

There are several theories of creation. Some philosophers favour materialistic origins for the world. For example, there are thinkers who attribute the origination of the universe to Time. Theists, however, regard God as the first cause of things. Some of them ascribe to Him efficient causality alone, others both efficient and material causality. The former say that creation is the mere volition of the Lord, while the latter hold that it is His expansion. Some maintain that God creates for the sake of His enjoyment. Others urge that creation is His sport. But how can desire be in God who is *āpta-kāma* and has no end to achieve? In our ignorance we must content ourselves with saying that creation is His nature or māyā. Like dream and magic it is illusory.<sup>51</sup> The non-dual is imagined to be the manifold world. The latter is neither different from the self nor identical therewith. Hence it is declared to be indeterminable.<sup>52</sup>

The philosophers of the different schools characterise the real in different ways and give their own schemes of categories. Each emphasises one particular aspect of reality and holds on to it as if it were the whole. The self has been variously conceived as life, elements, constituents of Primal Nature, things, worlds, Vedas, sacrifice, what is subtle, what is gross, what has form, what has no form, and so on. According to the Sāṅkhyas, there are twenty-five tattvas or principles. To these, the followers of the Yoga system add one more, viz. God. In the view of the Pāsupatas there are twenty-one categories. There are others who make the categories endless in number. All these theories are but the imaginations of their respective advocates.<sup>53</sup> There is only one self which appears as many through self-delusion as it were.<sup>54</sup> First the jīvas are imagined and then the various things, exter-

49. III, 10. saṃghātāḥ svapnavat sarve ātma-māyā-visarjitāḥ.

50. IV, 57-59.

51. I, 7-9.

52. II, 33, 34.

53. II, 20-29. For details see *The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda*, edited by Vidu-  
shekhara Bhattacharya, pp. 30-37.

54. II, 19. māyaiṣā tasya devasya yayāyam mohitāḥ svayam.

nal and internal. The world of souls and things is an appearance superposed on the self as the snake-form is imposed on the rope-substance in the dark<sup>55</sup>

The teaching of creation has no final purport. As has been shown already, what is real cannot be really born. If it is said to be born, it must be in the sense of an illusory appearance.<sup>56</sup> Ordinarily it is stated that saṃsāra which has no beginning comes to an end when release is attained. But this is figurative language. If saṃsāra had no beginning it could not have an end. If release is attained, it is liable to be lost again.<sup>57</sup> If the universe really existed, it would be destroyed. As we have observed duality is *māyā-mātra* mere illusion. Removal of saṃsāra and attainment of mokṣa are figurative. These have to be taught in language which needs must relate to duality. When the real is known, there is no duality whatever.<sup>58</sup>

## VII

True to its character as an *upadeśa śāstra*, the *Gauḍapāda karikā* contains practical teaching at the end of each chapter. The purpose of a *śāstra* is to enable the aspirant to cross the sea of saṃsāra and reach the shore of blessedness which is the highest human goal (*parama puruṣārtha*). The vicious circle of empirical life dependent on the law of cause and effect is evil (*anartha*). This, however, as has been shown above, is a product of *avidyā* or *Māyā*. As long as there is an obstinate faith in causality which is illusory (*avidyaka*), the chain of birth and death will not cease. When that false belief is destroyed through knowledge, saṃsāra is removed.<sup>59</sup> The cause of birth and death is ignorance as regards the ultimate truth which is causeless. When this is realised, there is no further cause for metempsychosis and we attain release which is freedom from sorrow, desire, and fear. Attachment to the non real is responsible for the illusory wanderings in the wilderness of saṃsāra. When one becomes non attached through knowledge, one turns back from the false pursuit of the non real and reaches the non-dual reality which is homogeneous and unborn.<sup>60</sup>

The real bliss is veiled and the non real sorrow is projected on account of the perception of illusory plurality. Enshrouded by the darkness of ignorance, those of immature knowledge (*bāhiṣah*) dispute about what they consider to be the nature of reality. Some say, it is, some, it is not, others, it is and is not, yet others, it neither is nor is not.<sup>61</sup> All these are *kṛpṇas*, narrow minded who see fear in the fearless,<sup>62</sup> and follow the way of difference, getting themselves engrossed therein. Opposed to these are the great

55 II, 16-17

56 III, 27 sato hi māyayā janma yujyate na tu tattvataḥ.

57 IV, 30

58. I, 18

59 IV, 56.

60. IV, 73-80

61 IV, 82-84

62 III, 39 abhaye bhaya darśinaḥ.

knowers (*mahājñānāḥ*) who are settled in their wisdom about the unborn unchanging reality <sup>63</sup>

The knowledge which saves is not that which remains a mere theoretical comprehension, but that which has become a direct experience. Study of scripture, ethical discipline, detachment from objects of sense and intense longing for release—these are essential for realising the self. The aspirant should learn the purport of the Veda and acquire freedom from passions like attachment, fear, and anger (*vīta rāga bhaya krodhaḥ*), and he should fix his thoughts on the non dual reality <sup>64</sup>. Gauḍapāda teaches two methods of concentrating the mind on the non-dual. *Prāṇava* yoga in the first chapter and *Asparśa* yoga in the third. These are to serve as auxiliaries to the knowledge of the Absolute, methods to loosen the cords of ignorance.

*Asparśa* yoga is the yoga of transcendence, whereby one realises the supra relational reality. *Saṅkalpa* is the root of activity and bondage. The mind contemplates objects and gets distracted and shattered with the result that there is no peace or happiness. Acceptance and desistance are motivated by the centrifugal tendency of thought processes. The outgoing mind should be called back and controlled. Controlling the mind is difficult, indeed, as difficult as emptying the ocean drop by drop by the tip of a *kuśa* grass. But it is not an impossible task, only it requires relentless effort. If the mind is restrained through discrimination, the end will certainly be reached. One must remember first that all is misery and turn back from desires and enjoyments. The mind that moves out must be brought to unity. But in this process care must be taken that it does not fall into sleep. When the mind goes to sleep it must be awakened; when it tries to go out, it must be calmed. When the stormy mind is stilled, there is the thrill of quietude. But one should not revel even in this *yogic* trance. Anything that is *enjoyed* must belong to duality; it cannot be unlimited or lasting happiness. The mind must become non-mind (*amanibhāva*), the relations of subject and object, enjoyer and enjoyment must be transcended. This will come only through the knowledge of the non dual self. Knowledge and the self are not different. Knowledge is the self or Brahman. Hence it is said that through the unborn (knowledge) the unborn (Brahman) is known <sup>65</sup>. Self-established, the unborn knowledge attains its natural equanimity or sameness. This is called *asparśa-yoga*, the yoga which is pleasing and good to all beings and which is beyond dispute and contradiction <sup>66</sup>.

The same end may be reached through meditation on OM (*prāṇava-yoga*). 'Om' is the term indicative of the Brahman-self. It consists of three *mātras*, *a*, *u*, *m*, and a soundless fourth which is *amātra*. *A* stands for *Viśva*, *u* for *Tajasa* and *m* for *Prājña*. Meditation on the significance of the three

63 IV 94-95

65 III 33 *ajenā japa vibudhyate*.

64 II, 35-36

66 III, 31-46 IV, 2

sounds respectively will lead to the realisation of the three aspects of the self. The sound *om* proceeds from and is resolved in the soundless *amatra*. Similarly the *Turiya* is the absolute which is unchanging and non dual but which appears as many and changing. When the meaning of the soundless culmination of *Om* is realised there is no leading to or attainment of anything for the *Turiya* is no other than the real and only self. Thus the *Praṇava* is to be meditated upon and known. It is the beginning middle and end of all things. It is the lord established in the hearts of all beings. There is nothing before it nor anything after it, nothing outside it nor anything other than it. Understanding the *Praṇava* in this manner one attains the supreme.<sup>67</sup>

Mokṣa or release is not a *post mortem* state it can be realised even here (*īha*) while in embodiment.<sup>68</sup> To speak of it as an attainment or realisation is but figurative. It is the eternal and inalienable nature of the self. He who knows this is released he is a *jīvan mukta*. Because he has attained full omniscience and is free from the delusion of duality there is nothing for him which he can desire.<sup>69</sup> He is not elated by praise nor depressed by blame. He does not offer obeisance to any nor does he perform any rite. He has no fixed home, and subsists on what comes his way. He lies like a non-conscious being and lives as he likes.<sup>70</sup> Though he has no obligations his conduct can never be immoral. Virtues like humility equanimity calmness and self control are natural to him.<sup>71</sup> His is the immortal state which is difficult to be seen, very deep, unborn, ever the same, and fearless.<sup>72</sup> He sees the truth everywhere. He delights in the truth and does not swerve from it. He is the truth.<sup>73</sup>

### VIII

From the account of Gauḍapada's philosophy given above it will be clear that this great teacher was an Advaitin the earliest known to us—who in his *Karika* laid the foundations of a system which was to become a glorious edifice through the immortal work of Śaṅkara. While making use of logical reasoning and the dialectical method, he does not deviate from the teaching of the Upaniṣads. Even where he employs Bauddha terminology he takes care to point out that his system should not be confused with Buddhism. While denying absolute reality to the world he is firm in proclaiming that the non dual Brahman self is the supreme truth. He has no quarrel with any system of philosophy because, in his view all systems if properly understood are pointers to non-duality. While the dualists oppose one another the doctrine of non-duality does not conflict with them.<sup>74</sup> *Ajati* or the unborn reality is the final goal of all metaphysical quest.

67 I 19-29

70 II 36-37

73 II 38.

68. IV 89

71 IV 86.

69 IV 85

72 IV 100

74 III 17

# PROPERTY—HOW IT IS ACQUIRED AND MANAGED

By

Dr MD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B (Aligarh), PH.D (Lon )

University of Madras

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"O ye who believe! Intoxicants and gambling, dedication of stones, and divination by arrows are an abomination, of Satan's handiwork. Eschew them that you may prosper. Satan's plan is to excite enmity and hatred between you with intoxicants and gambling and hinder you from the remembrance of God, and from prayer. Will you not then abstain?"<sup>4</sup>

Intoxicants and gambling are mentioned together and the main reason for their prohibition is that they are the source of enmity and hatred among men.

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2 Ch. 2 219

3 Dice and wagering are held to be within the definition of gambling. But insurance is not gambling when conducted on business lines.

4 Ch. 5 93 94

5 Ch. 5 41



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thers or sisters, the mother has a sixth and the father the residue as he excludes collaterals

The husband takes a half of his deceased wife's property if she leaves no child the rest going to residuaries, if she leaves a child the husband gets only a fourth. As the female share is generally half the male share, the widow gets a fourth of her deceased husband's property if he leaves no children and an eighth if he leaves children. If there are more widows than one their collective share is a fourth or an eighth as the case may be, they divide it equally among themselves<sup>8</sup>

An owner of property can bequeath his property for a charitable purpose or to any one who is not a legal heir to the property bequeathed. The Quran says "It is prescribed when death approaches any of you, if he leaves any goods that he makes a bequest to parents and next of kin according to reasonable usage. This is due from the God fearing"<sup>9</sup>

But the right to testamentary disposition is prescribed only to very rich people, and it is subject to certain limitations. Not more than one third of the property can be bequeathed and no legal heir be the beneficiary. The reason for limiting the bequest to one third is learnt from the saying of the Prophet that one should leave the heirs free from want. There are also rules for the disposal of the intestate property

One can acquire property by getting it as gift from another person. The term *hiba* in Islamic law means a transfer of property made immediately and without exchange. The *hiba* becomes complete when the donee accepted it and took possession of it. The donor cannot revoke the *hiba* when it has been accepted by the donee

A *hiba* is allowed in favour of a son but it is recommended that similar gifts should be made in favour of other sons. The husband can make a gift of property to his wife and the wife to husband and others. Gifts from Muslims to Non Muslims and *vice versa* are also allowed

The jurists allow a gift for a consideration and also a gift made on the condition that the donee should give the donor some thing definite in return for the gift.

While the property can be disposed by will or deed to the extent of one third only there is no such limitation for the distribution by gift, for, the owner divests himself of the property immediately

There is no limit to the extent one can possess property. The Quran says that a man who has heaps of gold may give away any amount of it to a woman as dowry but should not take it back. The Quran says

8. As space will not permit the shares of collaterals and the rules about residuaries are not discussed here

9 Ch. 2, 180.

"But if you decide to take one wife in place of another, even if you had given the latter a whole treasure for dower, take not the least bit of it back." <sup>10</sup>

Muslims are advised not to waste property but increase it by traffic and trade

"O ye who believe! Eat not up your property among yourselves in vanities. But let there be amongst you traffic and trade by mutual good will. Nor kill yourselves for verily God hath been to you most merciful." <sup>11</sup>

Property carries with it its own responsibilities, and people are asked not to be greedy

"And do not eat up your property among yourselves for vanities, nor use it as bait for the judges, with intent that you may eat up wrongfully and knowingly a little of other people's property" <sup>12</sup>

Two kinds of greed are mentioned in the above verse. A man may use his property for corrupting others like judges or those in authority, with a view to obtain some gain under the protection of the law. Another form is that one may put his property to frivolous uses. How to spend money is related in the following verses

"Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant and not niggardly, but hold a just balance between those extremes" <sup>13</sup>

One may not be so lavish as to make oneself destitute and incur the censure of wise men nor is it becoming to keep back one's resources from the just needs of those who have a right to expect help. This idea is expressed thus

"Make not thy hand tied to thy neck, nor stretch it forth to its utmost reach, so that thou become blameworthy and destitute." <sup>14</sup>

But one must keep a just measure between one's capacity and the needs of other peoples, is emphasised by the Quran thus

"And render to the kundred their due rights as also to those in want and to the wayfarer. But squander not in the manner of a spendthrift." <sup>15</sup>

Apart from these general instructions, the Quran empowers the society or the state to interfere when money is wasted by men of weak understanding

"To those of weak understanding make not over your property which God hath made a means of support for you, but feed and clothe them therewith and speak to them words of kindness and justice." <sup>16</sup>

It is clear from the above verse that the owner may not do just what he likes absolutely. His right is limited by the good of the community of which

10. Ch. 4 20

13. Ch. 25 67

16. Ch. 4 5

11. Ch. 4 29

14. Ch. 17, 29

12. Ch. 2, 188.

15. Ch. 17, 26.

he is a member and if he is not able to understand it, his control should be taken away, because the Islamic conception is that all property belongs to the community and a particular individual holds it in trust. If he is incapable, he is put aside but gently and with kindness. While his incapacity remains the duties and responsibilities devolve on his guardian even more strictly than in the case of the original owner.

“ Let the trustee faithfully discharge his trust and let him fear his Lord . . . Says the Quran<sup>17</sup> The principles underlying it are those of the Court of Wards in Indian Law

In regard to the discharge of the trust and the remuneration for the trustee the Quran says

“ Make trial of orphans until they reach the age of marriage. If, then, you find sound judgment in them, release their property to them. But consume it not wastefully, nor in haste against their growing up. If the guardian is well off, let him claim no remuneration but if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable’<sup>18</sup>

The guardian is enjoined to be just to orphans. He must not postpone restoring the property of his ward when the time comes. The property, household and accounts of the orphans must be kept separate, lest there should be any temptation to get a personal advantage to the guardian by mixing them with his own property, household or accounts.

The Quran says

“ To orphans restore their property, nor substitute your worthless things for their good ones and devour not their substance by mixing it up your own, for this is indeed a great sin’<sup>19</sup>

Thus in all matters concerning the management of the property equity and fair dealing should be observed so that no one's interests are prejudiced

17. Ch. 2, 283

18. Ch. 4, 6

19. Ch. 4, 2

## SOME ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF MALABAR

By

Dr C ACHYUTA MENON, B.A., PH.D. (London),  
University of Madras

It was Swami Vivekananda who drew pointed attention to the "distance pollution" observed in Malabar by the unsavoury remark that 'Malabar is a lunatic asylum'. The Swami was proceeding from Trivandrum towards North when he heard certain caste Hindus making a curious sound to indicate that the "unapproachables" should be out of their way. No wonder that the sight shocked the Swami to whom all human beings were "children of God". Though more than a generation has passed conditions are not very much better now in the country in spite of the levelling tendency of the Railways public conveyances and democratic institutions. Malabar is one of the few spots of India where most up-to-date and antiquated things exist side by side and ample material awaits the antiquarian. The following sketch of a few tribes selected at random will give the reader an idea of the racial problem that stands in need of urgent solution. This article is a fitting tribute to Dr B. C. Law whose studies on numerous races and tribes of India are too well known.

Society in Malabar is a heterogeneous one and its component parts constitute a number of irreconcilable units which function without hitch but hardly admit of fusion. On the topmost rung of the ladder are the Nambudiris and Nayers who once shared between themselves the religious and political administration of the country. The various communities or sections that represent a comparatively low level of culture may be classed under two main divisions 'Untouchables' and 'Unapproachables'. In the former fall the Barber, Washerman, the Weaver, Snake-charmers etc. The last category comprises of a good number of tribes in respect of whom 'distance pollution' is observed. The distance they have to keep between them and the higher classes varies with each tribe and the degree of its status. At the other end there are even a few tribes that can be called 'unseeables'. We shall now proceed to describe them in order of their distance proportion.

### CERUMAN

The term can be taken to be a corruption of Ceruvan—a small man—not in point of size or physical stature, but in view of the place he occupies in the social hierarchy. He is veritably a slave and a field labourer. Once this tribe had the monopoly of agricultural labour. The plough and the spade are his inseparable companions. When the field work is over he goes



to the garden occupying himself all the year round. His position was once that of a slave attached to a master who looked after him whether he had work or no. He was also entitled to annual presents of cloths during the Ūṇam Festival<sup>1</sup>. His services could also be lent either temporarily or permanently for a consideration which was akin to rent. In recent times he had his emancipation but that has not improved his economic position. Plantations in Wynad (North Malabar) and other hilly stations absorbed a large number of them within the last 30 years and they are scarcely to be seen in villages now. They are called 'Pulayars'<sup>2</sup> in Travancore. The change of name indicates no difference in status or material prosperity. There is a tradition that once they owned lands themselves and the Aikarajamanan, a North Travancore Chieftain, is still considered to be the latest descendant of a Pulaya king. Pulayanar Kōṭṭa Hill, literally, the fortress of Pulayans in Trivandrum seems to support this tradition. The annual festival at Sri Padmanabha Swamy Temple at Trivandrum usually begins with a fire brought by a Pulayan<sup>3</sup>. There is another interesting feature about their association with temples and higher castes. One day during festival time particularly in Kālī temples they can enter its sacred precincts and worship the deity instead of doing it at a distance from the temples which is the usual practice in other parts of the year. Temple festivals in West Coast usually follow the harvest season when Cēṛuman is free from work in the paddy field. He enjoys his holiday by presenting himself in the vicinity of the temple with his family dancing and singing all the time and drinking toddy at intervals. In fact during that period toddy constitutes the main item of his food. Neither his master nor his neighbour interferes with his conduct and behaviour at this time. Cēṛuma tribe has a number of sub divisions of which Kaṇakkan<sup>4</sup> is the most important.

### HIS RELIGION

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His death ceremonies are not very elaborate either. If a member of a Ceruman's family dies his master is immediately informed. He sends all the requisites for the burial—the dead body is always buried and not burnt—such as oil to besmear his body, spade to dig the grave, etc. To the accompaniment of the drum called *Para* the dead body is taken to the river bank or a hilly track for burial, all assembled there touching the dead body. His belongings also in certain cases are buried with him. After the burial a mound is raised over the grave and a stone fixed at the head. His people fast for that day and the next day there is a feast for all the castemen. If the death takes place during the season when Ceruman is busy in the field the after-ceremonies and pollution are dispensed with. A mud vessel containing rice, etc. will be kept closed in which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to rest till summer when he is comparatively free. The usual ceremonies and the pollution lasting for fifteen days will then be observed giving due intimation to his master and the chief of the caste<sup>5</sup>.

#### MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The bridegroom's sister takes the leading part in their marriages. They generally marry outside their clan or group. The intention to marry must be communicated to the bride's parents. With their permission the couple can associate with each other and even produce children. Only the bride should not go to the bridegroom's house before the formal ceremony of marriage in which tying of the *Tali* at the auspicious moment is an important item. The bridegroom only makes the knot while his sister gives the finishing touch. There is the usual feast for castemen. The master of the Ceruman meets all the expenses of the marriage. He must also be duly informed when the choice of the bride is made. Divorce is permitted after giving formal intimation to the parents concerned and the master. As a labourer Ceruman has hardly an equal and he is not attracted by the monetary gain accruing from his work although modern conditions have converted him into a cooly who likes to make the best of his labour. Unlike other aboriginal tribes of Malabar Ceruman is a stranger to Black Magic.

#### PULLUVAN—THE SNAKE EXPERT

The name is derived from the word *Pullu* a small bird which is supposed to have some evil influence over children. *Pulluvan* is the healer for any such malady. There are different legends relating to their origin. One makes them the descendants of *Kadru* the mythological mother of serpents. The other takes us to the story of the burning of the *Khandava* forest by the God of Fire to exterminate the snakes. One of them escaped from the devouring fire and was saved by a woman who allowed it to get into her close-necked mud vessel (pitcher). The snake blessed her for this kindness and

5 For details of the death ceremony *vide* Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India* Vol. II pp 76-82.

gave her magical power to cure all diseases arising out of snake bite or curse.<sup>6</sup> These legends true or otherwise, however reveal the fact that this tribe had unusual power over snakes which abound in Malabar where a regular cult has developed thereon. Almost every Hindu house in Malabar has a snake shrine located in a corner of the compound surrounding it where annual puja is offered to propitiate snakes. In a region like that it is no wonder that one community specialised in the snake-cult and became famous in the rituals connected with them. It also looks strange at the same time that Pulluvan has control only over the divine aspect of the snake and not its physical aspect. He is never seen with a snake nor does he administer medicine to patients bitten by snake although occasionally we have stories of a snake of the benignant variety being saved by him in his pitcher from attack by hostile tribes. They do not also assume the role of snake charmers like 'kuravas' who catch the reptile by their music and carry them from house to house to be exhibited for the sake of 'Alms'. But all the evil influences due to the curse of the snake they are able to eradicate. Pulluvan is a friend of the snake, while 'Kuruva' is its enemy. He is superior to Ceruman in respect of accessibility to the higher castes.

#### RITUAL

The principal ritual performed by Pulluvan is, Tullal literally jumping or quick movement. The figures of two snakes intertwined—probably one male and the other female—is drawn on a spot rendered sacred by certain purificatory process. Two women—generally virgins—will sit in that, facing the hood of the serpents holding a bunch of the tender inflorescence of the arecanut palm. Pulluvan with his female partner sits at a distance and chants his songs accompanied by his Veena and the Kuṭam<sup>7</sup> of his partner. After a time the girls get possessed destroy the figure waving their heads on either side like a snake. When they become calm by the ministrations of the Pulluvan through some special notes on his Veena and Kuṭam they pronounce the pleasure of the snake. After that they proceed to the snake-shrine of the house and deposit their bunch of flowers there and come away. With this the ritual closes.

This community is gradually dwindling in numbers and they are not of a strong build. The Pulluva woman is noted for her sweet voice and her songs are very much appreciated all over. She is a specialist in the diseases of the children for whose relief she chants a special song called Nāvērupāṭṭ.<sup>8</sup>

6 Hindus associate serpents with divine power. Their curses more than their blessings are believed to be more effective. Leprosy is usually ascribed to snake curse.

7 A mud vessel covered with leather at one end to which a string is attached.

8 The song sung to remove the evil effect of the tongue.<sup>9</sup> Eyes, and tongues of evil minded persons are supposed to be effective in causing certain diseases of the children.

In that curiously no mention of snake occurs. It describes only the birth of a child in a family and enumerates the various diseases of the children with a view to remove them prescribing remedies therefor

Custom allows a brother and sister among them to marry. It is seldom that they go about alone. This practice according to some is responsible for their weak stature and their lack of productive capacity. If this community becomes extinct, as their gradual diminution in numbers shows a tendency in that direction Malabar society will lose much of its amusement and entertainment particularly in the rural areas

### PANAN<sup>9</sup>

Panan's role in the general structure of Malabar society is unique. From the point of distance he has to keep from the higher classes he is below Pulluvan and Ceyuman and he is an unapproachable pure and simple. He is a friend and foe of the higher classes. He is a medical man, sorcerer, artist, industrial worker, all rolled into one. There is a proverb in Malayalam: there is no medicine which Panan does not know, although his knowledge of medicine is not the outcome of any conscious attempt at studying it. His sorcery which relies for effect on the use of various shrubs renders a knowledge of medicine absolutely necessary. His artistic taste makes his cultural outlook very much wider than that of many an unapproachable that is classed with him. Professionally he is the umbrella maker in Malabar and tailor in Travancore. His service in Kali temple ranks him as a first rate artist. Pankaji<sup>10</sup> is his distinctive contribution to the region of Art.

Pānan brings umbrellas made of palmyra leaves with long handles to every house in the village at the commencement of the rainy season. In Malabar there is heavy rain from the beginning of June to November. For all classes of people agriculturists, artisans, labourers and others his umbrella is a necessity. He gets a few measures of paddy<sup>11</sup> in return for this present. It is a customary obligation and not a commercial transaction which either party fulfils voluntarily. Whenever there is a feast in any aristocratic house it is the Pānan who supplies the requisite number of plantain leaves on which rice is served. For this he is given a good meal and a very nominal amount

9 Literally a singer from Pūṃ—a melody (Tamil)

10 A variety entertainment consisting of music, dance and dramatic interludes by which Pānan caters to the aesthetic taste of his castemen and others of similar status. For details see author's article on "The Histrionic Art of Kerala"—the cultural background *Annals of the Oriental Research of the University of Madras*

11 It depends upon the size and number of umbrellas. Though the modern umbrella made of dark cloth has replaced the palmyra leaf variety of it in country parts during heavy rains Pānan's production is of immense use to protect oneself from heavy rain.

as compensation Ayurvedic physicians in Malabar usually depend on Paṇans for the supply of medicinal shrubs. The people at large entrust him with the work of collecting the various medicines prescribed by a doctor.

### BLACK MAGIC.

His Black Magic makes him a terror to society. His displeasure brings dreadful disease to his enemies and sometimes death. The only way to avoid them is to requisition his own services. He is also afraid of the caste Hindus like Nayars and their communal wrath which sometimes takes violent forms resulting in their total annihilation. There is a type of Black Magic called 'Oṭṭi'<sup>12</sup> by which the magician kills his enemy in the night meeting him on his way. On such occasions he appears in the form of an animal, a dog, or a bull and so on, catches the victim unawares and kills him by twisting the neck. In modern times instances of such practices are rarely heard, although there are evidences to show that they have not disappeared. One who is an expert in this Black Art is also supposed to have power to let loose the demons he worships on his enemies and give them untold miseries. In this field 'Paṇayan' who is dealt with in the next section beats Panan hollow as the former often takes to it as a profession.

His role as an artist comes in full play during the summer when temples of Malabar particularly, the Kālī shrines have their annual festivals. He goes about wearing masks and dances. His partner will mark time on Tutu<sup>13</sup>. They provide immense amusement to the village folk. He returns home in the evening with his bag full of paddy and a few clothes<sup>14</sup>. Mention has already been made of Pāṅkaḷi in which there is an interesting interlude by a couple who conduct an amorous dialogue to the accompaniment of dance. It is a pity that writers like Thurston and Gopala Panikkar<sup>15</sup> have entirely ignored this aspect of Panan's life. It is one of the puzzles of anthropology how an artistic community like that of Panan that has a cultural background to its credit came to practise Black Magic and commit heinous crimes associated therewith.

This tribe is obliged to play Tutu in the burial ground of Izūvas—a class much higher to him—to ward off evil spirits.

Marriage and death ceremonies observed by Pānan are on a par with those of Ceṛuman. Only Panan has no master to meet his expenses or give him directions.

It is the Panan's privilege to herald the beginning of the new year by going to every house in the village in the previous night and sing songs to

12 Literally means to bend

13 A small drum.

14 A detailed description of Pānan's role as an artist occurs in the author's *Kālī Worship in Kerala* Vol. I

15 Author of *Malabar and its Folk*

that effect. This is done on the eve of the third day of the Ōnam festival in Malabar.

### PARAYAN

Among the aboriginal tribes that live in the plains Parayan is taken to be the lowest. In fact it is doubtful whether he could be called strictly a denizen of the plains. He is partly of the plains and partly of the hills. In any case he must have his hut far away from the scene of civilization and he is classed not as a mere 'unapproachable' but an 'unseeable'.<sup>16</sup> Even his sight is forbidden. He comes to villages with winnowing baskets and mats, of various size and patterns made of bamboo pieces. On such occasions he must stand far away from the houses of the village folk and must cry sufficiently loud to announce his arrival. Time-honoured custom makes it obligatory on his part to present these baskets as Panan does umbrellas, and the village folk who receive them give paddy in return. Considering the labour involved in the manufacture of these articles the remuneration is far too low. During these visits sometimes he gets the carcasses of cows or goats to which he seems to have earned a claim established for centuries. As a carcass-eater he is held in contempt and the word 'Parayan' is often used as a term of abuse meaning a wretch.

The tribal appellation is traced to 'Para' (a big drum). He plays on that when his castemen assemble within a convenient distance of Kali temples to witness festivals<sup>17</sup> there and indulge in a sort of weird dance wearing hideous masks and painting their faces. This make-up reminds us of the cannibals of African jungles.

In stature he is neither tall or strong but his looks inspire terror. His eyes proclaim that he is a born hypnotist and represents a culture to which we are perfect strangers.

### BLACK ART—ŌṬI

Black Art is his mainstay in life. By the application of certain medicines it is said that he can stand any amount of physical torture having thereby attained insensibility to pain. One of them according to an eyewitness, bore for three days a big stone which was placed on his back as a punishment. When the stone was removed after the third day he was none the worse for it and regained his normal posture without feeling the least discomfort.

'Ōṭi' is the chief item of his Black Art as already mentioned. Panan is only a novice in the Art when compared to Parayan who is an adept in it. If any one has the misfortune to meet him in the night (dark)—moonlight

<sup>16</sup> His kinsmen in the Tamil area occupy a higher status.

<sup>17</sup> This is the only privilege he is allowed by the villagers.

is a serious handicap to his method—the belief is that death is inevitable. Not only that he appears in the form of animals but he can also imitate their sounds and cries—devices by which he misleads nocturnal travellers. They never go alone. On either side of the victim they will run in opposite directions holding a long stick across their shoulders. The sticks strike against the neck of the unfortunate man who by their force will fall on the ground. He is robbed of his possessions and killed instantly. The victim sometimes lingers for a couple of days as a living corpse and then expires.

A variation of this called *Velloṭi*<sup>18</sup> is also practised by them to entice women not necessarily for sexual relationship but for the removal of the tender 'foetus' which they use for the preparation of a patent which helps them to assume various disguises. When they want to do this they take their women with them as they are expert midwives. *Paṛayan* administers a charm over the woman victim when his wife intervenes to remove the foetus. The victim usually recovers without any injury.

He has other ways of killing his enemies<sup>19</sup>. He generally buries his dead and occasionally burns them also.

His marriage customs are also on a par with those of the *Ceruman* except in a few details. The uncle of the bride makes the first present to the couple. Unlike other aboriginal tribes they are very particular about the chastity of their women. Violation of that virtue meets with severe punishment.

This tribe has however produced the great saint '*Pāḷkanār*' whose philosophy of service to humanity and equal opportunities to all reminds us that this tribe was once not so despicable and degraded as they are to-day. Their strength is going down every year.

One interesting feature about these tribes whose characteristics are described above, is that they follow the patriarchal system of inheritance while the higher classes like the *Nayars* and a section among *Nambudiris*, *Tiyyas* and *Mohammedans* in Malabar reckon their descent through mother. The problem is for the anthropologist to solve and to tell us which system is more ancient.

18. The white *Oṭi* probably has reference to the white of the human embryo.

19. For details see Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India* Vol. VI pp. 124-126.

# ASPECTS OF PRE PĀṆINEAN SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

By

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Grammar presupposes not only language but also linguistic analysis, but it is obvious that the earliest analysis of language could have been only formal the mere measuring of word forms of various lengths. But even this mechanical measuring of word forms could have been hardly taken in hand by primitive grammarians without some special reason. In civilised speech sentences—which alone in general can truly reflect the whole of the idea in the mind of the speaker—are constructed more or less consciously by joining together independent units of expression or suggestion represented by word symbols. But the mind of the primitive man is always engrossed with the *whole* of the sentence-idea for the simple reason that the sentence-idea is the only real thing in language though that idea may be suggested also by a single word even by a single gesture sometimes. In primitive speech therefore a single word may stand for a whole sentence and a whole sentence may be treated as a single word (holophrasis). Words and sentences in short are not distinguished in primitive speech. It is obvious that in such a state of things even the simple measuring of word length is out of the question for the word as such as a separate and independent unit doesn't exist as yet.<sup>1</sup>

But the situation is radically altered as soon as primitive man takes to making verse. And it is an established fact that primitive man makes verse before he makes prose *consciously*. If his verses are of the kind that we find in the Rgveda the Avesta and in Homer i.e. if his verses are always of fixed length and his verse feet consist of fixed numbers of syllables, then the delimiting of words becomes a peremptory necessity. The foot of such a verse offers at all times a definite unit of speech material all the more if as we find in the Rgveda the end of every foot coincides with the end of a word. Every Rgvedic verse foot is moreover an independent unit not only metrically but also in meaning euphonic combination between *padanta* and *padadi* though found in the accepted text of the Rgveda has almost always to be dissolved in recitation. Needless to say this metrical convention which is one of the most striking characteristics of Rgvedic verse must have been inherited from much earlier times,—from times when apparently it was considered too hazardous to try to operate with ideas which cannot be expressed in one single verse-foot. To think that the Rgvedic seers themselves

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1 For this article I have freely used Liebhich's *Einführung* II

who had developed a highly complex ritual system and created poetry of no mean order, were afraid of sentence ideas longer than a verse foot would be to wholly misunderstand Rgvedic civilisation. We have to conclude therefore, that words must have been fully and *consciously* isolated from sentence-complexes before the first Rgvedic verse could be constructed i.e. centuries before the Rgvedic hymns were composed.

But it is not out of these theoretical considerations only that we have to conclude that in India—and perhaps also in other countries—the conscious delimiting and isolating of single word symbols from out of the only real sentence complexes should have started with the construction of verses. I say *conscious* delimiting for the unconscious and enforced delimiting as when a single word suffices to fully convey the speaker's intention can be hardly regarded as a grammatical achievement of any account. In fact the earliest grammatical strivings of the ancient Indians are for the most part directly connected with metrical observations.

The existence of even a single metre as among the Greeks of the Homeric age, would enforce the necessity of limiting off verse units and thus render formal linguistic analysis almost inevitable. But this process of delimiting and isolating words and consequently word-elements would be greatly accelerated if several different metres are in operation in one and the same period as among the Rgvedic Indians. The Rgvedic poets who had constantly to deal *inter alia* with Trisṭubh and Jagatī padas must have noticed at an early date that the difference between them is due to the presence or absence of something that was *different from the only speech-elements they* were as yet conscious of viz the verse foot and the word. This differentiating element the syllable they decided to call *akṣara* i.e. irreducible. The term is highly significant for it shows that to the Rgvedic poets not the sound (*vara*) but the syllable was the irreducible speech-element. But why should the *akṣara* which need not consist of one sound only should be regarded as the irreducible speech element? The answer is clear the Rgvedic poets were thinking only of their metres in which a solitary consonant without any duration is of no account they were not thinking of ordinary prose speech in which along with the vowel syllable also the consonant would have to be regarded as irreducible speech element. The word *akṣara* therefore clearly suggests that the incentive to speech analysis should have come to the Vedic Indians primarily from a comparison of the various metres.

This is indirectly supported by the further consideration that in the older literature the metres are constantly spo'ten of as constituted by *akṣaras* but nothing is said about the fixed quantity of certain syllables of certain metres\* which could not have escaped the eye of the Vedic writers if they



had objectively studied every metre individually. Moreover, if the discovery of the *akṣara* had been due to the analysis of ordinary prose speech its use in the oldest literature could never have been confined, as it is, solely to metrical observations.<sup>3</sup> But the fact is that in the three passages of the Rgveda<sup>4</sup> in which the word *akṣara* with the meaning "syllable" occurs, the allusion is always to metres. In the first of these three passages it is even clearly stated that the "seven" speeches are measured by the *akṣara* (*aṣṭa reṇa mimate spatā vānīh*). That "*saptā vānīh*" of this passage refers to the seven metres of the Caturuttara series (*sapta cchandāṃsī caturuttarāni*), mentioned already in the Rgveda, but in due order for the first time in the Vajasaneyi Samhitā,<sup>5</sup> admits of no reasonable doubt. In Rgveda X 130 4 5, we have a list of seven metres which is practically identical with this traditional Caturuttara series the only difference being that Virāj here takes the place of Pankti, but it is significant that also in this passage, when it is paraphrased in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII 2 2 Pankti appears for Virāj — All this and much more that the Vedic literature contains by way of metrical observations clearly show that to compare various metres with each other and to try to arrange them in a rational order was a favourite occupation with the Vedic seers. And that this activity should in due course have led to the discovery of the "syllable" — which is in fact the earliest grammatical discovery made in India — has been already shown above.

Just as the syllable (*akṣara*) is the smallest sound unit (so far as metres are concerned) so is the word (*pada*) the smallest sense-unit. But it is curious to note that in the Rgveda<sup>6</sup> the word *pada* has not been used in the sense of a word, but in the sense of a verse foot, i.e., a Pāda.<sup>1</sup> Does it show that speech at least sacred speech was measured originally by whole lumps constituting verse feet and not by individual words? If it does then we shall have to admit a curious thing we shall have to admit that in Indian grammatical thought the word received recognition *after* the syllable and the verse-foot. But that is as it should have been if as shown above the earliest linguistic speculations had been concerned more with metres than with the language.

Why was the term *pada* used originally in the sense of "verse foot" and how did it later come to assume the meaning "word"? After what has been said above, the answer to these questions cannot remain doubtful. The true meaning of the word *pada* in the Rgveda is "step" and not "foot".

3 I am of course leaving out of consideration those passages in which the word *akṣara* does not mean 'syllable'.

4 I 164 24, 39, X 133

5 XXI 12 18 Gāyatrī, Uṣṇīh, Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī Pankti Trīṣṭubh and Jagati.

6 I 164 23

As Liebhich<sup>7</sup> has ingeniously suggested, the recitation of Vedic hymns was conceived in the lively imagination of the R̥ṣis as accompanied by the rhythmic steps of Vāc, and thus every metrical unit (i.e., the verse-foot) came to be regarded as a "step" of the goddess dancing along in perfect harmony with the sacred speech. So far as the sacred speech was metrical, the "step" could not but be the verse-foot, which is the natural unit of metres. But where the sacred speech was prose, there the "step" could mean nothing but the natural unit of prose, i.e. the word. When in this way *pada* came to mean "word", a new term, but not too different namely *pāda* "foot", was seized upon to denote the verse foot by, perhaps on the analogy of four footed animals, since the metres are indeed mostly four footed.—Thus we see that not only "*akṣara*" but also the terms "*pada*" and "*pāda*" should have been recruited into the grammatical vocabulary of the Vedic age mainly through metrical considerations.

The earliest grammatical discoveries were thus painfully slow and the secondary—almost accidental—result of studies which by no means were truly grammatical. But with the isolation and comprehension of both the sound unit (*akṣara*) and the sense unit (*pada*) the foundation was laid to proper grammatical analysis of the language, and henceforward the progress of grammatical thought was extraordinarily rapid, culminating at last in that matchless work of scientific perfection,—the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.

In the period of the Brāhmaṇas grammatical thought was mainly concerned with the relation between sound and sense, i.e. etymology. The etymologies of the Brāhmaṇa texts are of course mostly puerile, and it is quite probable that the Brāhmaṇa authors themselves were not quite serious about them as Roth aptly remarked. The fact is that the Brāhmaṇa authors, though operating with both sense and sound were wholly dominated by the sense element, so that if there is any similarity in meaning between two words they would not hesitate to connect them etymologically even though in form they may have only a single consonant common by chance. Yet in the Brāhmaṇas may be found many correct etymologies some of them of really difficult words, such as *nyagrodha*, which has been correctly analysed in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII, 54 as *nyan rohati* "that which grows downward". Also in other fields of grammar, as we shall see below much real progress was made during the Brāhmaṇa period, but the favourite occupation of the naïve grammarians of this age was, apparently, this *nirukta* "etymology". The etymologies of the Brāhmaṇa authors were later collected and classified by Yāska in his *Nirukta*.

7 Einführung II p 5

7a. *Pada* in the sense of "clause" of prose mantra may be regarded as an intermediate step between *pada* = verse-foot and *pada* = word. Thus the twelve clauses of the Nivid such as *agnir deṭe 'ddha agnir manv iddha* etc. are called the twelve *padas* of the Nivid, cf AB II 5 1 *dīdāśapada 1a eṣā nīti*

The word *nirukta* in its original sense had however nothing to do with etymology. The verses in which the gods to whom they are addressed are not mentioned by name are called *anirukta* in the Brahmanas,<sup>8</sup> and *vice versa* when in a verse the god addressed to is actually mentioned it is said *devata nirucyate*.<sup>9</sup> It is clear, therefore that the word *nirukta* in its original sense signified only that kind of theological enquiry, so dear to the hearts of the Brahmana authors, which strove to ascertain the relation between the gods and the verses addressed to them. No enquiry was necessary in the case of a verse with the name of the god addressed to actually mentioned in it. But the intended divinity could not be ascertained without enquiry and deliberation on the text concerned in the case of a verse in which no god is mentioned by name. The term for this enquiry was *nirukta* but it had its meaning gradually extended into etymology, and in view of the character of the enquiry originally signified by the term it is but natural that it should thereafter be always associated only with that kind of etymology which stresses the meaning more than the form.

The main grammatical activity during the Brāhmana period was, as shown above in the field of etymology. But this period was not altogether barren of phonological enquiry. The term *varṇa* sound occurs for the first time in the Aitareya Brahmana<sup>10</sup> as also *svara* accent,<sup>11</sup> in the sense of 'vowel' however the latter term does not appear before the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (III 25) — With the discovery of the *varṇa* it became now possible also to analyse the *akṣara*. Thus it was stated that the sacred syllable consists of the three sounds *a* *u* and *m*.<sup>12</sup> Even the technical term *triphiṭa* occurs in the Aitareya Brahmana<sup>13</sup> but exactly in what sense it is difficult to say. The earliest attempt to scientifically arrange the sound system of Sanskrit is to be found in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (III 25) and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad<sup>14</sup> where the *spṛṣā* the *uṣman* and the *stara* (vowel)

8. Cf. Aitareya Br. III 36 3 10 etc. In explanation of the word *anirukta* in AB III 3 6 Sayana says *nirūcyaṇo kṛto deva niruktas tadīṣo yayoḥ dīḥyayor na stī te anirukte*. Still more clearly he says ad AB III 3 10 *sa "py iḥ anirukta nūdiat acakapadabhatāḍ aspaṣṭadevataka*.

9. Aitareya Br. IV 5 3.

10. V 57 — This meaning of the word *varṇa* should have been developed first in the Brahmanas of the Samaveda in which we constantly come across locutions like *rathantarātaraṇa* etc. verse which gets the colour of Rathantara-sāman in chant. In these passages the word *varṇa* is visibly changing its meaning from colour to sound of melody. Then gradually the sound of melody became sound in general.

11. III 2 13. Keith translates *staraṇātīya taca* as "with sonorous voice" but according to Sayana *staraṇātīya* means *staraṇyuktīya*.

12. Aitareya Br. V 57.

13. *triphiṭa* AB. V 1 4 — Sayana's comment is not very helpful — *triphiṭam nṛṇāṅkharupera tīṣṇakleśena ccaritam*.

14. II 223-5.

are separately mentioned but the *antasthā* (for *antaḥsthā*) is mentioned for the first time in the Rkprātisākhya (I 9) Simultaneously with these phonetical discoveries purely grammatical categories too were being gradually isolated in the age of the Brāhmaṇas The animate genders are called *vṛṣan* and *yoṣā* respectively in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,<sup>15</sup> the terms *eka vacana* and *bahuvacana* occur already in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII 5118), but *dvivacana* for the first time only in the Atharva Pratiśākhya (I 75, II 47), though *dvivacas* occurs earlier in the Rkprātisākhya (I 71), the *āmreḍita* is still naively called *punaraiṣṭam punarnuṣṭam* in the Brahmanas<sup>16</sup>

Much more important than these individual discoveries are the grammatical groupings of nominal and verbal forms The order of the seven cases was determined obviously with a view to having all the possible identical forms in contiguous positions It was therefore only after a certain period of trial and error that the order of the seven cases could be fixed as already in Yaska<sup>1</sup> who it should be noted uses the term *vibhakti* only in the sense of nominal case form The eighth case vocative is mentioned for the first time in the Bṛhaddevatā<sup>18</sup> The different grammatical persons too were clearly distinguished by Yāska when he declared in his peculiar language, (*loc cit*) that the Mantras are *parokṣakṛta* (i.e. in the third person) and connected with verb forms of the third person (*prathamapurūṣas ca khyatasya*), or *pratyakṣakṛta* (i.e. in the second person) or *ādhyātmikā* (i.e. in the first person) The three tenses future present and past (called *karisyat kurvat* and *kṛtam* respectively) have been mentioned already in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>19</sup> But, as Liebhich<sup>20</sup> pointed out, the distinction made between the tenses was as yet more logical than grammatical for although the examples for present and past are in their proper tenses those for the future are mostly imperative-forms such as *a jāhi* etc

In connection with various ritual acts the Brahmanas often recommend the use of forms containing word elements corresponding in some way or other to those acts This is of more than passing interest for the history of Sanskrit grammar, for these recommendations could be laid down and acted up to only by those who had learnt not only to separate the suffix and the ending from the stem but also to isolate the root element from among a bewildering mass of congeneric forms Thus when the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa<sup>21</sup> declares a verse containing the word *pīṣbhik* to be *pīṣmat* it is quite clear that the author of this Brāhmaṇa had isolated consciously or otherwise the

15 VI 1 3 *vṛṣa ta ṛṣabho yoṣā subrahmaṇya*—We have *pumnamnyah stī namnyah napumsakanamnyah* in Śat. Br X. 5 1 2

16 E.g. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa V 11

17 VII 2

18 I 43.

19 IV 51 IV 53 V 11

20 *Einführung* II p 13

21 III 38

stem *pitṛ* both from the suffix *mat* and the ending *bhīḥ*. But such cases of which there are hundreds in the Brahmana literature are quite a simple affair compared with the analysis of composite verb forms indirectly suggested by Brahmana authors. Only after a long period of intelligent grammatical study and observation could it have been possible to recognise such dissimilar forms as *añjanat* (Ait Br V 3 2) and *januṣa* (Ait. Br V 1 5) to be *jalavat* i.e. containing the root *jan*. Similarly in the Ait Br *aganma* (V 4 1) and *jagmus* (V 4 2) are called *galavat asavi* (VI 3 1) is called *sufavat* etc.

These examples clearly show that although the actual root had not been fully abstracted by the later Vedic writers they had nevertheless rightly guessed the existence of a common element which they were at a loss to know how to express. It was quite natural that in order to express or suggest it they should have utilised only such forms as actually occurred in the language and if of such actual forms they particularly fixed upon the form in past participle passive to suggest that elusive common element by it was obviously because this was the only form of a verb which almost never failed to actually occur. Yet the form in past participle passive was not the only form utilised for this purpose, various purely nominal forms too were used—as for instance the verb-form *naya* is called *netṛmat*<sup>22</sup>. Sometimes both verbal and nominal forms are brought under the same head in this way thus in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa *vṛṣasva* (IV 5 3) *vṛṣnyam* (IV 5 4) *vṛṣanam* (VI 3 1) etc. are called *vṛṣanvant*. This was a further step in advance, for the elusive common element was in these cases clearly perceived to be reducible to both verbal and nominal ideas. The idea of the abstract grammatical root was therefore already there but the root was yet to be actually abstracted. Liebhich points out one case in which it may be claimed that even this last step had been actually taken by the author of the Aitareya Brahmana, for here the forms *madayantam mamadan* etc. are declared to be *madvat*. But as Liebhich<sup>23</sup> himself has argued it is more probable than not that here too *mad* is no real abstraction at all but is derived mechanically from compounds like *soma-mad*.

Hardly beyond the pale of Vedic literature stand the traditional Nighaṇṭus—the earliest work of a lexicographical nature in the Sanskrit literature—and Yaska's Nirukta thereon. For our purpose it will be sufficient to note about the Nighaṇṭus that they are probably older than Śakalya's Padapāṭha of the Rgveda for *hikam nukam* and other particles are treated as single words in the Nighaṇṭu<sup>24</sup> though they are divided in the Rkpadapāṭha as

<sup>22</sup> Aitareya Brahmana I 2. 4. Similarly in AB *ajani* is *jalat* (I 3 5) *apayasi* is *apnat* (I 3 6) *atutucal* is *rutlat* (I 4 4) *janghanat* is *jag* *nat* (I 4 8) etc.

<sup>23</sup> Einführung II p 17

<sup>24</sup> III 12.

whose author Yāska<sup>25</sup> himself mentions Śākalya. In dealing with the words *māsakṛt* and *vāyah* Yāska<sup>26</sup> definitely rejects the views of Śākalya, though however without mentioning his name. Śākalya's Padapāṭha is the earliest purely grammatical work in the Sanskrit literature. On it is based Śaunaka's Rkprātusākhya which is quoted by Pāṇini.

What Śākalya<sup>27</sup> actually did was merely to give every word of the Rksamhitā, in most cases modified through Sandhi with the preceding and the following word, in its pure and independent form. Simple as this task may appear to be it could not be carried out without a good deal of grammatical analysis, the Visarga alone being capable of assuming eight different forms in Sandhi. Moreover the consonantal endings in nominal flexion, as also secondary suffixes, have been regularly, though not always, separated from the stem in the Padapāṭha by Avagraha, components of compounds too have been separated in the same way, though however two Avagrahas have never been used in the Pada form of the same compound. The forms considered to be *pragrhya* are marked by the word *iti* by Śākalya, but it is still a mystery what precisely was the special characteristic which decided the *pragrhya* character of a form<sup>28</sup>. Some words are repeated in the Padapāṭha after the indicative *iti* under circumstances which it is not possible to discuss in this place, they are *parigrhya*. It is important to note that *avagraha*, *pragraha* and *paragraha* are all purely grammatical terms. All this may seem to be mere mechanical work, requiring no grammatical acumen. But there are many indications which clearly prove that Śākalya actually did try to understand grammatically the words he was dealing with. Thus the enclitic pronominal form *i* is represented by him as *im* in the Padapāṭha, evidently because the nasalless form had completely gone out of use in his time. In a large number of cases Samhitā words which are perfectly justifiable in themselves have been replaced by the later forms of those words in Śākalya's Padapāṭha (e.g., Samh. *daṁṣi* but P. *dhakṣi*; Samh. *āṛṇak* but P. *arṇaḥ* etc.). All this shows that Śākalya's Padapāṭha is a purely grammatical work,—the first Indian purely grammatical work in fact though the scope of grammar could not but be extremely narrow in it.

The function, though not the form, of the Padapāṭhas of the other Samhitās is more or less the same, evidently because they were all modelled after Śākalya's Padapāṭha, and they are thus all later than it. But Gārgya's Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda seems to be older than Yāska, for in commenting on the difficult word *mehaṇā* the latter says<sup>29</sup> that it may after all be three words

25 VI 28

26 V 21, VI 28

27 Date not later than 600 B.C." according to Keith, *Āitareya Aranyaka* Intro., p. 73

28 On this problem cf. *IHQ* X pp. 665-70, *IC*, IV, pp. 387-99, *NIA*, II pp. 59-61, *D R Bhandarkar Volume* (1940), pp. 21-24, *IC* VIII pp. 397-8

29 IV 4

and it can hardly be a case of fortuitous coincidence that in the Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda this form is actually treated as three words as Yāska's commentators Durga and Skandasvāmin have pointed out.

Gārgya in his Padapāṭha has shown much greater grammatical acumen than Śākalya, and in his word analysis he in some cases forestalled even the latest achievements of the science of linguistics. For example, Gārgya correctly divides the words *saṃ udram candra masaḥ, śrat dhā (śradhdhā)* none of which has been analysed by Śākalya. Yāska in dealing with these words sides with Gārgya against Śākalya as Professor Bhagvaddatta<sup>30</sup> has pointed out. In other cases, however, Gārgya's analysis is definitely wrong e.g., *an ye, sa khye, su ūryasja (sūrjasja)* etc. In analysing the compounds Śākalya never separates a component member if it does not occur in the Rksamhita also independently in the same sense which it assumes in the compound. Thus *svasti* has not been analysed by Śākalya because *asti* does not occur as a noun. Gārgya however ignored this convention and analysed *svasti* also.—The other Padapāṭhas offer little new material of grammatical interest. Ātreya's Padapāṭha<sup>31</sup> of the Taittirīya-Samhitā is so crude in comparison with the Padapāṭhas of Śākalya and Gārgya that Keith is inclined to date him even earlier than Śākalya.<sup>32</sup>

The great etymologist Yaska is to be placed somewhere after Śākalya and Gārgya whom he quotes, but before Śaunaka's Rkpratisākhya which in its turn is quoted by Pāṇini. Yaska's priority to the Rkpratisākhya is to be inferred however, only from circumstantial evidence. There is no direct evidence to prove Śaunaka's—or even Pāṇini's—posteriority to Yaska. The words *padaprakṛtiḥ samhitā* occurring both in the Nirukta<sup>33</sup> and (in the reverse order) in the Rkpratisākhya<sup>34</sup> can of course prove nothing as to their relative chronology, though Max Müller<sup>35</sup> asserted that Yaska was here simply quoting the Pratisākhya. Similarly, the Sūtra *parah samnikarṣaḥ samhitā* occurring both in Pāṇini and the Nirukta is valueless for chronological purposes. Yaska indeed presupposes the science of grammar when he says that etymology should not be taught to non-grammarians,<sup>36</sup> but that cannot prove his posteriority to Pāṇini, for both the works of Yaska and Pāṇini are the final results of pre-existing traditions. Yaska might have had in view the grammars or the grammatical science of the pre-Pāṇinian era. Nor does Pāṇini's teaching the formation of the name Yaska<sup>37</sup> prove his posteriority to Yaska the etymologist. Yet, in pursuing the history of Indian grammatical thought one is forced to admit Yaska's priority not

30 *A History of Vedic Literature* (Hindi), Vol. I Pt. II p 154

31 Padakara Ātreya is mentioned already in Baudh. Gr. S. III 97

32 TS—translation Introd., p 30

33 I 17

34 II 1

35 Introd. to Rkpratisākhya p 4

36 II 3

37 Pāṇ. IV 1 102

only to Pāṇini but also to the Rkprāṭiśākhya. Chronologically it is important to note that Śākalya must have been already dead when Yāska wrote, for he uses the perfect form *cakāra* when referring to Śākalya.

Yāska clearly distinguishes the four parts of speech—noun, verb, Upasarga and Nipāta<sup>38</sup>. The verb (*ākhyāta*) in his opinion chiefly conveys the idea of becoming (*bhāvapradhāna*). All the twenty Upasargas of the Sanskrit language are given by Yāska,<sup>39</sup> and he divides the Nipātas into four groups giving examples of each.<sup>40</sup> Kṛt<sup>41</sup> and Taddhita<sup>42</sup> suffixes are mentioned and illustrated by examples. The treatment of compounds by Yāska is however wholly inadequate. The different kinds of compounds had evidently not yet been differentiated in his time, so that he contents himself merely with the statement that they may be *ekaparvan* or *anekaparvan* (i.e. of two or more components). It is extremely difficult to believe that anyone coming after Pāṇini, though not dealing with grammar proper in the strictest sense of the word, could have confined himself to such broad generalities. And it is hardly possible that Yāska intentionally refrained from mentioning Pāṇini but referred to Gārgya and other Vaiyakarāṇas in the famous passage in which he contrasts the views of the etymologists with those of the grammarians.<sup>43</sup> In the absence of any compelling reason the benefit of doubt should therefore be given on the side of Yāska's priority to Pāṇini.

But compared with the preceding age Yāska surely marks a long step in advance. The technical terms *lopa*, *upadhā*, *vakya*, *navādeśa*, *sarvanāman* and *saṃkhyā* (*nāman*) are used by him already in the Pāṇinean sense. The masculine and feminine are now called *pumān* and *stṛī* as in Pāṇini. The causative, desiderative and intensive are called *kārita*, *cikīrṣita* and *cārkaṛita* foreshadowing Pāṇinean nomenclature. As proof of Yāska's linguistic insight may be mentioned that he had perceived that the first *t* in *prattam* is the fragment of a root.

Śaunaka the author of the Rkprāṭiśākhya (and Book V of the Aitareya Brāhmya) should have been one of the last pre-Pāṇinean writers on grammar, and his is certainly the earliest Prāṭiśākhya. It has to be borne in mind, however, that almost the sole object of the Prāṭiśākhyas is to explain or explain away the apparent or real differences between the Padapāṭha and the Saṃhita text, and in this they start with the assumption that the Padapāṭha is the original (*prakṛti*) of which the Saṃhita is a modified form (*vikṛti*). The Prāṭiśākhyas are not interested in anything that does not directly or indirectly serve to explain the difference between the Saṃhita text and the Padapāṭha. Thus they have a good deal to say about Sandhi, accent and metre, but that is about all in them that can be reasonably included in a

38 I 1  
41 I 14

39 I 3  
42 II 2

40 I 4  
43 Nir I 12-14



purely grammatical work. Particularly for the *Rkprātisākhya* it is important to note that its last eight Pāṭalas are certainly later than the first ten.

Śaunaka's chronological position is determined by the fact that although both Yaska and Pāṇini quote the views of Śākalya, the quotations in Pāṇini are however such that they could not have been taken directly from Śākalya's *Padapāṭha* but only from the *Prātisākhya* which presents in a systematic form the substance of Śākalya's *Padapāṭha*.<sup>44</sup> Goldstücker<sup>45</sup> tried to prove that Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is older than the *Rkprātisākhya*, mainly on the ground that Vyāḍi, also called Dakṣāyana, who, according to Patañjali, wrote his *Samgraha* on the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini is mentioned in the *Rkprātisākhya*. But Max Muller<sup>46</sup> rightly pointed out that the Vyāḍi mentioned in the *Prātisākhya* need not have been the author of the *Samgraha*.<sup>47</sup> Limited as was the scope of Śaunaka's *Rkprātisākhya*, the advance in grammatical thought since Yaska as reflected in his work is truly enormous, though still far behind Pāṇini excepting in things purely phonetical. Over a hundred technical terms occur here for the first time according to Liebhich,<sup>48</sup> most of them naturally pertaining to phonetics. The word *vyañjana*, which in Yaska<sup>49</sup> means *visarga*, appears here in the sense of "consonant" as in later literature Yaska uses the term *upajana* in the sense of Pāṇini's *agama*. It is significant that in the *Rkprātisākhya āgama* occurs four times in this sense, but *upajana* only once. The author once<sup>50</sup> refers to Yaska but only as a metrical authority. There is no trace of Pratyāhāras and Anubandhas in the *Rkprātisākhya*.

As none of the other *Prātisākhyas* can be proved to be older than Pāṇini<sup>51</sup> they need not be discussed here. A word however, needs to be said about the *Bṛhaddevatā* which as Macdonell has convincingly demonstrated<sup>52</sup> though later than Śaunaka's *Rkprātisākhya*, is probably older than Pāṇini. The author categorically declares<sup>53</sup> *nakarmako 'sti bhāvo hi, na nāma 'sti nirarthakam na 'nyatra bhāvan nāmam tasmāt sarvām karmataḥ*. This shows that the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* as a grammarian belonged to the school of Śakāyana who would derive every word from a verbal root. Like the previous writers he uses the term *viḥakti* in the sense of finite verb form and nominal case-form (*namakhyataviḥaktiḥ*),<sup>54</sup> but in

44 See *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 387-399.

45 *Pāṇini His Place in Sanskrit Literature* London 1861.

46 Introduction to his edition (1869) of the *Rkprātisākhya* pp. 20-21.

47 Cf. also Weber, *Indische Studien* V, pp. 106 ff.

48 *Einführung* II, p. 30.

49 VII 13.

50 XVII 42.

51 Suryakanta however makes the strange assertion that in all the *Sūtras*, that are found parallel in *Rktaṇtra* and Pāṇini, the latter may owe a debt to the former' (Intro. to *Rktaṇtram*, Lahore 1933, p. 40).

52 *Bṛhaddevatā*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. V, p. xxi.

53 I 31.

54 II 94.

Pāṇini it signifies merely endings, verbal and nominal. He defines that to be a noun which takes the eight Vibhaktis varying according to number and gender,<sup>55</sup> and is the first to mention<sup>56</sup> all the types of compounds known to Pāṇini. The number of Upasargas is given as twenty in the Bṛhaddevatā,<sup>57</sup> and it is added that Śākaṭāyana urges the inclusion of three more, viz *accha*, *śrad* and *antar*. Of the Nipātas it is said significantly that nobody can say "there are so many" of them<sup>58</sup>. The grammar of the Bṛhaddevatā is therefore in every way more advanced than anything that was known before. Yet, compared with Panini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, it looks crude enough to earn for its author the compensatory advantage of chronological priority—which can be granted him all the more easily since unlike the authors of the Prātsākhyaś the author of this text was not pinned down to an inexorable tradition in deference to which he might have felt compelled to ignore the grammatical discoveries of his age.

Then comes Pāṇini with his Aṣṭādhyāyī which Benfey<sup>59</sup> described as 'the most comprehensive grammar of the richest language within the briefest compass imaginable—or rather unimaginable'. Panini was born in the Athenian age of Indian history, when our forefathers fearlessly questioned all that was held sacred and mysterious from the beginning of times. This fast life—fast in the noblest sense of the word—need not and could not have been of long duration, for the spirit too like flesh, is weak. It is therefore misreading human nature to assume from the perfect technique displayed by Pāṇini that he must have been preceded by long generations of plodding grammarians. Pāṇini surely had predecessors, many of whom he himself mentions by name, but along with Pāṇini they all should have participated in the brisk intellectual life of more or less the same age which on account of its very brilliance could not have lasted very long. All things considered, Panini should be placed about 400 B C.

55 I 43

57 II 94

59 *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 76

56 II 105

58 II 93

## BUDDHISM IN ĀNDHRADEŚA

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Dr Bimala Churn Law is one of our distinguished orientalists, and is pre-eminently a Buddhist scholar. This article on Buddhism in Āndhradeśa is a tribute paid by its author to his versatility and scholarship. Buddhism like Jainism was an all India movement in the centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. There has been some dispute whether Buddhism was the earlier movement or Jainism in Āndhradeśa. We need not discuss this point here. Suffice it to say that Buddhism in Āndhradeśa may be traced as far back as the third century B.C. if not earlier. Though we have several and rich remains of Buddhist monuments in the shape of Stupas and Caityas throughout the Āndhra country, still a good number of them are to be found in the districts of Guntur and Kṛṣṇa. The earliest of these Buddhist monuments in these districts is a stūpa discovered at Bhaṭṭaproḷu with the inscriptions (edited by G Buhler in *Ep. Ind.* II, pp. 323-29). Apart from the fact that these inscriptions take the history of Buddhism in Āndhradeśa to the Aśokan times,—because the characters of these documents resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions—they are of value to prove that during the third century B.C. several varieties of the Southern Mauryan alphabet existed. As Dr Buhler very ably points out the Bhaṭṭaproḷu inscriptions show a system of writing which helps us to believe that the art of writing was practised in India for many centuries before the age of the Mauryas.

Bhaṭṭaproḷu has been identified with Pratipālapura, about six miles from Repalle in the Guntur district. It is said that the stūpa here enshrined a genuine relic (dhātu) of the Buddha. One of the inscriptions here refers to a king Kuṇḍaraka. The first inscription refers to the preparation of a casket and a box of crystal to deposit some relics of the Buddha. In some inscriptions (III, V, VI, VIII) reference is made to village committees and guilds (nigama) who have presented caskets, boxes of crystal and of stone. The tenth inscription in the stūpa states that even women from Nandapura participated in the gift in memory of the Buddha. These documents at Bhaṭṭaproḷu are an unquestionable testimony of the flourishing condition of the Buddhism in Guntur district in the third century B.C. Perhaps they may be dated earlier also. The religion of the Buddha had become popular and the public were anxious to contribute their mite to perpetuate the memory of the Bhagavān Buddha. The king, villagers, merchants, śramanas and women

all joined together in the common effort of erecting the stūpa and enshrining the relics of the Buddha in boxes of crystal and stone. The antiquities of Bhaṭṭiprolu are preserved in the Government Museum Madras, except the casket which has been presented to the Mahā Bodhi Society (See B V Krishna Rao *Early Dynasties of the Andhra Desa*, p 124, n)

The next set of Buddhist monuments come from Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta. The Maha Caityas in these places contain inscriptions with Mauryan letters. Burgess following Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* has elaborately studied the remains in these two places and published the results of his study in the Archaeological Survey of South India, Vol I. Amarāvati or the ancient Dhānyakaṭaka about 18 miles west from Bezvada is a well known Buddhist centre in Āndhradeśa. It had a huge stūpa—(a stūpa is only a large caitya)—with four gates and dates probably from the second century B C. Except the fragments some of which are now in the British Museum Fergusson writes that not a vestige remains *in situ* of the central stūpa at Amarāvati. But it is inferred from the fragments that the dome must have been considerably big, the base being about 162½ feet in diameter, and 40 to 50 feet in height. The stūpa<sup>1</sup> was embellished and repaired whenever necessary. It is believed that the outer rail was erected in the second century A D while the sculptures in the inner rail would be put down to the third century.

A peculiar characteristic of these dagabas is the existence of five pillars on each of the faces of the stupa. These are called Āyaka Kambas. The outer rail quite an artistic monument, was formed of upright slabs about ten feet in height above the level of the inner paved path with a number of cross bars carved with discs on both sides. The inner rail which was about 6 feet in length was richer in its carving (Burgess *Op cit* pp 24 5). If we examine the sculptures of the outer rail we have carvings of elephants and *makaras* generally. There are scenes of a king and his attendants, the queen holding her husband by the left arm, then a lion throne and behind it the *bodhi tree*. The men are seen wearing turbans and heavy earrings. Representations of Nagas and Nāga chiefs, of chauri bearers are common. What is very interesting is the flaming Trisūla to which worship is offered. In front of the altar is the Pādūkā or the sacred feet of the Buddha. In one place there is a *bodhi tree* rising from behind the Trisūla pillar. Men and women worship together, and the men invariably have a high head dress. Next to Svastika the trident symbol oft occurs on Buddhist sculptures. This symbol is the counterpart of Jyotiṃślinga in which form Śiva is worshipped. In this as in several other things like the Dharmacakra and Caitya the Buddhists copied the existing Hindu models apparently to catch the popular imagination.

1 The Ārya mañjuśrī mūlatantra (VAI p 88) mentions that the stūpa was raised over a relic of the Enlightened One.

Such things alone would appeal to the masses. Worship to the Paduka seems to be counterpart of the prayer offered to Viṣṇu pada.

Among other representations is the representation of the Bodhisattva or future Buddha coming from the heaven of Tuṣita gods to be born of Maya the wife of Śuddhodana. There are some elegant sculptures depicting a battle scene where elephants, horsemen and infantry men are seen. In some scenes women are seen wearing heavy anklets and scanty clothing. Before we close it may be remarked that the architecture is distinctly wooden though the use of brick in buildings is also seen.

In the inner rail the most remarkable are the Chakra or wheel pillars. At the base of each is a chair with two round cushions and the footprints on the footstool. Over the wheel Gandharvas and other gods are seen. Below a Chaitya pillar occurs an inscription (Burgess Op cit p 86) —a chaitya pillar with a relic at the south entrance—the gift of the merchant Kuṭa with his wife, with his sons with his daughters with his grandsons. A number of Amarāvati inscriptions are full of such gifts especially of private donors. These documents point out how not only institutions but even private families vied with one another in making gifts and enriching and embellishing the great stupa out of reverence for the Lord Buddha.

In a slab from the central stupa we meet with objects of Buddhist worship. The dhamma cakra is prominent in what is called the central compartment. In front of the dagaba is the five-hooded snake. Below the dhamma cakra is seen the Bodhi drum which is considered a symbol of Buddha's victory over Mara and his evil followers. On the footstool are found the footprints of the Buddha. This panel reminds one of the Buddhist triad—Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. (Burgess p 89)

These sculptures generally speaking are of varied interest. They depict scenes from the life of the Buddha and promote the legendary history of the Buddha. Among the images discovered were those which bear close resemblance to the Mahāyāna school. The figures whether it be of men or animals bear marks of a distinct individuality and are realistic. We get some idea of the ornaments and dress worn in those early times and also a hint as to the domestic life of the people at large. There is no doubt that the fair sex enjoyed complete freedom and most of the gifts were made by the members of that sex independent of the male members of the family. The Amarāvati school of Buddhism continued to flourish for more than five centuries together and has left indelible marks of its prosperity.

The Jaggayapeṭa stupa has the same tale to tell. It is at Betavolu about 30 miles north west from Amarāvati. The remains of the stupa and the fragments of sculpture are allied to those which we deem as old as at Amarāvati. The characters of the inscriptions on this stupa are of the Mauryan type and the stupa may possibly be dated to the second century.

B.C. Only slabs surrounding the base of the stūpa were found. Not a fragment of the rail can be discovered. We do not meet also with elaborate carving though we see a *makara* here or two winged animals there. Burgess remarks that even these are in very low relief and of archaic type. Among them may be mentioned a drawing of a shrine with four pillars in front. The śrīpāda is seen inside over which is found a chhatra or umbrella with two garlands hanging from it. There were the Āyaka pillars some of which were found lying bearing some inscriptions. One of them tells us about the erection of five Āyaka pillars at the eastern gate of the Chaitya in the 20th year of King Puruṣādatta of the Ikṣvaku line. Another inscription refers to an image of the Buddha done by Candraprabha, a disciple of Jayaprabha cārya who was in his turn, a pupil of Nāgārjuna. While the former may be dated to 4th century A.D., the latter may be dated to about 600 A.D. We cannot fully agree with these dates. Thus this monument had also the patronage of the state and of the public for several centuries together. (See Ind Ant XI, pp 256-59)

#### ŚRĪPARVATA AND NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA

Fa hian (5th century A.D.) and following him Hsien Tsiang refers to a sanghārāma on a mountain in the Āndhradeśa. The Tibetan books refer to the activities of Nāgārjuna and his death at Śrīparvata mountain. The Purāṇas like the Matsya Purāṇa refer to Śrī Pārvatīya Āndhras. Śrī parvata has been identified with Śrī Śailam by early scholars like Burgess. But the explorations at NāgārjunikoṇḌa and the Prākṛit inscriptions therefrom show that Śrīparvata may be identified with NāgārjunikoṇḌa. No less than seventeen specimens of āyaka pillars all of which are inscribed, have been discovered at this place and these documents have considerably increased our knowledge of Buddhism in Āndhradeśa. It is still a mystery why these pillars, which had nothing to do with the main structure, have been given so much importance. The term āyaka Kambha has not been properly interpreted. We are familiar to-day with *ayakkal* in Tamil which are forked wooden thick sticks used as a support when a procession of god is taken out on the shoulders of people. At resting places these pillar like sticks are used to relieve the bearers for the time being. I suppose this *ayakkāl* is a remnant of the old āyaka pillars which adorned the main entrances of the ancient Buddhist stūpa.

At NāgārjunikoṇḌa there was a maha chaitya. On its east, north and the north west the excavations brought to light a number of monuments and the remains of other monuments like the chaitya, stūpa, stone pillars which all indicate that once many buildings existed all round the main chaitya. Apart from the monuments of value, the inscriptions have shed new light. They refer to an Ikṣvaku dynasty which ruled in south India. To this dynasty belonged Madhariputa Sivi Virapurisadata. It was in his reign that

the various monuments in the locality were raised. His father was Vasithuputa Sīri Chāntamula (see Ep. Ind. XX pp. 1-37) who is credited to have done a number of Vedic sacrifices including the Asvamedha. His son Sīri Virapurisadata was also a follower of Brahmanical religion but he was tolerant enough to allow his queens and other ladies to follow the Buddhist faith. In those days it is rather difficult to say that one was a Buddhist or Hindu in faith. Toleration was the order of the day. In a family one member may follow a particular faith and another member another faith and a third member a third faith. This is very well seen from the pages of the Śilappadikāram the Tamil classic.

It is therefore not surprising that a princess like Chamtisiri who is called the uterine sister of Sīri Chamtamula and the paternal aunt of Sīri Virapurisadata and who was the wife of Mahātalavara Vasithuputa Kamdasiri of the Pukiya family, a mahasenapati—on this account Chamtisiri holds the title of Mahatalavari—was a Buddhist. The epigraphical records show that the great chaitya of the great Vihara at Nāgarjunikonda was founded by this lady in the 6th year of Sīri Virapurisadata's reign. She was also responsible for other edifices like a Chaitya gṛha and a stone maṇḍapa together with a cloister. The last building was intended for the use of the acharyas of the Apra Mahāvīnaseliya sect and erected in the eighteenth year of Sīri Virapurisadata. By this time the reigning king had become the son-in-law of Chamtisiri.

In these pious foundations Chamtisiri was helped by other noble ladies. One was a daughter of Sīri-Chamtamula and the sister of the reigning king. She was also a mahatalavari. The second was the wife of Mahasenāpati Mahatalavara Vasithuputa Khamdachalikiremanaka of the Hiraṇyakas. She was the donor of the fourth pillar. The third lady who had dedicated the fifth pillar was also a Mahatalavari. Yet another lady by name Mahadevi Bhaṭṭidevā who is called the daughter-in-law of Sīri Chamtamula is credited with the foundation of a vihara. Apparently she was a consort of the Sīri Virapurisadata. Another vihara was founded by the daughter of Sīri Virapurisadata as the inscribed pillar of Koṭṭampaluga would point out. She is said to be a consort of the Maharaja of Vanavasa the ancient name for North Kanara. This is dated in the eleventh regnal year of Sīri Ehuvaḷa Chamtamula the son and successor of Sīri Virapurisadata. The information yielded by the inscriptions has enabled us to reconstruct a history of the Ikṣvakus in Āndhradeśa.

Among the pious foundations enumerated in these documents special mention may be made of two monasteries—Kulaha vihara and Sihala vihara. The donor of the fourth pillar calls herself as a daughter of the Kulahakas evidently a royal family of considerable importance. Kulaha vihara as has been surmised by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel was the foundation chiefly dedicated to

the Kulahakas. In the same way Sīhaja vihāra would be a convent founded by or for the Singhalese. This convent had a shrine and also a Bodhi tree. There had been at this time frequent intercourse between Ceylon and South India, and hence we see more of Ceylonese Buddhist influence here. Such flourishing edifices were found in ruins when Hiuen Tsiang came to India and wrote about them. Buddhism had definitely decreased in the Andhra country in the days of Hiuen Tsiang. The reasons are not far to seek. Dr Vogel happily summarises them for us: (1) The decline of South India's trade with Rome which flooded the Peninsula with the Roman gold (2) the conquest of South India by the great ruler Samudragupta (3) the rise of Pallavas devoted to Brahminical religion (4) the rise of Chālukyas in the West of the same religious persuasion. One other cause may be the rise of a number of sects within the Buddhist community which must have considerably weakened the harmony and coherence of the community. (Ep Ind Opt cit.)

Even in the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikonda there are a number of sects mentioned. Reference has already been made to the sect of Aparamahāvīnaseliyas. One scholar associated it with Mahāvāna Sāla at Vaiśālī. The Mahāvamsa (V, 12) and Dīpavamsa (V, 54) refer to the Pubbaśelīkas and Aparāśelīkas, as the two subdivisions of the Mahāsamghikas. It is said that the Aparāśelīkas may be an abbreviation for Aparā Mahāvīnaseliyas of the inscriptions. Or it may be that the Pālī chronicles of Ceylon record the two sects of Pubbaśela and Aparāśela, which, according to Hiuen Tsiang existed on the hills to the east and west of the then capital of the Āndhradeśa.

Hiuen Tsiang says "to the east of the city, bordering on a mountain, is a convent called the Fo lo pho shi lo or Pūrvaśīla. To the west of the city, leaning against a mountain is a convent called 'O fa lo shi lo or Avaraśīla. These were built by an early king in honour of the Buddha. He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries, while chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns. There have been no priests for the last hundred years" (Beal *Bud Records of Western World II*, pp 221-23). Earlier the Chinese traveller tells us that in his days there were about twenty convents with a thousand priests or so. The Aparasīla is the western rock monastery and the Pūrvaśīla is the eastern rock monastery. Those who made the former as their residence were known as Aparāśailas and those who made the latter were known as Pūrvaśailas. The Pūrvaśailas according to Burnouf, are followers of Mahadeva, an early teacher (Int. a' l' Hist. Du Bud. Ind. 2nd edition p 398). They were also known as Chaityikas. The Pūrvaśailas and Avaraśailas were two of the five sects of the Mahāsamghika school.

Very early the Buddhist Church came to be divided into two schools—the Mahāsamghikas or the school of the great Congregation and Mahāsthavīras or the school of the great President. The Buddhist community in the



Āndhradeśa were followers of the Mahāsaṃghika school. The three remaining sects of this school were the Haimavatas, the Lokottaravādins and the Prajñaptivādins. A definition of all these sects cannot be attempted. Suffice it to say that most of them were local. There were several other sects also. The inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa mention a sect Bahusūtiya (Pālī Bahusuttīya, Sanskrit Bahuśrutīya) besides Ārya haṃgha (Skt. Ārya saṃgha), and Mahāsaka (Skt. Mahāśaka). Thus the collapse of Buddhism after seven or eight centuries of existence is due more to the split in the church leading to sects and subsects than any extraneous causes which also contributed to its fall.

The inscriptions give some more details of the Buddhism as prevalent in the Andhra country. It occurs in an additional passage that in the completion of the great Chaitya service was rendered by one Ānanda who knew *Dīghanikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* by heart. It is further stated that Ānanda was a follower of the Ārya saṃgha sect whose scripture is seen to be the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima nikāyas* and the five *Mātukas*.

Again the erection of ayaka pillars and stone pillars was considered very holy and ladies of royal family were invariably the donors. They did these for the attainment of *nirvāṇa* mainly and also for material prosperity e.g. Chāntisiri wishes for the longevity and victory of her son in law Sira Vira purisadata. From an inscription in an apsidal temple it is seen that one Bodhisiri caused a number of foundations for the welfare of her family members. This document shows the wide activities of the Ceylonese monks who carried the message of the Buddha to Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Chulata (Assam?), Tosali, Aparanta, Vanga, Vanavasi, Yavana, Damila, Palura and the Isle of Ceylon. It is particularly to be noted that Buddhism was prevalent all over India about this time which may be roughly third century A.D. This proves further that not only royal ladies but ordinary female members who could afford to erect pious foundations associated themselves with the worship of the Buddha. Add to this the two inscriptions incised on sculptures at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It is the donation of a footprint slab by Budhi, the sister of a Saka, Moda. If Saka is Scythian as is usually interpreted by western orientalists, then it is significant in the sense that even foreigners like the Scythians embraced the Indian cult (*Ep. Ind. Op. cit.* p. 37).

There is a strong tradition that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was the residence of Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mahāyāna school. As has been already said, the Tibetan tradition says that he ended his life at this spot. Further, the name of the locality itself is a strong testimony. But what is surprising is that the inscriptions from this place do not make any reference to Nāgārjuna at all. The late lamented A. B. Keith would place this mysterious Nāgārjuna in the latter part of the 2nd century A.D. His chief works are *Mādhyamakārikas* and *Suhṛllekha* where the Buddhist doctrine is summarised.

(*A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp 71 2) Huen Tsiang further tells us that Bodhisattva Bhāvaviveka lived in a monastery on a hill at Vijayapurī. The identification of Vijayapurī has not yet been satisfactorily done. According to the Chinese traveller it was not far from the capital. Vijayapurī is only once mentioned in a record at Amarāvati. According to the document of Bodhisattva to its west lay the Śrīparvata. In this place lived Bhāvaviveka (Watters on *Yuan Chuang*, Vol II p 215)

A H Longhurst who conducted further excavations at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa was able to recover many lead coins, gold and silver reliquaries, pottery, statues and over four hundred bas relief sculptures as magnificent as those from Amarāvati (Ind Ant. Vol LXI pp 186f). The ruined buildings are the remains of Stupas, monasteries, apsidal temples and a palace. These were built of large bricks measuring 20" × 10" × 3". The sculptures and statues were executed in grey limestone which resembles marble. On plan and in construction it is said that the Andhra stūpas bear marked differences from those of the north. They are built in the form of a wheel with hub, spokes and tire, all in brickwork with a dome over the structure. The dome was made to rest on a circular platform from 2 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the monument. Another special feature of these monuments is a platform on each of the four sides of the dome resembling an altar. Large monuments were provided with pillars. Five pillars varying from 10 to 30 feet in height adorned every quarter and the total number was twenty. These are the āyaka pillars to which a reference has already been made. (*Ibid*)

In the sculptures two kinds of stūpa are depicted and decorated partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation. In decoration they resemble the stūpas of Gandhara and this shows mutual influence between South India and Gandhara. The chief scenes in the sculptures portray the five miracles in the life of the Buddha. These are the Nativity, Renunciation, Sambodhi, First Sermon and Death.

The diameter of the great stūpa at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa is 106 feet and its total height excluding the *tee* about 80 feet. The āyaka platforms are 22 × 5 feet. The stupa was surrounded by a procession path 13 feet wide and enclosed by a wooden railing resting on brick foundations. The stūpa consisted of 40 chambers. Originally a plain structure, additions were made later on. Perhaps the āyaka pillars were added in the second century A.D. The monument was a dhātugarbha or a shrine containing a relic, and not a memorial stūpa. Hence the name Mahācaitya (*Ibid*).

It may be concluded that with the decline of the Ikṣvaku, Buddhism began to decline in the Andhra country. By the time when the Viṣṇukundins rose to power about the beginning of the fifth century A.D., it has ceased to be an active religion though some monks continued to live and preach in some monasteries for a century or two more.

## THE HOME OF TĀNTRIC BUDDHISM

By

Dr BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA M.A., PH.D (Baroda)

When Mm Haraprasad Shastri published his *Discovery of Living Buddhism* in Bengal in the year 1897 he was ridiculed, and in scholarly parlance it was long known as 'Shastri's fad'. Later, however, Buddhist studies in Bengal progressed satisfactorily, and several scholars took up the study of Buddhism—both living and dead—in right earnest, and made much valuable contribution which revealed the political cultural and linguistic history of Bengal with a great wealth of detail. The name of the late Sarat Chandra Das however, stands pre eminent amongst scholars of Buddhism in Bengal.

The results of these Buddhist studies have been admirably summarised in the recent *History of Bengal*, Vol I published by Dr R. C. Majumdar. To day, thanks to his efforts we know a great deal regarding Buddhism in Bengal. We know, for instance, that there were celebrated Buddhist scholars whose fame spread beyond India that there were Bengali mystics Tāntrics, Siddhas and magicians who made a name outside Bengal and that gifted composers of mystic poetry preached and popularised the esoteric doctrines of Vajrayāna, and great Yogis followed complicated Yaugic practices. We further know that Bengal produced in mediæval times hundreds of Buddhist sculptures which have been discovered studied and identified. In fact, it now gradually becomes evident that there was an independent school of art and sculpture, which produced a large number of Buddhist images of wonderful workmanship besides thousands of the most exquisite specimens of Brahmanical ones with a sprinkling of Jain icons.

Dr Majumdar's *History* gives also a survey of the origin and development of the vernacular songs of the early Buddhist composers of Bengal. The *Buddha Gaṇ O Dohā* revealed a large number of Dohās, or Bengali songs of the earliest times although there is still some controversy concerning the date of their composition<sup>1</sup>. There are weighty reasons to show that these

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1 With apologies to the learned linguist I entirely disagree with the findings of Dr Suruti Kumar Chatterji and his associates regarding the dates of the authors of the *Caryapadas*. Linguistic evidence is not by itself sufficient to combat historical evidence. Śāntarakṣita's date is certain, since he did not refer to Śaṅkarācārya but to the earlier school of the Aupaniṣadas, his date as given by me in the *Tatvasaṅgraha* is to be taken as settled. The date is 706-762 A.D. Śāntarakṣita is again connected with Padmasambhava and incidentally, with his father Indra

songs, composed by poets flourishing at different times cover a period from the 7th to the 12th centuries A.D. but linguistic experts would place them all in the 10th 11th and the 12th centuries or to be exact 950 1200 A.D. These songs are no doubt Buddhist and belong obviously to the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna forms of Buddhism and are accompanied with a commentary in Sanskrit.

The *Buddha Gaṇ O Doha* was published in the year 1916 by Mm Shastri and this stimulated subsequently a great deal of research in Bengali linguistics. The fact is worth repeating lest Mm Shastri's important discovery be altogether forgotten under the pressure of re editions improved or critical editions, and reprints of the same book undertaken by the present generation of scholars.

Besides these the Sadhana literature of the Buddhists provided research scholars with ample material for the identification of Buddhist images etc covered in Bengal. The *Sadhanamala* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in the years 1925 and 1928 contained no less than 312 Sadhanas for the worship of Buddhist deities and these not only provided material for the reconstruction of the Buddhist religious history of Bengal but also gave almost a complete account of the state of the Buddhist Tāntric literature in Sanskrit, and details of numerous Tāntric authors who were connected with Bengal and practised the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism.

When the *Sadhanamala* was published I remember to have been faced with a volley of criticism on its editing methods and other shortcomings in leading journals. As a rule I never waste my time in replying to critics as it rarely if ever contributes to human knowledge. The rage of criticism is now over but I cannot state without a feeling of disappointment that the

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bhuti all of whom must therefore be contemporaries. In the second volume of the Tangyur Catalogue of P. Cordier is given a succession of Gurus and disciples in the following order —

- (1) Padmavajra a of Guhyasiddhi
- (2) His disciple Anāṅgavajra a Prajñopayaviniscayasiddhi
- (3) His disciple Indrabhūti a Jñānasiddhi
- (4) His disciple Bhagavati Lakṣmī or Lakṣminkara a Advayasiddhi
- (5) Her disciple Līlavajra a Vyaktabhāvasiddhi
- (6) His disciple Daṅka, a Oḍḍiyanavin rgata Mahāguhyatattvopadeśa
- (7) His disciple Sahajayoginī Cīnta a Vyaktabhavanugata tattvasiddhi
- (8) Līlavajra's disciple Dombu Heruka a Sahajasiddhi

This list has neither been prepared nor concocted by me. It is there in the Tangyur Catalogue for all to see and has to be taken as a historical fact. No amount of verbal jugglery can unsettle this fact. That this *paramparā* of Gurus and disciples is correct is proved by the composition of the manuscript No 13124 as preserved in the Baroda Oriental Institute. In this collection the original works mentioned in the Tangyur Catalogue against these authors are included in their logical sequence. The whole succession should cover the latter part of the 7th and the whole of the 8th century. There seems to be no escape from this position.

Tibetan knowing critics have not yet turned their attention to the constructive work of tracing in the Tangyur numerous Sanskrit Sadhanas extant only in Tibetan translations and thus add to our knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

To resume the authors of the Sadhanas were also the authors of the *Caryapadas* and many of them were connected with Bengal Dr Majumdar's *History of Bengal* Vol I has taken all these factors into account, although in matters of detail there may be room for controversy

Now it may be asked Can we proceed a step further? I think at this stage it will be possible for us to take a more synthetic view

First of all let us see where the Buddhist images of the Vajrayana type were discovered By this I mean only those images for the identification of which a satisfactory Dhyana can be cited from the Sadhanamala or other equally trustworthy evidence can be adduced Then let us find out where these images were most prolific, that is to say where they first originated in order to find out how and where they migrated later

This type of investigation has been made possible by the admirable production of Dr N K. Bhattasali entitled *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* published in 1929 His methods were followed by R D Banerji in his monumental work '*Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*' published by the Archaeological Survey of India in the year 1933 The original scientific and accurate work of these two eminent Bengali scholars have opened up new lines of investigation and the historians of this country have reasons to be grateful to them for their valuable contribution

On referring to these works in addition to Dr Majumdar's *History of Bengal* Vol I we find that Vajrayana images and paintings are found in Bengal Assam Bihar Orissa parts of U P one place in central India Nepal and Tibet. Among these Assam, Bihar and Orissa can be regarded as coming within the cultural influence of Bengal in pre-Muhammadan times. Vajrayana images, however are not found in other parts of India such as Madras, Maharashtra Gujarat, Kathiawad the Punjab Kashmir or even Central Provinces or Rayputana Is it all a matter of chance that Vajrayana images should be found round about Bengal and in those places which were known to have been deeply influenced by Bengal and Bihar?

Let us now examine more carefully the find spots of these sculptures In Bengal proper the following places and districts are known to have yielded

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2. For instance, Sadhanas for the following deities still exist in Tibetan (1) Ratupriya (2) Yaksanatanati, (3) Kalka (4) Hantu, (5) Naga, (6) Manohara (7) Subhaga, (8) Raturaga, (9) Purgabhadra (10) Bhutisundari (11) Vimala sundari (12) Kṛpāpīṣā (13) Alaka, (14) Alagupta (15) Kharamukhi, (15) Āṣṭakṣuṣī besides many others. Even a bare description of their forms may be of great help in recognising un-identified sculptures.

Vajrayāna images which correspond mostly to the Dhyānas as given in the *Sādhnamālā*. In this list I do not think I have exhausted the place names, but it will certainly give a fair idea of the distribution of the Vajrayāna sculptures throughout the country included to-day in the map of Bengal and Assam which were together under the same administration until recently

In Bengal Vajrayāna deities have been discovered in the district of Birbhum, Gauri (dt. Burdwan), Sagardighi and Ghiyasabad in the district of Murshidabad Sonarang and Vikrampur in the Dacca district, Tipperah, Bad Kamta, Paharpur, Mahasthan Rajshahi Faridpur, Malda Sylhet, Barisal, Tripura State and the Chittagong district

In Bihar, Vajrayāna deities have been found in Nalanda, Bihar Sarif, Patna and Gaya districts, Bodhi Gaya, Kurkihar, Hazaribagh, Patharghata (Bhagalpur), and various other small places. A good collection of these can also be found in the Patna Museum

In the United Provinces Sarnath is the only important place where a number of Vajrayāna deities have been found. Besides these, at Mahoba in British Bundelkhand were found a few specimens of exquisite workmanship. These have been described by Mr K. N. Dikshit in an excellent manner in a special Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India. Mr Dikshit places these images in the 11th—12th century A.D. on reliable palaeographical grounds.

Buddhism being a living religion in Nepal and Tibet Vajrayāna images of all varieties are found in large quantities in these countries. When I visited some of the Nepal monasteries in 1922 they presented an appearance of veritable museums of Buddhist images of a bewildering variety. But I have not come across old images of the Tantric school and the majority of metal and stone images were of recent origin mostly post Muhammadan. Thus Nepal and Tibet are left out, since they have little to do with the origin of Vajrayana and because they were markedly influenced by the Vajrayāna of Bengal and Bihar. When the monasteries in Bihar and Bengal were devastated, burnt and looted at the time of the Muslim invasion of Bengal the priests ran away to Nepal with their sacred texts, their Vajrayāna practices, and the images of their favourite gods over the difficult Himalayan passes to Nepal. Thus on the Vajrayāna of Nepal the stamp of Bengal is strongly marked. Most of the monasteries in Nepal according to their own traditions originated in the 13th century A.D., and the Nepal MSS library contains a large number of manuscripts written in Bengali characters of the pre Muslim period. It is also not difficult to prove that in the matter of Tāntric Buddhism Bengal exerted her great influence on Bihar. That influence is manifested not only by the Bengali scholars going over and teaching in Bihar monasteries but also by the close resemblance existing between the art, sculpture and architecture of these two countries. Bengali Rajas often held sway over Bihar and it is

not improbable that during the Pala times the Tāntric religion permeated through this country

In Bengal proper Vajrayana deities of different types come in large numbers from Vikrampur Dacca Tipperah Faridpur Rajshahi and to a certain extent from Birbhum In other parts of Bengal only a sprinkling of such images is found According to Dr N K Bhattacharya Vanga and Samatāṭa in Bengal were the two centres from which culture radiated to other parts of Bengal in this particular case apparently through eminent Bengali authors teachers mystics and poets belonging to Vajrayana In the opinion of Dr Bhattacharya Vanga included in the early days the modern districts of Dacca Faridpur Backerganj while Samatāṭa included the whole of the present Chittagong division and the plains of Sylhet and portions of the present Dacca and Mymensing districts Can we take this Vanga-Samatāṭa tract as the Home of Vajrayana?

The celebrated author Śāntarakṣita belonged to Vanga his birth place being Za hor (modern Sabhar in the Vikramapura Paragana)<sup>3</sup> If this had not been correct, Dr Majumdar would not have accepted him in Bengal history Even so is the case with Śāntideva or Bhusuku Padmasambhava Dīpankara-sri jñāna and a host of other Siddhācāryyas although Dr Majumdar will not accept them all in Bengal without a grudge That many of them belonged to Vanga Eastern India Vikramapuri Jagaddala Puṇḍra vardhana Pandubhumi Somapuri and such like places in Bengal is to day a matter of common knowledge.

If that be so can we not assert that Tantric Buddhism originated in Vanga and Samatāṭa? At least that should be the legitimate conclusion of the findings of Dr Majumdar in his voluminous treatise The Tāntric Buddhism or Vajrayana and its associations are so intimately connected with Bengal that we are tempted to hold this part of Bengal as the place of its origin

Vajrayana images are found in considerable quantities in the Vanga-Samatāṭa area Vajrayana authors are connected with this country Vajrayana paintings in Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts refer to Vajrayana temples existing in this country Many of the Siddhas or masters of Vajrayana are connected with this country as also many of the Vajrayana songs and their composers This tract abounds in ruins of old Buddhist monasteries and cities Dr Bhattacharya has also pointed out names of villages and towns in Vanga and Samatāṭa which even to-day are of distinctly Buddhist flavour Names of places like Vajrayoginī not only have Buddhist associations, since Vajrayoginī is a Buddhist deity of wide celebrity but also signifies its connection with

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3 Dr Bhattacharya has shown that Sabhar was a Buddhist centre of great antiquity He fixed "7th-8th century A.D. as the age of the ruins of Sabhar" *Iconography* op. cit. Intro, p. vii

Vajrayāna because the word 'Vajra' in Vajrayoginī means Śūnya which is the Vajrayāna term for the Ultimate Reality

While talking of Vajrayoginī, I am tempted to refer to another problem connected with the identification of Uḍḍiyāna which was regarded as a place of great importance in Vajrayāna Buddhism. In fact, the Tibetans consider this as the place where Tāntric Buddhism originated. Thus the identification of this place becomes a paramount necessity. Mm Haraprasad Shastri identified Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa and in my earlier days I used to take that identification as correct. But later I found that the few details regarding Uḍḍiyāna obtained from various sources, such as the Tibetan authors Sadhanas, paintings etc. do not harmonize in case it is identified with Orissa. Moreover, Uḍḍiyāna being Pīṭha should only be a small but very important place and thus cannot be identified with a big country like Orissa. Although uncertain myself I suggested that the identification of this place may have to be looked for in Assam because Uḍḍiyāna ought to be near Sabhar in order to fit in with the story of Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava. Moreover, Uḍḍiyāna being the place of Indrabhūti a celebrated Buddhist author of the Vajrayāna school and the father of Padmasambhava, must be saturated with not merely Buddhist but Vajrayāna atmosphere of the *Sāḍhanamālā* and also within reasonable proximity of the other old Pīṭhas like Kāmākhyā and Sīrihatta in Assam.

Uḍḍiyāna is often mentioned in Tāntric literature but it should particularly be noted that it is mentioned along with Kāmākhyā Sīrihatta and Pūrṇagiri in a group. In the *Sāḍhanamālā* it is mentioned twice in this manner. To all these four Pīṭhas or sacred spots worship is made and flowers are offered in token of reverence. These four Pīṭhas are mentioned in connection with the worship of a violent Vajrayāna deity Vajrayoginī who, as I have shown years ago is the same as the Hindu deity Chinnamastā, one of the ten Mahavidyas of the Hindu Tantra which borrowed it from Vajrayāna.

Again, in Professor Foucher's list of Prajñāparamitā paintings Uḍḍiyāna (also spelt as Oḍḍiyana and Oḍiyana) is further connected with Marīcī, another violent Vajrayana goddess. The *Sāḍhanamālā* records that Oḍḍiyāna was also connected with the Sadhanas and worship of Kurukullā and Trailokyavaśankara. These are manifestly Vajrayana deities. According to *Sāḍhanamālā* Sarahapā was connected with Uḍḍiyāna and Mm Shastri informs us that he composed several Tāntric poems and wrote extensively on Tāntric subjects. In the Tibetan tradition Padmasambhava Kambalapā Luipā, Tailikapā and several others are connected with Uḍḍiyāna. But the most famous among them seems to be Indrabhūti the king of Uḍḍiyāna whose only extant work in Sanskrit '*Jñānasiddhi*' is styled in the colophon as '*Śrīmad Oḍiyāna vinirgata*'. This work is already published in the Gaekwad's



Oriental Series as one of the *Two Vajrayana Works* which breathes an atmosphere of Vajrayana through and through

Under the circumstances the location of Uḍḍiyāna will have to be found in a purely Vajrayana atmosphere if not also in a Vāṅga-Samātāṭa atmosphere but certainly not in Swat Kashmir Kafiristan or Kashgarh or any other place on the slender ground of its inhabitants making the acquaintance of magical formulas their occupation. Simply because eminent European scholars have committed a mistake in identifying the place are we in duty bound to quote it and repeat it every now and then or support it with all the ingenuity at our command to perpetuate that mistake? It is exactly on such occasions that modern research becomes a source of danger to truth and science

Thus the location of Uḍḍiyāna is still to be searched for in Vāṅga and Samātāṭa which according to Dr Bhattasālī's most well-considered opinion were the centres of culture in Bengal in pre Muslim times. Although it has not been possible to identify Uḍḍiyāna in spite of the efforts of the historians of Bengal and Assam the search should by no means be abandoned. Perhaps the old name has been entirely replaced by a new one and in that case the place will never be recognised for certain in the future without further discovery of new and relevant material. But one thing is certain Uḍḍiyāna was connected with Vajrayoginī and who can say that the present village of Vajrayoginī in the Vikrampur area is not spreading a mystic veil on the identity of the ancient Uḍḍiyāna of Tantric fame? Certainly the name of the village is peculiar and demands an explanation

I cannot say whether this identification is certain but I am inclined to suggest it as very probable. We have instances where the original place names have been obliterated and replaced by the name of the deity installed in the locality. In Nepal for instance we meet with a similar example and strangely enough connected with the same divinity Vajrayoginī. At Śāṅku on the top of a hill reached by a flight of more than a thousand stairs there is a temple of Vajrayoginī. In 1922 the locality was still known by two names Śāṅku and Vajrayoginī although the first was rapidly going out of use. The hill where the Svayambhu Caitya was built is now known by the name Śimbbhu. In Bengal the village where the Tārakeśvara temple was built is forgotten and to-day it is known by the name of the deity Tārakeśvara. It is well known that the Uḍḍiyas know Purī by the name of Jagadānatha. Examples like these can be multiplied. The references in the *Sadhanamālā* make it evident that the four Pīṭhas Kamakhya Sīṅhatta Pūṃgiri and Uḍḍiyāna were specially sacred to Vajrayoginī and very probably at all these places the deity was installed in a temple. Uḍḍiyāna must have received the name of Vajrayoginī because of this temple. At any rate this small village of Vajrayoginī ought to receive careful attention of both historians and explorers

Outside Bengal, people seem to have queer ideas about the Bengalis. People are heard to remark that the Bengalis are so very different from others. The name of Gauḍ Vāṅgāla still excites terror in the mind of the layman, and many still believe that all Bengalis are magicians. Further, it is believed that the witches of Kamākhyā can turn men into small little animals. Does the Tāntric Buddhism account for these and make the Bengalis different?

Many scholars have remarked that the Vaidya caste is peculiar to Bengal. This caste is not met with anywhere else. Has it any connection with Vajrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism? Is Vajrayāna in any way responsible for the creation of a new caste? The Yogis, now called Jugis, are indigenous to Bengal. To-day they call themselves Nathapanthis—a *pantha* akin to Vajrayāna. How does it happen that the old strongholds of Tāntric Buddhism—Dacca, Faridpur, Tipperah, Chittagong—are still the strongholds of the modern Vaidyas?

These and other problems are there for the clever scholar to investigate, but in my mind there is little doubt that Vajrayāna originated in Vanga and Samatāṭa and thence travelled to the rest of India. Vajrayāna in Bengal must have brought in its wake several new and perplexing problems to the Hindu society, and it will be most interesting to know how they were solved in mediaeval days until the Muslim sword got rid of many of the problems altogether including those concerning the distinction between the Buddhist and the Hindu.

Vajrayāna is great but we should know more, and Dr Majumdar has made it easy.

# HISTORICAL PORTRAITS IN BĀṆA'S *HARŚACARITA*\*

By

Dr U N GHOSHAL MA PH D FRASB

In the wide range of his portraits of historical personages Bāṇa is unrivalled by any of his compeers. We have in the *Harṣacarita* living pictures of historical personages from bejewelled kings, queens and princes to bark-clad ascetics and from polished courtiers to wild foresters. To illustrate this point we may begin with Bāṇa's charming pen picture of the child prince Harṣa when he could just manage five or six paces with the support of his nurse's finger and 'could just utter a child's first indistinct cries. Illustrative of the superstitions reigning even in high places at this time is the reference to the precautions taken to ward off from the precious child the evil eye and the evil spirits. The Prince wore upon his head a mustard amulet; his form was stained yellow with *goracana* (scilicet a bright yellow pigment prepared from the excrements etc. of a cow); his neck was ornamented with a row of tiger's claws linked with gold<sup>1</sup>. Equally graphic is the picture of the boy Bhaṇḍi whom his father presented to court at this time for serving the little prince. The boy's coiffure, his ornaments and his carriage equally bespoke his high birth. Side-locks of curly hair (*kakapakṣaka*) in waving tufts (*śikhanda*) adorned his handsome head. He wore one earring of sapphire and another of pearl. A diamond bracelet was bound around his forearm. Curved bits of coral were tied to his neck string. Though still a child he bore himself stiffly like a seed of the tree of valour.

Equally striking but more detailed is the picture of the two youthful Malwa princes Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta as they appeared when king Prabhakaravardhana introduced them to his two sons to serve as lords in waiting. The elder Prince who was aged about eighteen years had a striking physique. He was neither very tall nor very short, and was gifted with a hard frame with slim shanks, thick hard thighs, slender waist, broad chest and pendulous arms. His decorations befitting his high rank consisted of a

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\* In the above *C* and *T* stand for the *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa translated by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London, 1897 while Kane stands for the *Harṣa charita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa Uchchhvasas I-IV edited with an Introduction and Notes by P. V. Kane, Bombay 1st ed. 1918, and Gajendragadkar is an abbreviation for the *Harṣacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa Uchchhvasas IV-VIII edited with a Sanskrit commentary (*Balabodhini*) by S. D. Gajendragadkar and an Introduction Notes (critical and explanatory) and Appendices by A. B. Gajendragadkar, Poona 1919.

1. *C* and *T* pp 115-16 and Gajendragadkar *Notes* p 86.

2. *Ibid* pp 116-17.

jewelled bracelet on his left wrist and a jewelled ear-ornament. His bearing was marked by graceful motions downcast eyes and princely nobility. The younger brother had his breast anointed with sandal paste and adorned with a necklace. He was as remarkable as his brother for his decorum prowess and other qualities.<sup>3</sup>

It was not however, always amid such happy surroundings that Bāṇa had occasion to describe royalty. Here is, for instance a pathetic picture of Queen Yaśovati as she issued forth from her apartments on the journey to the funeral pyre. She was dressed in vestments of death. Her body was wet through recent bath. She was wearing two robes reddish brown with saffron along with her red veil. Her lower lip was tinged with the deep red of betel. A red neck-cord hung between her breasts. Her limbs were red with moist saffron paste. A garland of strung flowers hung round her neck and reached her feet. She was supported by aged women attended by great noblemen and followed by aged chamberlains. She was bidding farewell even to birds and beasts and embracing the very trees about the palace.<sup>4</sup>

Coming to the great officers of State, we may mention Bāṇa's striking description drawn no doubt from life of General Simhanada as he appeared when addressing Harṣa in the Council-chamber about the coming campaign against the Gaudas. Stately and tall stubborn in frame, with straight white locks and hanging eye-brows with terrible visage brightened by thick white moustache with a long white beard hanging down to his navel the general bore the weight of his advanced years with ease. A veteran of many wars, he wore on his broad chest the scars of numerous wounds received in battle. 'His very voice deep as the booming of a drum inspired the warriors with thirst for battle.'<sup>5</sup>

In the same context Bāṇa gives an equally vivid description of the elephant commander Skandagupta (evidently of an inferior courtly rank) whom Harṣa summoned to his presence for getting the elephants ready for the coming campaign. When the king's summons came, he was surrounded by various groups of people employed in the capture, tending and training of elephants (Bāṇa's characterisation of these groups indicates actual experience of this arm of warfare. He mentions besides elephant doctors people carrying uplifted bamboos bedecked with peacocks tails elephant riders displaying green fodder superintendents of decoys rows of forest guards crowds of *mahouts* displaying leathern figures for practising manoeuvres messengers sent by rangers of elephant forests and so forth). With his stout arms hanging down to his knees his full and pendulous lower lip his long nose his soft and large eyes, his full and broad forehead his profuse curly dark hair Skandagupta must have presented a striking appearance. Beneath an aspect

3 *C* and *T* pp. 120-1

5 *Ibid* pp. 180-82

4 *Ibid* pp. 150-51

of indifference he enjoyed an air of command due as much to his own unbending rigidity as to his master's favour<sup>6</sup>

Another picture of a courtier in lower life is presented to us in the person of the chief door keeper *Pañjatra* who introduced *Bāna* into the king's presence at the first audience. He was a tall fair broad-chested narrow waisted man. He wore a white turban and a clean jacket. As the insignia of his office he grasped in his left hand a sword with the handle thickly studded with pearls and in the right hand his burnished golden staff of office. His waist was bound by a girdle ornamented with rubies he carried on his breast a necklace of pearls he had two jewelled ear rings<sup>7</sup>

In so far as *Bana's* pictures of ascetics and saints are concerned we may begin with his remarkable sketch of *Bhairavacārya* as he looked when visited by king *Puṣpabhuṭi* one early morning in his hermitage. Punctilious in his observance of the daily ritual he had thus early bathed presented his eightfold offering of flowers and attended to the sacrificial fire. His seat was ceremonially pure. He was seated on a tiger's skin on ground smeared with cow dung and bounded by a line of ashes. His appearance was sufficiently distinctive. He was just past fifty five years and a few white hairs had appeared on his head. His hair was tied upwards in a lump and was somewhat matted. The hair line of his skull was giving way to baldness. A natural frown connected his eye-brows. He had very long eyes a curved nose narrow cheeks prominent teeth hanging lips and tender soled feet. His bosom was covered with very thick dark hair. His dress and equipment corresponded to his sectarian ritual. He was wrapped in a dark woollen garment in keeping with the colour approved in the *Śivite* ritualistic works. His broad forehead was marked with a line of white ashes. A pair of crystal earrings hung from his pendulous ears. He wore a bit of conch shell on one forearm having an iron bracelet and bound with a charm thread of various herbs. In his right hand he shook his rosary. Circling round him was an ascetic's wrap of white hue. He had at his side a bamboo staff with a barb of iron inserted at the end<sup>8</sup>

Equally based on a living type is *Bana's* striking picture of *Bhairavacārya's* disciple *Ṭṭibha* as he looked when first presented to the king with a message from his master. His physical appearance was sufficiently impressive. He was a tall fellow with arms reaching down to his knees. Though emaciated by living on alms he appeared to be fat on account of the stoutness of his bones. His head was broad his forehead undulating with deep wrinkles his eyes were round and ruddy his nose was slightly curved one ear was very pendulous. The rows of his teeth were prominent.

6. *C* and *T* pp 189-91 with corr. by Gajendragadkar *Notes* pp 268 ff

7. *C* and *T* pp 49-50 with corr. by Kane *Notes* p 124

8. *C* and *T* pp 263-65

his lip was loose his jaw elongated by a hanging chin His dress and equipment were in keeping with his profession A red ascetic's scarf hung from his shoulder his upper robe consisted of a tattered rug knotted above his heart and stained with red chalk His right hand grasped a bamboo stool his left held a jokepole resting on his shoulder to which were attached his dirt scraper and sieve of bamboo bark his loin-cloth his alms bowl his waterpot, his slippers and a bundle of manuscripts<sup>9</sup>

In striking contrast with the description of Bhairavacārya given above is Bāṇa's sketch of the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra as seen by Harṣa in his hermitage in the Vindhya forest The contrast reflects the difference between the cold hard formalism of the Śivite ritual and the Buddhist spirit of universal benevolence Divākaramitra as we learn from the context had been a leading Brahmana teacher before he abandoned the Vedas for Buddhist teaching The change of creed apparently lent a touch of greater earnestness and more cosmopolitan sympathy to the teacher's personality and character At the time of Harṣa's visit he had around him disciples of various lands and of the most diverse persuasions (The exhaustive list given by the author which may be consulted in the original was evidently drawn up to emphasise the cosmopolitan character of the teacher's pupils) In words reflecting the intensely scholastic atmosphere prevailing in the teacher's hermitage Bāṇa tells us that all his disciples were diligently following their own tenets pondering urging objections raising doubts resolving them giving etymologies disputing studying and explaining What is more, even the birds and beasts of the hermitage says the author with fine poetical conceit responded to the Buddhist teaching and religious practices (The striking similarity of the above account with Hieun Tsang's description of his experiences at Nalanda further corroborates our view that Bāṇa must have drawn his picture from contemporary life) Very characteristic of the quietist teaching of Buddhism was the pose of the saint at the time of the king's visit Upon him waited some tame tigers near his seat sat undisturbed some lion-cubs his feet were licked by some deer On his left hand was perched a young dove eating wild rice His right hand poured water on a peacock standing near or strewed grains of rice for the ants The very dress and appearance of the saint betokened his humility He was clad in a very soft red garment, his gentle bright eye was bent down in humility He was as the author sums up in well-chosen words one whom Buddha himself might well approach with reverence, Duty herself might worship Favour itself show favour to Honour itself honour Reverence itself revere.<sup>10</sup>

We may lastly refer to Bāṇa's account of the Śābara youth Nirghata (Sanskritised no doubt from the vernacular name) whom Harṣa met in the

Vindhya forest, as illustrating the type of aboriginal hillmen inhabiting that region down to our own times. With a true eye to the aboriginal rule of relationship through females, the author introduces the youth as the sister's son of a general of the Śābaras. His physical features were distinctive of the well known aboriginal type. His dark forehead was furrowed with an involuntary triple frown, his bleared eye with its scanty lashes had a natural red lustre, his nose was flat, his lower lip thick, his chin low, his jaws full, his forehead and cheek bones projecting, his neck a little bent down while one-half of his shoulders stood up. He had of course enormous physical strength. His brawny chest we are told, was expanded by the constant exercise of bending the bow, his pair of arms was long, he had a thin belly but prominent navel, his brawny and fleshy thighs contrasted with his thin waist. He was of course a famous hunter. Though no mention is made of his dress which must have been of the scantiest, his personal get up and ornamentation are described with minute accuracy and correctness in detail. His hair, we are told, was tied high above his forehead with a coil of dark creeper, he wore a tawny crystal earring which was coloured green with a parrot's wing used for ornament. On his forearm he wore a tin armlet decorated with white beads, its back was covered with a bundle of roots (supposed to be an antidote against poisons) which were fastened with bristles of boars. His formidable loins were guarded by a sword of which the end was anointed with quicksilver and the handle was made with polished horn, its sheath was adorned with spotted skins of snakes. The quiver he wore on his back was made of bear's skin and contained arrows with crescent shaped heads. It was wrapped round his body with a spotted leopard's skin. On his left shoulder rested a formidable bow adorned with profuse pigment of peacock's gall, the sinews being fastened with tough roots of trees. From his stout arms was suspended a dead hare with its head hanging downwards. A freshly killed partridge was strung at the extremity of his bow.<sup>11</sup> The author's acquaintance with the Vindhyan aboriginal type is again illustrated in his vivid picture of the Śābara General Mātāngaka in the *Kādambārī*.<sup>12</sup>

A keen observer of different contemporary types, Bāṇa could not but be impressed with the regional differences among his countrymen. In a remarkable passage prefacing a long list of kings who came to a tragic end through overconfidence or carelessness, we are told, 'Thus do notional types vary like the dress, features, food and pursuits of countries, village by village, town by town, district by district, continent by continent and clime by clime.'<sup>13</sup> A striking illustration of this statement is furnished by Bāṇa's reference to the different propitiatory ceremonies resorted to at the time of Prabhākara-vardhana's illness. There we are told of a Dravidian who was preparing to

11 C and T pp 230-32.

13 C and T, p 192.

12. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 29-31.

solicit the vampire with the offering of a skull, while an Andhra man was holding up his arms like a rampart (or according to another reading, was exhibiting the entrails of a sacrificed animal) to conciliate the dreaded goddess Caṇḍī.<sup>14</sup> (For purpose of comparison reference may be made to the remarkable picture, or rather caricature, of the old Draviḍa ascetic at the temple of Caṇḍikā in Bāṇa's Kādambarī<sup>15</sup>).

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14. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

15. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 226-8.



# VEDIC CONCEPTION OF THE MOTHERLAND : A STUDY IN THE PRTHVĪ SŪKTA OF THE ATHARVAVEDA

By

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माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः ।

Feelings of attachment and love for the place where one is born are natural in man. Thus love develops as with the growth of years he begins consciously to realise the importance of the land of his birth for his earthly existence. The love for the place may at first be confined to a single village, town or district but by the gradual lapse of time this horizon extends to the whole territory which forms the cradle land of all men having a common past.

Patriotism, as the feeling of love for one's country is called, must have a physical material basis to love and work for. It cannot hang in the air on the peg of mere idealism and sentiment. 'The possession of a common fatherland is preliminary to all national development, the growth of a common language, a people's literature, common traditions, common culture, which all put together have a marked distinctive individuality which should be preserved and independently developed as a valuable cultural unit.<sup>1</sup> In order that men may evolve a distinctive civilization, culture and religion, it is necessary that they should possess some common abode which they can call their own. That serves as a nucleus round which gather the formative forces which weld together the diverse elements and factors of life directed to one common goal.

The Aryan forefathers were able to evolve a great civilization when they permanently settled down in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. Here they found a physical basis of settlement, a land which they could love and worship, and for which they sang immortal songs in praise and reverence. These noble utterances have been preserved to us in the Pṛthvī Sūkta, Kāṇḍa XII, Sūkta 1 of the Atharvaveda, which embodies some of the finest poetry that flowed from the heart of the Vedic singers. The patriotic effusions of the Vedic bard bear the characteristic stamp of Indian culture and are cast into the distinctive mould of the Indian religious ideas. The motherland is loved not only for its material wealth comprising the botanical zoological and mineral wealth that it contains but also for the moral and

spiritual ideals enshrined in the hearts and lives of its noble sons. The poet has taken note of both the physical and the spiritual ties that bound the people to their land.

### *Geographical Unity*

The ancient Sanskrit literature gives evidence to show that the early inhabitants of the country had a perception and a consciousness of the geographical unity of the land which they had made their own. Their geographical horizon unfolds and expands in ever wider circles till it comprises the whole country. Starting from the limited extent of Brahmāvarta, this consciousness finds expansion into Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa and Āryāvarta between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and lastly into the sub-continent of Bhāratavarṣa. This last appellation has reference to the supreme achievement of some kind of colonisation extending across the vast expanse and the entire stretch of the country which was looked upon not merely as a geographical unit, but also as a political unit under the sway of one king, be he Bharata, Aśoka or someone else. As Dr. Mookerji has put it : 'The territorial synthesis had shown itself into political synthesis'. The geographical data furnished in the river-hymn of the Ṛgveda shows that the Aryans at one time knew the Indus with its five tributaries, the Ganges and the Jumna. With the occupation of more land the geographical horizon extended, and the later works like the Manu-Smṛti, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, and the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya testify to this expanded consciousness in respect of the land. The spirit of the river-hymn echoed forth in the couplet of the Purāṇa in which the poet includes even the names of the two southern rivers, the Godāvarī and the Kāverī. The subsequent location of the seven cities, the seven mountains, the twelve Śivapīṭhas, Devīpīṭhas and the Viṣṇu-pīṭhas, affords proof that belief in the territorial unity of the country had asserted itself in the popular mind on quite a broad basis. The diverse elements appertaining to the land were gradually fusing and merging in one common bond, the basis of which was the common country. This feeling, though not always apparent, made itself manifest when questions involving the Indians and the non-Indian foreign tribes touched the society in some vital manner.

### *Material Adoration*

The popular mind develops love for a thing in terms of material advantage. The abstract notions of religion, philosophy or high moral principles do not go far in the mass mind. The Vedic poet expresses his love for the land by appreciating the value of its material contents. He builds on this solid basis and gradually rises higher into the domain of finer thoughts and the higher things which affect our religious and spiritual being. Accordingly he feels inspired at the sight of the 'health-giving dawn which brings new life and vigour with the rising sun (येभ्यो ज्योतिरमृतं मत्स्यभ्य उद्यन्सूर्यो रदिर्मेभिरातनोति,

verse 15) the ever flowing fountains of crystal water high peaked snow clad mountains and broad plains the botanical mineral agricultural and zoological wealth He bursts forth into admiration for the beauty of the wonderful cycle of the six seasons with their regularly recurring days and nights The importance of good rivers is recognised as great for the material prosperity of any country much more so for an agricultural country like India

In her the streams distribute themselves in all directions flowing uniformly without pause or interruption This land of plenteous streams may she sprinkle her radiant lustre over us (यस्यामाप परिचरा समानीरहोरात्रे अप्रसाद चरन्ति । सा नो भूमिर्भूरिधारा पयो दुहामयो उक्षतु वर्चसा ॥ verse 9)

The snow peaked hills which act as reservoirs to feed these rivers and the forests which abound in innumerable plants and herbs are possessions of inestimable value in which the people of a country take just pride The Land is worshipped as the mother of many herbs (विश्वस्व मातरमोषधीना, 17) and the repository of numerous potent drugs (नानावीर्यो ओषधीर्यो विभर्ति, verse 2)

Wealth in cattle is always considered a great asset and a veritable national wealth for any country The poet rejoices to see the Land abounding in a variety of cattle useful for agriculture and dairy farming for supplying us with milk and serving as means of conveyance गवामश्वाना वयसश्च विष्टा, verse 5)

The stock of animals in a country breeds on the soil in a very real sense like the race of human beings. The poet realises that the animals born in this land are marked by the characteristic smell of the soil and carry the stamp or the *genus loci* of the land of their birth (यस्ते गन्ध पुरुषेषु अश्वेषु मृगेषु हस्तिषु verse 25)

As for the domestic animals so the poet has a thought for the wild beasts of the forests although ferocious and dangerous they are none the less children of the soil He prays motherland may you protect us from the man-eating lion and the tiger the jackal and the wolf the stinging scorpion and the creeping reptile.

The sight of the wide stretching ploughed fields producing corn (यस्या मन्नं कृष्टयं सबभूय, verse 3) the increase of vitality and giver of health (ऊर्जं पुष्टं विभ्रतीमन्नभाग verse 29) of paddy and barley in special forming the chief food of the people (यस्यामन्नं ब्रीहियवा, verse 42) profoundly touched the poet's heart and moved him into a joyous song of love for the land

Again his mind is lost in gratitude when he thinks of the enormous mineral wealth secreted in the bowels of his land gold and jewels lying unexposed in the coffers of Hiranya Vaksā the gold breasted mother Who is there, even the most materialistic of men that will not be moved with affection for the mother land that holds out such temptations for her sons?

#### *Religious Basis of Love for the Fatherland*

Although the temptations of material gain help in strengthening one's

love for his country, that love will not endure unless it be established on sound religious basis and actuated by higher principles of duty. Patriotism which is not enshrined on this noble pedestal of a universal moral order will only bring the Motherland down. None can afford to violate or depart from the moral law for any great length of time either in an individual capacity or on a social scale. Our effort for the country's prosperity must conform to moral laws. In the very first Mantra the poet has given expression to this sentiment. 'Truth, rigorous universal Law, dedicated Life, Penances, Knowledge and Sacrifice—these things sustain the Earth.'

सत्यं बृहत्तममुग्र दीक्षा तपो ब्रह्मयज्ञं पृथिवीं धारयन्ति । verse 1

Mere physical forms are dead, inert masses of matter. To inculcate a true bond of union with the spirit of the motherland we should practise in life and thought higher virtues and purer motives. Truth should there be in the hearts of all the sons of the mother and their actions should bear a clear stamp of truth. One cannot aggrandise the motherland by recourse to untruth for truth is greater and must in the end reveal itself. The poet next thinks of the immutable Supreme Law that governs both matter and man and is the surest foundation to build upon as it will neither bend nor relax. *Dīkṣā* or consecrated action is the third virtue that gives value to our lives in respect of the country. A fickle minded person will fly from difficulties, only one of determined thoughts will persevere to the end. *Tapas* or disciplined life and *Brahma* or true knowledge are surer foundations to uphold the country firmer than anything else. The Earth verily prospers with true knowledge.

The idea of *Yajña* represents the great law of sacrifice both in the individual and in the cosmos. It is a characteristically Indian conception involving a communion between gods and men, a synthesis of the human and divine worlds as affecting a particular action. It presumes that the visible and the invisible worlds, gods and men, work together for the prosperity of the Land. *Kālidāsa* amplifies the same idea when he writes that the king taxed the land for performing *Yajñas* and *Indra* poured rain so that corn might grow; in this way the two sustained the two worlds by the reciprocity of their resources.

दुदोहं गां स यज्ञाय सत्याय मधवा दिवम् । सपदिनिमयेनोभौ दधतुमुवनद्वयम् । रघुवश 126)

The *Gītā* also repeats the age-old Vedic idea. From food are born the creatures, rain causes production of food, rain is the outcome of sacrifice and sacrifice arises out of action (III 14). *Manu* also supports this cyclic law. 'The oblations thrown into the fire reach the sun, the sun causes rain from rain grows food and food sustains all beings' (III 76).

The idea of *Yajna* dominates the ancient Vedic literature, implying the Aryan point of view that the material welfare of man depends upon making friends with the different forces of nature. This *Cakra* or eternal cycle of

propitiating divine powers and of in turn being propitiated by them, revolves on to mutual advantage and is an important factor in sustaining this Earth. The connecting link between gods and men is fire, *Havyavāh*, as it carries the offerings of men to gods. This link is present everywhere, ready to receive the mite of our selfless offering at each place and time. It is in earth, in plants, in waters, in stones, in men, in cattle and in the rays of the sun

(अग्निर्भूम्यामोषधीष्वग्निमापो विभ्रत्यग्निरश्मसु । अग्निरन्तः पुरुषेषु गोध्वदेवेष्वमय ॥ verse 19)

Another Mantra expresses the idea that the gods forever protect the land, without sleep and without falter (या रक्षन्त्यस्वप्ना विश्वदानो देवा भूमिं पृथिवीमश्रमादम्, verse 18), and that great lord Indra made it free from enemies because he thought it to be his own (इन्द्रो या चक्र आत्मज्ञेनमित्रा शचीपति, verse 10).

The poet then soars to a higher theme, a still finer and nobler conception of the motherland. She is the object of his love and worship, not only because she helps in his religious performances, but because above all she is the source of that immortal inspiration which has as its fountain head the highest Being. Sons of the mother living thousands of years before were moved with the same divine spark of love for her as is experienced by the generations of today. Love of the land is an immortal virtue that does not grow less or fade with transitory objects. Men may come and men may go yet the heart of the mother and the hearts of her sons remain fresh for ever, because the source from which each draws its inspiration exists eternally in the cosmic mund or in the highest heaven over us. The inspiration is felt alike in the midst of men and in wilderness. The vitality, unity and splendour in the *Rashtra* originate from the heart of the motherland.

याणवेऽधिसलिलमग्र आसीत् या मायाभिरन्ववचरन् मनीषिणा । यस्या हृदय परमे व्योमन् सत्येनावृतममृतं पृथिव्या । सा नो भूमिस्त्विषिं बल राष्ट्रे दद्यात्तमे ॥ verse 8

'She who was in the beginning submerged under the sea whom the gods discovered with their prayers, whose heart, enveloped in truth and immortal is established in the highest heaven may that Earth bestow power and authority on the Supreme *Rashtra*' (verse 8)

### *The People and their relation to the Land*

The existence of a living race in a country attached to its mountains and rivers, sandy wastes and watered plains is a prerequisite of history. The people mingle with the earth the feelings of their heart as they find the bounties of nature spread out before them for unrestricted use and undisputed enjoyment. So the poet first viewed the Land as one exclusively meant for the Aryans, the Dasyus finding no place in her (परा दस्यून् ददती, verse 37). She chose Indra of the Aryans in preference to Vṛtra of the Anāryans. The singer visualises before him the picture of an India in which Aryan gods are worshipped, Aryan rites and ceremonies performed and

the Aryan culture predominates,—that is, a veritable Aryāvarta both in letter and in spirit. He visualises the descendants of Manu settled on the Land without over-crowding (असृवाद्य बध्यतो मानवानाम्, verse 2) and prays 'The extent of the Land should be stretched far and wide for us'. उरु लोक पृथिवी न कृणोतु, verse 1) 'May we continue to occupy a strong central position in the Land' (यत्ते मय्य पृथिवि यच्च नम्य तासु नो धे धेहि, verse 12) 'May we be established on unfaltering feet and live unconquered unwounded and unharmed' पद्भ्या दाक्षिणसव्याभ्या मा व्यधिष्महि भूम्यां, verse 28 अजीतोऽहो अक्षतोऽप्यष्टा पृथिवीमहम्, verse 11) Proudly does his heart, as that of a son of the motherland pulsate at being conscious of the rare privilege of being one with the pioneers in the great and honourable process of the first land taking or land settlement

अहमस्मि सहमान उत्तरो नाम भूम्याम् । अभीषादस्मि विश्वापाद आशामाशां विपासहि ॥

Mighty am I superior on this motherland of mine Conquering am I, all conquering completely conquering in every direction. (verse 54) In this elevated consciousness does the great truth reveal itself to him

माता भूमि पुत्रो अह पृथिव्या । (verse 12)

Earth is the Mother, I am the son of the Motherland'

India of the poet had been the cradle of the Aryan race who for countless ages had been in possession of her She is the mistress of our past and future (सा नो भूतस्य भव्यस्य पत्नी, verse 1) In the days of yore did our ancestors defeat the Asuras here and achieve most wonderful things, (यस्यां पूर्वं पूर्वजना विचक्रिरे यस्यां देवा अष्टुरानभ्यवर्तयन्, verse 5) It is frankly admitted in this all comprehensive hymn that the land is the home of diverse races all enjoying equal liberties and rights so that the diversity instead of proving to be a source of weakness only conduces to the might and solidarity of the nation The unifying influence of the potent vibrations that arise out of the motherland is enormous (महान्वेग एज्युर्वपमुष्टे, verse 18) and all differences of colour and speech without being the cause of mutual discord and animosity lose themselves in the concert of these forces The land bears upon her people speaking different languages following different customs according to regional variations. She yields her produce to all without distinction in thousand fold streams like an unfailing unresisting milch cow

जनं बिभ्रती बहुधा विवाचस नाना धर्माण पृथिवी ययौकसम् ।

सहस्रं धारा इविणस्य मे दुहा ध्रुवेव येनुरनपस्फुरन्ती ॥

This unity and equality is emphasized in a very real manner when the poet speaks of the roads and high ways of traffic being intended for the use of both the good and the evil in perfect safety and freedom from the haunts of hugh waymen and thieves ये ते पन्यानो बहवो जनायना ये संचरन्त्युभये भद्रपापास्तं पन्यानं जयेमानमित्रमतस्करम् ॥ verse 47) These blessings of ordered just and peaceful

life evoked the grateful prayer from a heart overflowing with devotion

May my sight not fail me with advancing age, so that I could have a vision of you O Motherland for many more years to come with the sun as my friend'

### *The Eternal Mother*

The Prithvi Sukta puts before us the Vedic conception of the love of country Patriotism according to it combines religion philosophy morality and everything else that is based on high principles of the spirit. It is here presented as a spiritual necessity a thing indispensable for the completion of the law of the spirit. The Hindus lay equal emphasis on both matter and spirit, the outer and the inner man the world celestial and the world human. He can view all things only in a spirit of friendliness with heaven that is in strict accordance with the laws of religion and morality. The Hindu mind is accustomed to think of earthly prosperity as bound by moral and religious laws. The poet while appreciating the beauty that is in the material splendour of the land penetrates to the essential truth or Dharma that upholds her. She is supported by Dharma (धर्मणा धृता, verse 17) and fixed on the stable rock of Truth Law Discipline Knowledge and Sacrifice (सत्यं बृहत्तमुग्रं तपो दीक्षां ब्रह्म यज्ञं पृथिवीं धारयन्ति, 1st mantra). Well established on this steady foundation (सधृता धृता, verse 26) the Motherland lives for all times (ध्रुवा). She was there before the Aryans came to be in possession of her, and she shall ever be there even if the whole race were to forget her. Prior to her discovery both in the moral and material spheres she was submerged beneath the waters of the ocean (यार्णवेऽधिसलिलमग्रआसीद्, verse 8) as a big mass of dust (रजसि प्रविष्टाम्, verse 9). But when the great Râis concentrated upon her with their miraculous powers of thought, she assumed form and became manifest as a loving inspiring mother (यामायाभिरन्वचरन् मनोयिण, verse 8, यदाविर्भागेऽभवन्मातृमद्भूय, verse, 59). This form is revealed only to those who are MATRMAN i.e. whose hearts are consecrated with the true devotion due to a mother.

A living reality for those who realise her she is otherwise a mere gyrating orb devoid of the lustrous beauty which mind alone creates. The man who has obtained this wondrous vision of the motherland is her true son worthy of the title *Matrman*. His own land as compared to the vast globe sheltered under the sea is very small but she is for him the epitome of the world the whole Pṛthvi. He loves her without being exclusive his heart opens out in wide embrace to welcome all living beings.

Besides discerning the spiritual basis of patriotism the beautiful outer form of the Motherland is a thing to be praised and adored for its own sake. The charm of the concrete form is in no way less fascinating to the poet. He loves his country with a deep passionate love singing the praises of her mountains (उद्गत), rivers (प्रवत), plains (समं बहु, verse 2) forests, animals

and minerals These things invest the Land with beauty and value Fixed permanently in their places, they provide us with contour lines for making immortal the traditions of our glorious past and for giving concrete touch to our historical associations

The poet next speaks of the Land as the supplier of all our wants Our food, water and every other article of human necessity comes out of the land, and therefore she is the natural object of devotion, not only of those who can take a philosophic view of things, but also of those whom material temptations alone can coax into love The motherland is worthy of our choicest epithets, she is विश्वर्मा and विश्वधातृ, the container and sustainer of all Again the Land is thought of as the nursery of the race It is the home of many tribes ( पद्म मानवा verse 15) speaking different tongues following different customs ( जन विभ्रती बहुधा विवाचस नानाधर्माण पृथिवी ययौकसम्, verse 45) but all enjoying equal right of debate in assemblies, gatherings and councils या सभा अधिमूयाम् । ये सप्रामा समितयस्तेषु चारु वदेम ते । verse 56) The highways are spoken of as thoroughfares thrown open for public use, without restriction and distinction ( ये ते पन्थानो बहवो जनायना, यैः सचरन्त्युभये भद्रपापा, verse 47) Every son of the mother is equally dear to her, she has to be the last resting place both of the good and the evil ( मत्न विभ्रती गुरुष्टद् भद्रपापस्य निधन तितिष्ठु, verse 48)

This represents the essence and the highest ideal of tolerance prescribed for civic life Its practice resulted in phenomenal amity between the diverse elements constituting the body politic of the Hindu society The different forces were welded together into a wide social system the members of which closed up their ranks in peace and in war and with one battle cry of beating drums they advanced, the descendants of Ilā and the descendants of Manu, against a common foe. ( युद्धयन्ते यस्यामाक्रन्दो यस्यां वदति दुन्दुभि, verse 41 )

The motherland is also considered worthy of adoration as the place where our religious performances are carried out the seat of resplendent national altars and sacrificial stakes the abode where the thread of worship is spun out

यस्या वेदिं परिरुहन्ति भूम्या यस्या यज्ञ तन्वते विश्वकर्माण ।

यस्या मीयन्ते स्वरव. पृथिव्यामूर्वा शुक्रा आहुत्या पुरस्तात् । सा नो भूमिर्वर्धयद्रर्धमाना ॥

verse 13

This is a picture of the characteristic Vedic society, a cross section from an age when Yajña was the nucleus of social, religious and intellectual expression.

Finally we may say that the land is the mother of all beings, she is verily the great mother—*Magna Mater* (मही माता) the giver of all that is wanted for the mind body and soul Only those who cherish such worthy feelings can love the Land with upright consciousness of her true greatness Pure devotion selfless and true spirit of service are pre-requisites of affection due to a mother Those who have them they alone can serve the mother-



land She made herself manifest for those who have this feeling A true son wants that others also should render worship to his mother like him, and so a true patriot refrains from speaking or thinking ill of other countries To those who have the eye of discernment the land is a spiritual entity to others it is a mere clod of earth without inspiration without charm without life. As the poet puts it in his own inimitable way 'O Earth thy smell permeates every man and woman the youth and the maiden the Gandharvas and the Apsaras make me fragrant with that smell' (Verses 24, 25)

We have seen how the Vedic poet starting from the appreciation of the natural scenery of the Land described her as the supplier of material wants the abode of his religion the cradle of his race and finally the inspiring mother of his countrymen Love based on gross earthly things can disappear with the loss of those things If any body were to love his country because it supplied him with wealth that love would cease with his poverty But patriotism rooted in the values of the spirit lasts much longer Tagore has said in a kindred strain

I love India not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography not because I have had the chance of being born in her soil but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illumined consciousness of her great sons सत्य ज्ञानमनन्त ब्रह्म, Brahma is Truth Brahma is Wisdom Brahma is infinite.

When in moments of spiritual exaltation gross worldly possessions cease to interest us and material values no longer have their attraction then also love of the Land waxes deeper and gains inspiration from our innermost ennobling thoughts That is the sign of the higher culture of the soul We then feel May our Land herself prospering make us also prosper

सा नो भूमिर्वर्धयद्बर्धमाना ॥

# THE DAPHNE PAPER OF NEPAL

By

Mr A F M ABDUL ALI M A , F R A S B

One very striking fact about the history of paper making in Nepal is the high degree of technical excellence achieved in it by the country at a remarkably early age. At a time when Europe was raking her brain to find out the secrets of cheap paper with a view to meeting the growing demand for it among the civilised nations, Nepal had already learnt the art of transforming wood pulp into paper and was flooding the Gangetic valley with an extensive supply of a very cheap writing material

It is not easy to answer the question as to how and when the art of paper making was introduced in Nepal. Those in whose opinion the art was brought to India by the Mughals are inclined in favour of fixing a post-Mughal date for this event. But there are certain difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The researches of Sir Aurel Stein have definitely established that the industry was in a flourishing state in China and Central Asia as early as the 2nd century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Keeping as India did in very intimate contact with these places it seems highly unlikely that she could be completely ignorant of the art. There is one piece of positive evidence which shows that paper was in vogue in India long before the arrival of the Mughals. A letter written by king Bhoja of Dhara proves its use in the Malaya country at least as early as the 11th century.<sup>2</sup> The earliest Ms. found in India cannot be dated later than A.D. 1223-4.<sup>3</sup> Even assuming the theory of Mughal origin as true it will be difficult to prove any direct connexion between the Nepal paper and the Mughal Court. The special process by which the Nepalese produced their paper seems to have borne so little affinity to that followed in Kashmir and the Punjab the two places where imperial patronage bore fruit, that it will be more to the point to trace the source of the Nepalese technique elsewhere than in the Delhi Court.

Is it not plausible that she derived her art directly from any outside people? We need only look at the peculiar ethnical, physiographical and political circumstances which determined the course of her history and we shall cease to be struck by the suggestion. Ethnically and temperamentally

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1. The oldest existing paper found by Stein is in the form of State-documents relating to the occurrences in the years 21-137 A.D. and apparently contemporary with the latest of these events. (Vide *Invention of Printing* by Carter p. 95)

2. R. L. Mitra's *Notes*, Gough's papers 16

3. Bühler—*Catalogue of MSS. from Gujarat* etc. 1. 238 no. 14"

her people bears a closer resemblance to the Chinese and the Central Asiatic races rather than Indians, and her religion and arts bear deep Chinese and Central Asiatic impresses. Poised on natural bastions of the Himalayas, entered only by a few tortuous mountain passes, Nepal remained untouched by the main current of events that shaped the general history of India. But forming the southern extremity of a natural thoroughfare that penetrates into the heart of China, she could not maintain her isolation from that country, and to the constant intercourse with China must be attributed the general character of Nepalese arts and crafts. We have it from history that the establishment of Buddhism in China almost synchronised with its decline in India. It is only natural that Buddhist Nepal turned to the celestial Empire for religious and aesthetic inspiration. The succeeding centuries tended still further to narrow the intercourse between the valley and the Hindustan until finally in 1204 A.D. the disused doorway was hermetically sealed by the Muslim conquest of Bengal and Bihar. From this time, religiously and aesthetically Nepal ceased to have any sympathies with India and became more closely attached to China. Must we then wonder if it be suggested that it was from China that paper made its way into Nepal? Strangely enough Mr B. H. Hodgson whose writings on Nepal may be regarded as authentic is inclined to favour this view. 'I conjecture,' he says in his account of the Nepalese paper, 'that the art of paper making was got by the Cis Himalayan Bhoteahs via Lhasa from China' a paper of the very same sort being manufactured at Lhasa, and most of the useful arts of these regions having flowed upon them through Tibet from China, and not from Hindustan.'

The same writer is of the opinion that the industry was established in Nepal sometime during the 14th century. The reason which encouraged him to form this opinion may be summed up in his own words. Writing about 1831, he remarks "the Nepalese say that any of their books now existent which is made of palmyra leaves, may be safely pronounced on that account to be 500 years old whence we may, perhaps infer that the paper manufacture was founded about that time"<sup>4</sup>. But the fallacy in Mr Hodgson's argument consists in his failure to recognise the possibility of the vogue of both palmyra leaf and paper at one and the same time. It is a well known fact that the introduction of paper did not necessitate the disappearance of the palm leaf from the field of writing. So the existence of a palm leaf Ms at a certain date does not preclude the possibility of paper remaining in use before that date. Moreover, assuming the theory of the Chinese origin of the Nepal paper to be true, it will be reasonable to place the foundation of the art rather in a period in which points of contact between China and Nepal

4 Pol O C. 13 Jan'y 1832 no 19

5 Pol O C. See *supra*.

were many and intimate than the 14th century when intercourse between the two countries had lost all its intensity. In view of the above fact we shall be quite justified in assigning the introduction of the industry some where between the 7th and the 9th centuries, the very period when Chinese influences impressed themselves most deeply on Nepalese culture and civilisation.

We are however almost in the dark about the early history of the industry. Dr Campbell who resided in Nepal for considerable time asserts in one of his letters<sup>6</sup> written in 1837 that the local Pandits and other persons in the habit of sacred writings assured him that "copies of books made on preserved Nepal paper, 400 years ago were still extant, and that the material was in perfect preservation." If any credence can be given to this, it must be admitted that the industry of paper making was in a thriving condition in the 15th century. Even if we dismiss this piece of evidence as mere hearsay account, we cannot possibly treat in the same way a testimony offered by Dr Campbell himself. He refers to a Sanskrit work which he inspected, the date of transcription of which was Sambat 1744 corresponding to A D 1687, and attests that it was in a perfect state of preservation, "having all the time withstood the ravages of insects and the wear and tear of use."<sup>7</sup> This proves conclusively that the Nepalese had attained a very high degree of excellence in the art of paper making at least as early as the 17th century. On the condition of the industry in the 19th century, contemporary records of the Foreign and Political Department yield very interesting information. Writing in December 1831, Mr B H Hodgson remarks 'the paper of Nepal is very cheap and can be had in large quantities. As ordinarily prepared it is smooth enough to write on and it is from the uncommon toughness of the fibre of the plant which yields the material for making it, as well as from the little injury done to the texture of the fibre in the process of manufacture as firm and durable as parchment. The manufactured paper of Nepal is, for office records incomparably better than any Indian paper being as strong and durable as leather and almost quite smooth to write upon.'<sup>8</sup> Dr Campbell fully endorses Mr Hodgson's opinion in one of his letters to Mr T. C. Scott, Deputy Secretary to Government (dated Nov 15 1837). He says "the fibre of Nepal paper is so tough that a sheet doubled on itself can scarcely be torn with the fingers. The paper is so pliable, elastic and durable that it does not wear at the folds during twenty years, whereas English paper, especially, when eight or ten sheets are folded into one packet, does not stand keeping in this state uninjured for more than four or five years. I have now before me some records of this office, kept on Nepal paper of 1817, as fresh at the folds, as even at the edges and in every particular as

6. *Transaction of the Agri Horticultural Society* Vol V

7. *Transaction of Agri Horticultural Society*, Vol. V

8. Pol. O C. See *supra*.

undamaged as the newest sheet of papers to be had at Cathmandu. There are other records of the same date on English foolscap which have been similarly lodged and looked after, the edges of which are completely worn through. A period of twenty years, however, is nothing to boast of in estimating the comparative durability of materials for public records, and far less is it worth mentioning in enumeration of the qualities of the Nepal paper. The natives of this country (Nepal) universally assert that the paper remains for 300 or 400 years unscathed by time or the ravages of insects. I believe that the Nepal paper may be considered as a safe material for committing records to for at least 100 years, and probably, for twice that time. As to the relative fitness of the Nepal paper for all office and stationery purposes as well as parcel packing box papering and every other purpose requiring durability, hardness of fibre, and exemption from the attacks of insects there cannot, I believe, be a moment's doubt, that the Nepal paper is *an incomparably superior article not only to Indian but to any other known paper*.<sup>9</sup> Dr Royle expresses the opinion that this paper was remarkable for both its toughness and smoothness. Some of it being sent to England in the form of bricks of half stuff previous to the year 1829 was made into paper by hand. An engraver to whom it was given for trial is said to have stated that 'it afforded finer impressions than any English made paper, and nearly as good as the fine Chinese paper which is employed for what are called Indian paper proofs'.<sup>10</sup>

The paper was generally manufactured from the inner barks of the species of *Daphne*. The plant most evidently used was *Daphne cannabina* but it appears that other members or species of the same genus like *Daphne involucrata*, *Daphne mezereum*, *Daphne oleoides* etc. were also in use. Dr Gimlette in his account of paper making names another plant named *Edgeworthia gardneri* Meissn. and is of the opinion that the paper made from that plant is superior to that from *Daphne cannabina*. The figures of analysis published by Messrs Gross Beran and King regarding *Edgeworthia* seems to confirm this view in a remarkable manner. Their analysis is as follows:— Moisture 13.6 p.c., ash 3.9, loss by hydrolysis for 5 minutes in Soda alkali 21.6, for one hour 34.7, amount of cellulose 58.5 p.c., mercerising 16.5 p.c., increase of weight on nitration 12.6, loss by acid purification 8.3, amount of carbon 41.8 p.c. These chemists however do not supply us with a similar analysis of the *Daphne* plant though they place it at the bottom of the list of Indian plants, since it possesses in their opinion the lowest amount of cellulose namely 22.3 p.c.<sup>11</sup> But a discussion of the relative merits of the two plants is not possible since we have the complete figures in one case

9 *Transactions of the Agricultural Society* Vol. V

10 *The Fibrous Plants of India* by Dr J. Forbes Royle M.D. F.R.S. (1855), p. 311

11 *Dictionary of Economic Products* Vol. III pp. 20-26

It is however to be noted that practical experience is in direct opposition to the verdict of the chemists that percentage of cellulose is the only safe criterion of the merits of a fibre as being used as a paper material. There seems to be little room for doubt that the *Daphne* species in many respects are the best of Indian paper materials, and it will not be reasonable to disregard this fact simply because the cellulose theory encourages us to hold a contrary view. It is not moreover certain that the chemical process by which the properties of the *Daphne* fibre was examined was highly satisfactory. It is not improbable that treatment in a strong boiling alkali and under high pressure removed from the fibre those very properties which were essential to its strength as paper material. This surmise gains additional strength when we consider the fact that the process by which the hill tribes manufacture their *Daphne* paper is characterised by the very slight amount of alkali necessary to produce the pulp. A crude alkaline ash with the boiling conducted for only half an hour and in an open vessel is all that is necessary.<sup>1</sup>

An attempt has been made to explain this riddle by holding that past writers who ascribed the high merits of the Nepal paper to *Daphne cannabina* were all in error as to the material actually used for the paper.<sup>12</sup> It may not be improbable that *Edgeworthia gardneri* about the merits of which there is no difference of opinion, was the plant which has always been used for the manufacture of this paper. But while admitting that the finest varieties of the Nepal paper may have been made from this plant, we fail to see how this plant which is of comparatively rare growth than *Daphnes* alone could have yielded the total quantity of paper needed by the Gangetic valley and the hill territories. This plant is found only in Nepal Sikkim Bhutan and Manipur and only between the altitudes of 4000 and 9000 feet whereas the *Daphne cannabina* may be found everywhere on the Himalaya from the Indus to Bhutan and between altitudes of 3000 to 10000 feet as well as on the Khasia and the Naga Hills.<sup>14</sup>

The contributor of the article on paper in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Edition) offers three tests as to the usefulness of a plant for good white paper viz (1) the strength and elasticity of its fibres, (2) the proportion of cellular tissue contained in them (3) the ease with which this can be freed from the encrusting and inter-cellular matters. There may be some doubt as to the successful application of the second test to the *Daphne* plant. But all writers agree in expressing their complete satisfaction so far as the two other conditions are concerned. Dr Cleghorn is of the opinion that the fibre is capable of being cleaned of woody integument and epidermis so easily that even women and boys can manage the manipulation. The same writer

12. *Dictionary of Economic Products* Vol. 111 p. 23

13. *Ibid.* p. 24

14. Brandies—*For Floras* pp. 386, 577

Gamble—*Catalogue of trees, shrubs, and climbers of Darjeeling.* p. 67

pronounces the paper yielded by the fibre to be not only 'strong' but also 'supple', which can be explained by the strength and suppleness of the fibre itself.<sup>15</sup> 'It (the Daphne fibre) is of such tenacity' says he 'that the paper can be made very thin and yet of surprising strength and durability'

But evidence of a more positive nature can be adduced in support of the view that Daphne was actually used as paper material. Dr Campbell used this fibre in his experimental paper factory at Darjeeling and found it quite satisfactory. Dr George Watt in his article on the Nepal Paper Plant states that some 40 miles north of Simla he came across a party 'carrying loads of Daphne bark and was told that it was being carried to the east where it was made into paper'.<sup>16</sup> The word 'East' evidently refers to Nepal. That the bark above mentioned was of the Daphne plant and not of *Edge worthia gardneri* may be easily inferred from the fact that the latter flora does not grow west of Nepal. The statement thus establishes beyond doubt the extensive use of the Daphne fibre for the manufacture of paper. If Mr Baden Powell is to be believed, some samples of Daphne fibre were sent to Europe and a fine letter paper admirably suited for foreign post was prepared from them.<sup>17</sup> Writing in 1911 Dr Daniel Wright and Major General Henry Wylie, C S I observe that paper made of the inner bark of the Daphne plant was one of the principal manufactures of Nepal about that time.<sup>18</sup>

What exactly the original process of paper making in Nepal was cannot be definitely known. But the letter of Mr Hodgson already referred to contains a very interesting account of the method widely pursued in the 19th century which we may be permitted to reproduce below —

For the manufacture of the Nepalese paper, the following implements are necessary, but a very rude construction of them suffices for the end in view

1st A stone mortar, of shallow and wide cavity, or a large block of stone, slightly, but smoothly excavated

2nd A mallet or pestle of hard wood such as oak and size proportioned to the mortar, and to the quantity of boiled rind of the paper plant which it is desired to pound into pulp

3rd A basket of close wicker work to put the ashes in and through which water will pass, only drop by drop

4th. An earthen vessel or receiver, to receive the juice of the ashes after they have been watered

<sup>15</sup> *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* Vol III p 80

<sup>16</sup> *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* Vol III p 22

<sup>17</sup> Baden Powell p 82

<sup>18</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* 11th edition p 380

5th A metallic open mouthed pot, to boil the rind of the plant in. It may be of iron, or copper, or brass, indifferently, an earthen one would hardly bear the requisite degree of fire

6th. A sieve, the reticulation of the bottom of which is wide and open, so as to let all the pulp pass through it, save only the lumpy parts of it.

7th A frame, with stout wooden sides, so that it will float well in water, and with a bottom of cloth, only so porous, that the meshes of it will stay all the pulp, even when dilated and diffused in water, but will let the water pass off, when the frame is raised out of the cistern, the operator must also have the command of a cistern of clear water plenty of fire wood ashes of oak (though I fancy other ashes might answer as well) a fire-place, however rude and lastly, a sufficient quantity of slips of the inner bark of the paper tree, such as is peeled off the plant by the paper makers who commonly use the peelings when fresh from the plant, but that is not indispensable. With these 'appliances and means to boot,' suppose you take four seers of ashes of oak, put them into the basket above mentioned place the earthen receiver or vessel beneath the basket, and then gradually pour five seers of clear water upon the ashes and let the water drip slowly through the ashes, and fall into the receiver. This juice of ashes must be strong, or a dark like red colour, and in quantity about 2 lbs and if the first filtering yield not such a produce, pass the juice through the ashes a second time. Next, pour this extract of ashes into the metal pot, already described and boil the extract, and so soon as it begins to boil throw into it as many slips or peelings of the inner bark of the paper plant as you can easily grasp, each slip being about a cubit long and an inch wide, (in fact, the quantity of the slip of bark should be to the quantity of juice of ashes, such that the former shall float freely in the latter, and that the juice shall not be absorbed and evaporated with less than half an hour's boiling) Boil the slip for about half an hour at the expiration of which time the juice will be nearly absorbed and the slip quite soft. Then take the softened slip and put them into the stone mortar, and beat them with the oaken mallets till they are reduced to a homogeneous or uniform pulp, like so much dough. Take this pulp put it into any wide-mouthed vessel add a little pure water to it and churn it with a wooden instrument like a chocolate mull for ten minutes or until it loses all stringiness and will spread itself out, when shaken about under water. Next, take as much of this prepared pulp as will cover your paper frame (with a thicker or thinner coat according to the strength of the paper you need), toss it into such a sieve as I have described and lay the sieve upon the paper frame, and let both sieve and frame float in the cistern agitate them and the pulp will spread itself over the sieve, the grosser and knotty parts of the pulp will remain in the sieve, but all the rest of it will ooze through into the frame. Then put away the sieve and taking the frame in your left



hand as it floats in the water, shake the water and pulp smartly with your right hand, and the pulp will readily diffuse itself in an uniform manner over the bottom of the frame. When it is thus properly diffused, raise the frame out of the water, easing off the water in such manner, that the uniformity of the pulp spread, shall continue after the frame is clear of the water and the paper is made.

To dry it, the frame is set endwise, near a large fire, and so soon as it is dry, the sheet is peeled off the bottom of the frame and folded up. When (which seldom is the case) it is deemed needful to smooth and polish the surface of the paper, the dry sheets are laid on wooden boards and rubbed, with the convex entire side of the conch shell, or in case of the sheets of paper being large, with the flat surface of a large rudder of hard and smooth grained wood, no sort of size is ever needed or applied, to prevent the ink from running. It would, probably, surprise the paper makers of England, to hear that the Kachar Bhoteahs can make up this paper into fine smooth sheets of several yards square.<sup>19a</sup> A few words need to be said with regard to the geographical distribution of the manufactures of the Nepal paper. Mr B. H. Hodgson is inclined to think that the name of the paper has no reference to the place of its manufacture. "Though called Nepalese," says he, "the paper is not in fact made in Nepal proper. It is manufactured exclusively in Cis-Himalayan Bhoté, and by the race of Bhoteahs, denominated (in their own tongue) Rangbo in contra-distinction to the Trans-Himalayan Bhoteahs. Most of the Cis-Himalayan Bhoteahs east of the Kali River make the Nepalese paper, but the greatest part of it is manufactured in the tract above Nepal proper, and the best market for it is afforded by the Nepalese people, hence probably it derived its name. The manufactures are mere sheds established in the midst of the immense forest of Cis-Himalayan Bhoté, which affords to the paper makers an inexhaustible supply, on the very spot of the firewood and ashes which they consume so largely. Abundance of clear water (another requisite) is likewise procurable everywhere in the same region."<sup>19</sup> Mr Atkinson only echoes Mr Hodgson when he observes that the paper "is manufactured exclusively by the tribes inhabiting Cis-Himalayan Bhoté, known as Murmis, Lepchas etc. or generically as Rangbo."<sup>20</sup> But it is just possible that the opinion of both the writers is based upon insufficient observation. Dr Campbell refers to two Nepalese villages where paper manufacture was in a highly flourishing state, and which produced the two finest varieties of the Nepal paper. He observes that the "paper" called Kimchat is reckoned the best, the

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18a. The pulp is dried and made up into the shape of bricks or tiles, for the convenience of transport. In this form it is admirably adapted for transmission to England.

19. Pol. O. C., no. 19 Jan'y 13, 1832.

20. Atkinson—*Himalayan Districts* pp. 378, 795, 97.

manufacture of Dholoka is considered the second best.<sup>21</sup> Kimchat lies 20 miles west of Cathmandoo and Dholoka 30 miles east of the place. The two places at the time of Mr Campbell's stay in Nepal were entirely inhabited by paper makers. The fact that these two villages supplied the two finest varieties of the paper with their names confirms us in our conclusion that Nepal has greater claim to be proud of her excellence in the art of paper-making than her sister kingdom. We are told that the common size of the sheet of Kimchat paper was two feet long by 19 inches, and that of the Dholoka being somewhat less. But both sorts could be had to order of any dimensions, upto 30 feet long by twelve broad. These papers were procurable at Cathmandu in any quantity. What better proof could be adduced in support of the extraordinary skill of the Nepalese in manufacturing paper?

All writers who have left any account of the Nepal paper agree in observing that it once commanded a very extensive market. We are told by Dr Hodgson that Kathmandu itself consumed a great quantity, but a much greater quantity was annually exported southwards to Hindusthan and Northwards to Sokyā Gumba, Digarchi and other places in Tremoun tūne Bhote.<sup>22</sup> 'It was invariably used' says a 19th century writer "all over Kumayun and was in great request in many parts of the plains for the purpose of writing *Misubnamahs* or genealogical records and deeds."<sup>23</sup> Dr Campbell mentions the following markets for the article—Patna, Kessarish in Sarun, Janikpoor, Darbhanga in Tirhoot, Poorneah, Govindgunge, Alligunge in Sarun, Nichloul and Lorun in Gorukpoor, and Toolsipoor, Bulrampoor, and Tandah in Oude.<sup>24</sup> According to Mr Watt, the paper could be purchased throughout the greater part of India even as late as the Nineties of the 19th century.<sup>25</sup>

Something may also be learnt from the accounts left by different writers regarding the prices of the paper in different parts of India. About the time of Mr Hodgson's stay at the Nepal Court, the paper sold at Cathmandu at 12 annas sicca per *dharm* of 3 seers and the bricks of the dried pulp at a price ranging between 8 to 10 annas sicca per *dharm*. Dr Campbell reported in 1837 that the price then varied from 160 sheets per Nepalese rupee to 400, or from 9 to 13 Company's Rupee per maund. He estimated the cost of transport of the article from Nepal to Patna at about 1 Rupee 12 annas per maund, but the price there was almost equal to the Kathmandu price. Dr Campbell explained the apparent paradox by the circumstance of these being a monopoly of the sale of paper kept up at Cathmandu by the Government whereas much of the paper reaching

21 *Transactions of Agri Horticultural Society* Vol V

22 Pol O C no 19 Jany 13 1832

23 *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* Vol III p. 20

24 *Transaction of the Agri Horticultural Society* Vol V

25 See 23 above

Patna was exported from the hull manufactories direct to the plains. The enormous demand for good quality paper among scholars and other men with reading habit partly explains the extensive nature of the market commanded by the Nepal paper. We have it on the authority of Dr Campbell that the paper was held in high favour for all uses except that of letter writing being most economical. But Mr Baden Powell testifies to the possibility of a very thin and fine letter paper admirably suited for foreign post being prepared from the Daphne plant. He himself saw a specimen of this light paper which could only be torn with the greatest difficulty. Dr Cleghorn also asserts that the paper can be made very thin and yet of surprising strength and durability.

But the use of the paper was not limited to the literary field only. Reference has already been made to its fitness for parcel packing, box papering and other rough uses. Dr Campbell considered it much better adapted for packing medicines in, than any of the Indian papers or even the blue or brown paper of England used at the general dispensary at Calcutta for the purpose about the time he wrote. He also gathered from Dr Davies of Patna that the paper was far preferable to any other in the manufacture of cold drawn castor oil, and that the latter used several maunds a month of it in this operation, the tenacity of its fibre preventing shreds of it from mixing with the oil, as was unavoidable when using the soft paper made from cloth or other less durable material than the inner bark of the paper tree from which the Nepal article was manufactured.

The same writer tells us that the Nepal paper was sometimes used as a lining to house roofs. The post office at Katmandu was thus lined presenting according to him a cleanly durable and pleasing canopy. The paper was laid on the rafters with the common floor paste. It was used as a cheap and efficient substitute suitable for wax cloth in the packing of letter mails and *bhangy* parcels for despatch by dak. This wax paper, he tells us, 'was prepared in a manner similar to wax cloth'. He himself used it for dak purposes but never heard a complaint against "wet mails" even in the height of the rainy season.

But the paper was not always used in its plain manufactured state. It is worth while to note that the Nepalese resorted to a very efficient method of prolonging the durability of the article. Dr Campbell has collected the following outline of the method of preserving the Nepal paper which may prove to be of interest to all archivists —

"To preserve 100 sheets of Kimchat paper, (two feet by eighteen inches) and have it of a straw colour, take two pounds of rice, and pound it well in eight or ten pounds of cold water, when the feculum has subsided strain off the superincumbent solution and place it on a brisk fire for ten or fifteen minutes, stirring it all the time from the bottom. When cool, give a coating of it with the hand to one side of the sheets of paper, hanging them in

the air (shaded from the sun) until dry when quite dry, and you wish to colour and preserve one side only of the paper, give the other side a coating as before of the rice water, in which has been previously dissolved the following ball of arsenic—then, dry in the air as before. Take of the yellow oxide of arsenic (*Harital* of all the Indian bazars) 180 grains, (1 tola) and of the red sulphuret of arsenic (*Munsil* or *Munsila* of the Indian bazars) 180 grains, grind them carefully on a marble slab, or in a mortar, and when finely comminuted, form into a ball to be used as above. When a deep orange colour is wanted, and the object is to secure the paper most effectually from insects, the solution of rice is to be made somewhat stronger, and the quantity of both kinds of arsenic is to be doubled—thus, for 100 sheets, take 360 grains of the *Harital*, and the same of the *Munsila*. I have examined some books, the copying of 200 years date—the paper of which had been arsenicated in the latter mode, and found them damaged only to a very trifling extent by some insect (supposed to be a bug) but the texture of the paper, save where actually cut by the insect, was quite sound.

For papering trunks, this mode of preservation might be advantageously adopted. The paper so treated, however, has a disagreeable smell, and besides, it is not a settled question among the people who use it, how much of the practice is referable to fashion and taste, and how much to the object of guarding against insects. Many persons assert, that *without* the arsenication the paper will last just as well as *with it*. Yellow paper is the fashionable style for transcripts of the sacred writings without direct reference to the preservative powers of the arsenic. I am, however, inclined to think, that the arsenication is quite as useful as it is ornamental. The common objection among Englishmen to the use of Nepal paper is its roughness, compared with Indian and English paper. As sold in the bazars on a large scale this is valid, but it admits of being made as smooth as is necessary, and is so smoothed to a considerable extent here, previous to use.

The rice water prepared as above, is applied to the paper and then dried, all that is required to give the paper a gloss and polish, is to rub it well with a glass bottle, or a smooth stone, or even a piece of close grained wood, when it becomes as even as need be. The coloured, preserved, and polished paper, costs nearly what the plain article is noted at.

European interest in this paper may be stated to have originated in Lord Auckland's enquiry regarding it in the year 1837. But it had attracted the notice of English officials even before that date. We find from one of the records that on the 8th December 1831, Mr B H Hodgson then Resident at Khatmandu sent to Mr H T Prinsep Secretary to the Governor General some specimens of the Nepal paper for presentation to Lord William Bentinck.<sup>18</sup> In his letter to Mr Prinsep Mr Hodgson regretted

the evil of using 'common paper of Hindusthan as office records and highly recommended its complete substitution by the Nepal paper' "I believe he wrote "the Nepal paper needs only to be known to be very generally adopted in the plains for office records. These records are now committed to the common paper of Hindusthan, than which few substances are more perishable, and I suppose the loss of public records consequent upon the decay of the paper to which they are committed must be deemed a great evil. So I consider it one which might be prevented by the substitution of paper of Nepal for that of the plains." After pointing out the cheapness, durability and superior quality of the paper as also the success with which it had been adopted in some offices in the plains he expresses his opinion that the adoption of the paper for such records as it was peculiarly desirable to preserve was as expedient as feasible. To remove the difficulty of the relative scarcity of the paper in the plains, he recommended to the Government that the people of Kumayun who had plenty of the paper plant at their disposal should be entrusted with the art of paper making. Dr Campbell who was Assistant Resident of Nepal for some time showed himself to be equally interested in the matter. He fully endorsed the opinion of Mr Hodgson and wrote a letter to Mr Scott, Deputy Secretary to Government (Nov 15, 1837) pointing out the advantage to be derived from the replacement of the paper of the plains by the Nepal paper in all Government offices.<sup>27</sup> Finding that there might be difficulties in the way of purchasing the article owing to the monopoly held over it by the Nepalese court, he made the following suggestion "In the event of our Government directing the use of Nepal paper in all the offices of the plains where it could be had at less cost than Indian paper and of its substitution for English and Indian paper and for permanent records, the requisite quantity could be purchased here annually during the rains and forwarded to the Ganges during the four cold months. But, with reference to the existing monopoly here (in Nepal) and such other obstacles as might be possibly put in the way of purchase by the Durbar or its agents, of the article in large quantity, I would recommend trusting to the markets of Patna, Kessariah in Sarun Tanikpoor, Darbhanga in Tirhoot, and Poorneah, for such supply as might be wanted for Bengal, and to those of Govindgunge and Alligunge, in Sarun Nichloul and Lohun in Gorakpur, Toolsipoor, Bulrampoor, and Tandah in Oude for what might be required for the Central and Western Provinces."

The recommendation of Dr Campbell and Mr Hodgson did not fail to impress the British Government. To meet their own needs they decided to open an experimental factory for the manufacture of paper from the Nepalese bark and Dr Campbell, then Superintendent of Darjeeling, was

entrusted with the task A factory accordingly was opened at Darjeeling in 1841 About the mode he adopted for the manufacture of paper he writes to Mr G A Bushby,<sup>28</sup> Secretary to the Government of India (Political Department) as follows —

"I found that the wire gauze sieves furnished by the Military Board of considerable use in enabling one to make a smoother paper and I regard the use of these sieves as a great improvement on the native method of preparing the pulp The dingy colour of the paper depended much on the dark colour of the solution of potass used to dissolve the bark With a view to making a white paper, I had the alkaline solution clarified by passing it repeatedly through washed sand By this means it was *procured* of a very light straw colour and the paper produced by its use was many shades lighter than any I had previously succeeded in procuring

Mr T Maddock, Secretary to the Governor General (Political Department), sent in the year 1841, to Dr W B Oshanguessy, M D, Chemical Examiner, for the purpose of bleaching two sample packages of the paper manufactured by Dr Campbell The samples were not however sufficiently white in colour The following account<sup>29</sup> of his bleaching process is given by Dr. Oshanguessy himself — "The process consists essentially in using a solution of chlorine in water instead of chloride of lime generally employed The lime of the latter with the colouring matter of the Darjeeling paper forms a substance very difficultly bleached but which yields at once to the simple watery solution"

"The materials employed are red lead<sup>30</sup> (350 grains), common salt (60 grains), sulphuric acid ( $\frac{1}{2}$  fluid ounce), water (8 fluid ounces) These proportions are observed on any scale and instead of strong sulphuric acid a proportionately larger quantity of the weak acid abundantly manufactured in Calcutta may be employed"

The experimental paper factory of Dr Campbell at Darjeeling continued to work upto the 16th April, 1842 when it was closed by him for the reason that he found it uneconomical to run the factory "unless the rude machinery of the country hitherto employed were changed for better and more expensive factory gear"<sup>31</sup>

An endeavour was made by the Military Board (Stationery Department) to have the paper making industry renewed by Dr Campbell at

28. Political O C. 11 May, 1842, No 70

29 Political O C, 29 Nov 1841 No 147

30 Red lead is a common and cheap bazar article whose usual price is Rs. 8-4-0 per maund of 80 lbs. One great advantage in having recourse to this process is that it avoids the necessity of using the Oxide of manganese which is not found in the bazars. (Political O C. 29 Nov 1841, No. 147)

31 Letter to Mr G A Bushby 21st April 1842 Political O C 11 May, 1842 No. 70.

Darjeeling But he again objected to it on the ground of economy That at the present high rate of the wages of ordinary labour at Darjeeling the paper from the barks of the *Daphne cannabina* cannot probably be made at a lower rate than Rs. 10 to 15 per ream, each sheet being 2 feet by 18 inches and calculated to make four letter-envelops' Dr Campbell continued — 'It may be desirable to renew paper making at Darjeeling for various reasons but at present I doubt that it would be profitable to do so'

From the preceding account it will be clear that Government made anything but a fair trial of the scheme, and its failure may reasonably be attributed to the lukewarmness of the high officials It was essential for the success of the scheme that it should have been organised scientifically and put on a rationalised basis But rightly or wrongly Government thought otherwise and the experiment ended in a hopeless failure.

The question which now remains to be discussed is whether the dying industry can be resuscitated under modern conditions and can be kept in a thriving state against the keen competition of machine made paper The problem is not easy to solve and demands careful deliberation from experts One thing however is certain The days of hand made paper are not over as some sponsors of complete mechanisation of industries would have us believe. So great an archivist as Hilary Jenkinson boldly expresses the opinion that hand made papers are best for the purpose of records<sup>32</sup> The contributor to the article on paper in *Encyclopædia Britannica* recognises that hand made paper is indispensable for all special purposes such as bank note ledger, drawing or other high class paper—in one word in cases where great durability is the chief requisite.<sup>33</sup> So it is quite feasible that the hand made *Daphne* paper may well exist side by side with machine-made rag or wood paper since the demand for the former has not been completely obliterated by the appearance of the latter

The only cogent objection that may be raised against the use of the plant as a paper material is that of the chemist according to whom the rag made paper is the best of its kind and the *Daphne* bark is chemically very poor But experience tells us that so far as India is concerned rag made paper is highly inferior to the *Daphne*-paper And before accepting the verdict of the chemist on the relative virtues of different raw materials for paper as gospel truth we shall do well to bear in mind the warning pronounced by Mr Jenkinson. We should also while counselling the archivist to make the fullest use of any advice that the chemist can give him warning in regard to modern materials that no laboratory test can tell us what the effect of time will be on materials.' The same writer observes that 'good rag paper from Europe may without any special mal

32 Hilary Jenkinson—*A Manual of Archive Administration* p 159

33 The article on *Paper Encyclopædia Britannica* 11th edition.

treatment, decay in an extraordinary way if exposed to tropical climate. He himself admits that actual experience encouraged him to form this opinion <sup>34</sup>

There is moreover one practical objection to the extensive use of rags for paper making. The supply of rags is entirely uncertain, and there is often a corresponding uncertainty in the quality of the paper due to the uneven proportions of the mixture of materials.<sup>35</sup> It goes without saying that in the case of the Daphne paper a greater amount of certainty as to the supply of materials and uniformity in quality may be assured

That there is ample scope for the development of the Daphne fibre as a raw material even for large-scale paper making may be easily inferred from the extensive market for foreign paper as well as for foreign paper material in India. The total import of paper in 1934-35 was 2 938 000 cwts valued at Rs. 2 73 lakhs as against the total aggregate production of the Indian Mills amounting to 892 000 cwts a lamentably low figure. The import of wood pulp amounted in the same year to 19 000 tons valued at Rs 26 lakhs.<sup>36</sup> The figures will conclusively prove what a vast field for the development of an important industry is still lying in India—a field which has hitherto been completely neglected. It is for experts to explore this field more deeply and to find out the possibilities, if any of building up a big nationalist paper making industry with a view to make India dependent on none but herself for her writing material

34 Hilary Jenkinson—*A Manual of Archive Administration*.

35 *Paper-making in the Bombay Presidency*—R. T F Kirk I C S p o

36 *Review of the Trade of India 1935-36*



## BURMESE RECORDS CORROBORATE THE PURANIC DATE OF BUDDHA'S BIRTH

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1 There is a well-known verse in the *Bṛhat Samhita of Varāhamihira* about the Saptarshis (The Great Bear constellation) having been in a line with Magha Nakshatra when, at the close of the Mahabharata War, King Yudhiṣṭhira reigned at Hastināpur. It has proved to be a Delphic Oracle, as it has lent itself to several interpretations (*Bṛ Sam*, Chap 13, verse 3). It runs thus

Asan Maghāsu munayaḥ śasatī prthivīm Yudhiṣṭhira nṛpatau ,  
Shad drika pañca dvī yutah śaka kālah tasya rājanyasca

There are two distinct statements made here. The first line tells us that the Great Bear was in alignment with the asterism of Makha whose yoga tara is Regulus. The astronomical implications of this statement have been discussed by me in my article on the Puranic interpretation of the Saptarshu cycle contributed to the *Ganganātha Jha Research Institute Journal* Allahabad, (Vol I). Kalhaṇa in his *Rajataranginī* and Bhatotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Samhitā* have interpreted the second line to mean that King Yudhiṣṭhira lived 2526 years prior to the commencement of the Saḥi vahana Śaka in A.D. 78. This assigns the date B.C. 2449-2448 to Yudhiṣṭhira, by which time 53 years of the Kali Yuga had already passed. Bhatotpala quotes a verse of Vṛiddha Garga in support of the first statement, but not of the second. In verse two *Varāhamihira* tells us that his exposition of the Saptarshu Cycle follows the lines laid down by Vṛiddha Garga. For several reasons, the second statement could not have been made by Vṛiddha Garga himself. There are at least three Gargas mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The first Garga was the person to whom Śrī Rama gave away his wealth just before starting for the forest (*Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa Ayodhyakāṇḍa Sarga 32*). He must have been the formulator of the Garga Trirātra sacrifice described in the seventh Kaṇḍa of the *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda*. (T.S. vii 15). As pointed out by P. C. Sen Gupta in his article on Hindu Astronomy in the *Ramakrishna Centenary Volume*, (Vol 3) Vṛiddha Garga was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and a great astronomer. He was visited by Balarama during his pilgrimage at the time of the battle. (*Mahābhārata, Tīrthayātra Parva, Śalya Parv, Chap 37, verses 15-16*). He seems to have been the earliest commentator on the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa cycle of five years, and has been extensively

cited by Somakara, Varāhamihira, Bhatotpāla, S B Dikshit and other astro nomers It is therefore clear that the second statement in the verse of Varāhamihira cannot be attributed to him There was the third Garga, the astrologer, who has been assigned to the earlier half of the first century B C by Dr Kern in his introduction to the *Bṛhat Samhitā* He should have been a contemporary of the founder of the Vikrama Samvat Era Thus all the three Gargas appear to have lived long before the Salivāhana Śaka was started Dr R. Shamasastri points out that the term *saka* as a synonym of the word *Era* came into use only after the close of the Andhra period None of the Gargas could have employed it It must be therefore attributed to Varāhamihira himself In the same manner Āryabhaṭa declared that, at the time he composed his great work sixty cycles of sixty years each had elapsed since the commencement of the Kali Yuga Varāhamihira seems to have meant that at the time he wrote the *Bṛhat Samhita* 2526 years had been completed since the passing away of Yudhiṣṭhira If we assume for Varahamihira the date A D 505 mentioned in his *Pañchasiddhāntika*, the above interpretation assigns to Yudhiṣṭhira the date B C 2021 In my article contributed on this subject to the *Gāṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute Journal*, I have pointed out how this date is in complete harmony with the statement of the several Pūraṇas On the other hand C V Vaidya opined that the saka referred to should be the Buddha Nivāna Era, B.C 543 (*The Mahābhārata*, A criticism, p 80) His arguments are based on the assumption that the statement had been made by a Garga and could not therefore refer to Salivāhana who was later than all the Gargas So he agreed with Velandai Gopala Aiyar that the reference was certainly to Buddha's nirvāṇa Varahamihira lived in an age of Buddhist revival represented by Buddhaghosa, Fa Hien Bhartṛhari and Amarasiṃha Vaidya interpreted the second line to indicate the number 2566 Add 2566 to 543 and we go back to B.C. 3109 which is very close to the traditional beginning of Kali Yuga B.C 3102

2. Even now scholars are not agreed about the date of Buddha's nirvāṇa The Ceylonese chronicles the *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa*, and the Burmese chronicle 'Mallaṅkara' Wouttoo uniformly assume the date 543 B.C. for the nirvāṇa of Buddha and base their chronology on it Though these Buddhistic chronicles adopt the date 543 B.C. for the nirvāṇa, they state the interval between the nirvāṇa and the accession of Chandragupta to be only 162 years, whereas all the Hindu Pūraṇas estimate the interval at about 260 years. Thus discrepancy has hitherto proved irreconcilable. The dates assigned by the Chinese chronicles vary from about B.C. 1200 to 600 B.C. Of them all, what is known as the Peguan date, B.C. 638 approximates to the Purāṇic date (Prinsep's essays, Vol 2, p 165) European scholars like Fleet, Cunningham and others have rejected both Hindu and Buddhistic traditions and adopted the date B.C. 478 as the most probable, as it accords very closely with the interval of 162 years stated by the Ceylonese chronicles

to have existed between the nirvāṇa and Chandragupta, whose accession is assigned to 320 B.C. There is no consensus of opinion regarding the date of Chandra gupta's accession. It fluctuates between 324 B.C. and 311 B.C. The Burmese Chronicle, *Malla linkara*, translated by Bishop Bigandet, is unique in itself. It furnishes the name of the week-day and the Hindu calendar date for some of the most important events of Buddha's life. Cunningham's date for the nirvāṇa, B.C. 478 agrees in the main with the provisions of the *Malla linkara*. Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai has shown in the first volume of his *Ephemeris* that six out of the eight events mentioned by the Burmese Chronicle fall on the week-days assigned to them, if the Nirvāṇa is assumed to have occurred on Tuesday, First April, 478 B.C. —the full moon of Vāsākhā. The learned editor of the *Mahratti Gyana kosa* (*Gyana kosa*, Vol. IV, p. 153) approves of the date.

3 The *Purāṇas* embody the traditions current in the land of Buddha's birth. A total summary rejection of all the data furnished by them, in favour of foreign testimony in which they themselves who adduced them had no full confidence, is rather unwarranted. The part played by Chanakya has been totally ignored. The reliability of the *Purāṇas* regarding the Andhra dynasty has been acknowledged by Rapson in his *Catalogue of Indian coins* (Introduction, pp. xxvi and lxxv). His statement that "there is no reason to doubt that the long period for which the testimony of inscriptions and coins scarcely exists was actually occupied by the reigns recorded in the *Purāṇas*", can be equally true of the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan times. *Inscriptional History* begins with Asoka. The *Purāṇas*, the *Jātakas* and scattered references in contemporary literature are the only data available for re-constructing the history of pre-Asokan times. It is unfair to dub them unreliable and ignore the whole lot. It is the duty of the conscientious historian to try and pierce through the outer shell of age-long accretions and reach the kernel at centre. Delicious water and sweet pulp will be found though the quantity be small.

4 It is rather unfortunate that no evidences inscriptional or numismatic, are available for the period preceding Asoka except oral tradition committed to writing centuries later. Whereas the *Purāṇas* furnish details regarding all contemporary dynasties of pre-Mauryan times, the Buddhist chronicles mention only those kings that took an interest in their religion. The Burmese chronicle *Malla linkara*, mentions that Chanakya discovered, while he was yet young signs of kingship in his palms. On the advice of his mother, he kept the knowledge to himself (Bigandet, Vol. 2 pp. 125-128). Though all the *Purāṇas* agree in assigning a total of 100 years to the Nandas, some of them allot only 28 years to Mahapadma and 12 years to the eight brothers. The *Purāṇas* state that Chanakya also ruled for sometime after the Nandas and brought the total period to 100 years. It took him 12 to 16 years to dispossess the Nandas. It is not improbable therefore that some

years intervened between the dethronement of the last Nanda and the installation of Chandragupta. It is quite possible that the principles of statecraft so fully elaborated by Kautilya in the Artha shastra reflected the experience gained by Chanakya during his own kingship. As Chandragupta was a candidate of his own creation, Chanakya might have fulfilled his boyish ambition of becoming a ruler in his own person, before he handed over the kingdom to Chandragupta voluntarily or otherwise. It should be no wonder if Chandragupta had sought the help of Alexander or Seleukos as stated by Justin. The period is shrouded in mystery. The Buddhistic chronicle allots only 22 years to the whole Nanda dynasty. Kalasoka and his nine sons are allotted 61 years. Where does the discrepancy lie? Experts have yet to discover.

5 There is a mention in Bigandet's translation (Vol I, p 13, Vol II, p 123) of a Kauzda Era which was in vogue at the time of Buddha's maternal grand father, Eetzana, King of Devaha. At the time of its abolition by Eetzana, 8640 (eighty six forty) years had elapsed. At a synod of astronomers convened by the king and presided over by the foremost astronomer of the times Kala Devala (Asita Devala) it was decided to start a new era in honour of the King and it was called the Eetzana Era. The year 8640 of the Kauzda Era was terminated on Saturday the new moon of Magha and the new Era began on the next day a Sunday, the first day of Sukla Paksha. Another interesting bit of information found in the Malla linkara (Vol II, p 134) is that King Thamug dara (Samuddhara) of Prome an eminent astronomer himself reformed the calendar in the year of religion 625 (A.D. 81) dropping away 622 years and began the reformed computation with *two*, equating it to A.D. 79. This is a remarkable coincidence with the Sālivāhana Śaka and probably its nucleus. In the declaration of the Samkalpa at the beginning of our religious functions Sālivāhana Śaka and Bauddhāvātara often go together. The association may not be accidental. The point deserves further investigation at the hands of experts.

The Asita Devala who abolished the Kauzda Era is probably the Asita Devala frequently cited by Bhatotpāla. This gives us a date for him in the 8th century B.C. The word Kauzda does not occur in any other context if we remember that the Kosala kings traced their descent to Ikshvaku of the Solar dynasty, Kauzda may very well stand for Kakustha. It is remarkable that they should have preserved a tradition dating back 8640 years to 9300 B.C. Were they in any way an off shoot or the main stem of the Kassites and the Mitanni (Mitra Anu) tribes who invaded Assyria in the 15th century B.C.? It is a suggestion for Assyriologists to investigate. The name Tushratta (Dasa ratha) borne by the Mitanni king might possess a significance of its own.

6 There is thus nothing inherently impossible in the suggestions of C. V. Vaidya and Gopala Aiyar that the Śaka referred to in the verse of Varahamihira was the Buddha Nirvāṇa Śaka. If the number indicated in the second line is accepted to be 2526 as usually interpreted by subtracting

thus number from B.C. 3102 we get the date 576 B.C. for Buddha nirvana. This date differs from the Buddhist tradition by only thirty years and is in complete accord with the Puranic tradition. It satisfies all the conditions regarding week-days laid down in the Malla linkara. All the eight events fall on the days allotted to them. A careful examination of the auxiliary tables furnished in the Indian Ephemeris reveals the fact that 98 solar years (Julian) constitute an exact cycle of the week day and the day of the month of the Hindu luni solar calendar. The lunar tithis occur on the same week-days but are displaced three days forward in the Julian year. For example, the full moon of Vaisakha occurred in the year 576 B.C. on Tuesday the fourth of April, whereas it occurred in B.C. 478 on Tuesday the first of April. In this connection we have to remember that the system of intercalation in vogue at the time was that of the Vedanga Jyotisha according to which one month was intercalated at the end of every thirty months. The intercalated months were according to Dikshut (Hist of Astron p 91) Adhika Sravana and Adhika Magha. One of the five year periods ended in A.D. 80 according to Varahamihira. The system of intercalation adopted in the Indian Ephemeris is that of the Siddhantas. When this difference in the mode of intercalation is taken into account the two discrepancies inherent in the set of dates ending with 478 B.C. get themselves obviated in the set ending with B.C. 576. The proposed date is thus not only in harmony with both Puranic and Buddhist traditions but also in complete accord with the week days assigned to events a memory of which was carefully preserved by Burmese tradition for well over a millennium and a half. It is a truly remarkable feat of racial memory worthy of the best Vedic traditions.

The chief events mentioned are the following —

1 & 2 King Eetzana did away with the Kauzda Era 8640 on a Saturday on the new moon of Tabaong (March) and fixed the beginning of the new Era on the following day that is to say on a Sunday the first day after the new moon of the same month. This happened in the year 691 B.C. (543 plus 148) Volume II p 133

3 Buddha was conceived in his mother's womb in the year 68 of the Eetzana Era under the constellation Uttarathan and born (on the full moon day of Vaisakha) under the constellation Withaka on a Friday Volume II p 71

4 He went into the solitude in the year 96 on a Monday at the full moon of July under the constellation Oottarathan. Vol I p 63 Vol II, p 72

5 A little before break of day in the 103rd year of the Eetzana Era, on the day of the full moon of Katson the perfect science at once broke over him he became a Buddha. Pages 97 and 98 of Vol I

6 Buddha's father, gently breathed his last in the day of the full moon of Wakhaong (August), on a Saturday, at the rising of the sun, in the year of the Eetzana era 107, at the advanced age of ninety seven years Vol I, pp 203 and 206

7 It was not quite full dawn of the day when he entered the state of Nirvāṇa (Neibban), in the 148th year of the Eetzana Era, on the full moon of Katson on a Tuesday, a little before day break. Vol II, p 69

8 In the year 148, the first day of the month of Tagoo (April), which fell on a Sunday, was fixed as the beginning of the new computation, emphatically called the era of religion, 543 B.C. Vol II, p 133, foot note.

N.B —On page 216 of Volume I, Bigandet equates the full moon of Tabaong to (February) and the new moon of Taong to March, Vol II p 133 So Tabaong corresponds to the month of Magha which must end early in March so that Chaitra might have commenced before the 12th of April, when the solar year commences In the absence of definite information about the method of intercalation adopted by the Burmese, it might refer to Māgha or Phālguna (Vide last paragraph, pp 9, 10)

Dates of important events in Buddha's life —

	<i>Dates</i>
1 Kauzda era ended on the new moon of Tabaong or Māgha (ending) in B.C. 722 New moon at the end of Magha ended at 95 of Saturday after Mean rise i.e. on Saturday night 15 1 722 B.C.	Saturday 15 Jan 722 B.C.
2 Eetzana era began the next day, the first day of the waxing moon of month Tagoo, Sunday	Sunday 16 Jan 722 B.C.
3 Buddha's birth on full moon of Katson in Vi sakhā nakshatra full moon ended at, 54 of Friday, Vi sakhā ended at 92 same day Eetzana era—68 current	Friday 8 April 655 B.C.
4 Buddha left Kapilavastu at midnight of full moon in Uttara ashādhā nakshatra Full moon of Adhika Śra vana ended at 23 day after sunrise on Monday 27th June Ut. Ashadha ended on Sunday midnight a few hours before Monday began Era 96 current	Monday 27 June 627 B.C.
5. Buddha attained Buddhahood about sunrise on Wednesday in Vishākhā nakshatra on full moon. Full moon ended at 33 of Wednesday, Vishākhā ended at 49 same day Both current at sunrise 11-4-620 Era 103 current.	Wednesday - 11 April 620 B.C.
6 Buddha's father dies, Saturday, sunrise on full moon of Wakhaong. Era 107 current Full moon of Śrā vana (after Adhika Ashādhā) began at 23 of Saturday 24 7-616.	Saturday 24 July 616 B.C.

7 Buddha Nirvāṇa on Tuesday night before sun Tuesday  
rise. Full moon of Viśākḥā ended at 99 or just before 4 April 576 B.C.  
sunrise on the night of Tuesday 4th April, Viśākḥā ended  
at 66 day after sunrise. Both current at sunrise Era  
147 current. Age seventy nine complete.

7 Buddha died on his eightieth birthday, after completing seventy nine years. A few months after his death, a conference of all the followers of Buddha was held, under the aegis of the king, Ajātaśatru, and presided over by Kasyapa. It lasted for seven months from the full moon of Wakhaoṅ to the full moon of Tabaong. "It was at the conclusion of this council or Sangharana, that king Adzatatath, with the concurrence of the Buddhist patriarch, Kathaba did away with the Eetzana era, and substituted the religious era beginning in the year 148 of the said era, that is to say, on the year of Gautama's death, on a Monday, the first of the waxing moon of Tabaong" (Bigandet, Vol. II, p 11b). On the other hand, Bigandet's note on page 133 of Vol II, declares that in the year 148, the first day of the month of Tagoo (April), which fell on a Sunday was fixed as the beginning of the new computation, emphatically called the era of religion, 543 B.C. It is adopted by all the southern Buddhists. The two statements are self-contradictory and somewhat ambiguous. Buddha's death took place on the full moon of Katson (Vaiśākha). When did the new Era begin? Was the computation to begin from the month of Tabaong or Tagoo prior to the death or from those that followed his death about the time of the conclusion of the first council? Was it from the waxing first of Tabaong a fortnight earlier than or from the waxing first of Tagoo which occurred a fortnight later than the conclusion of the council? The point has to be clarified before the exact week day and date of the commencement of the era could be fixed. The same ambiguity appears in the case of the commencement of the Eetzana Era. The statement on page 13 of Vol I, conflicts with that of page 133 of Vol II. There is no ambiguity about the week-day, it is only about the month. Dr Fleet and Sir Alfred Irwin have clearly demonstrated in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1910 A.D. (Vol 39) that the Burmese calendar possesses elements similar to those of the Hindu calendar but not identical throughout. There are twelve months in the year composed alternately of 29 and 30 days. The first or waxing half of the month always contains 15 civil days, the second half, alternately 14 and 15 days. Seven months are intercalated for every nineteen years at an average interval of three years. The system is similar to that of Meton and to that explained in the *Maṭṭṛāyaṇya Sāmhita* (I-10-8). Like the ancient Babylonians, the same month is intercalated by duplicating (Arakanese) or Watso (Burmese). With the ancient Vedic seers it was the month of Pausa that was duplicated. Though the months are supposed to correspond to the entry of the sun into the signs of the fixed Hindu zodiac, they agree neither with the

solar nor with the lunar months except occasionally. The commencement of the month of Tagoo can fall on any date between the 19th of Wednesday and the 21st of March. Since the two halves of the Burmese month get out of step with the full and new moons, the waxing first of Tagoo may not always coincide with Sukla Pratipad. The new moon just preceding the waxing first of Tagoo may correspond with the new moon ending either Hindu lunar Māgha or Phālguna. It is therefore clear that the assumption made by the author of the Indian Ephemerides that Tabaon coincides with Phālguna or Tagoo with Chaitra, is not always correct. In the present case the identification of the new moon of Tabagaong with the new moon ending Magha yields the correct days of the week, for the commencement of the Eetzana and Nirvāṇa eras. I have therefore adopted it in my calculations. At the time of Buddha's birth, the calendrical system of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha seems to have been in vogue. The year commenced with Magha. So Tabaong might have been the first month of the year in those days. Later on when the king of Prome Samuddhara adopted or inaugurated the Sālivāhana or Dandoratha Era the year was probably made to commence with Chaitra or Tagoo in 78 A.D. Tagoo certainly commenced the year, when the Pagan or Pouppazdau Era was started the first of Tagoo in 638 A.D. as Zero—Buddha's death occurred in the 147th year (current) of the Eetzana era and year 148 was current when the council adopted the Nirvāṇa Era. The Buddha Nirvāṇa Era commenced on the 22nd of January, 576 B.C. which was a Sunday. This date does not conflict with the Purāṇic, Singhalese or Burmese traditions. It is as it were a compromise between them and is in full accord with the data of the Malla linkara wouttoo regarding the chief events of Buddha's life.

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# UJJAINĪ IN MRCCHAKATĪKA

By

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"The intense life with which Śudraka animates action and personage gives illusion to reality, one believes oneself to be in the middle of beautiful Ujjainī, but a comparison with the literature of tales dispels this error. We are, as in the rest of Indian stage, amid full convention and amid full fantasy." Thus says Professor Sylvain Lévi in speaking of the Mrcchakatika in his 'Théâtre Indien' and it has become an article of faith with modern scholars that in the Mrcchakatika, as in other Sanskrit plays, we are dealing with a city of convention and a conventional society. An examination of the minute details of the feature of the city and of the society described in the Mrcchakatika will however convince any impartial reader that the poet was dealing with an actual city and a living society, every feature of the life of which was familiar to him, though perhaps the name of the city might not have been Ujjainī and though the genius of the poet has certainly cast a radiant life over it.

## FAMOUS UJJAINĪ

The celebrity of the city of Ujjainī had spread all over the country and its affluence, the amenities of its life, the amusements and diversions it afforded to the gay, the beauty, refinement and wealth of its courtesans had been magnified by travellers' tales and allured the curious and leisured people from distant parts of the country. Simple Saṃvāhaka who belonged to distant Pataliputra and was left by his father in rather affluent circumstances,<sup>1</sup> was attracted to Ujjainī by tales heard from the mouths of travellers.<sup>2</sup>

## GEOGRAPHY

The city of Ujjainī covered a large area the centre of the city was thickly populated, gradually thinning out towards the outer perimeter. Here were

1. सवहक—पाटलिउते मे जन्मभूमि । गहवदालके हगे । (पाटलिपुत्र मे जन्मभूमि । गृहपतिदारमोऽहम् ।)—Act II
2. सवहक—एरो पित्रगेहे आहिण्डकान मुहामे शुणिअ अपुव्वदेशदशनकुदहलेण इह आगदे । (एष निजगृह आहिण्डकानां मुखाच्छ्रुत्वा पूर्वदेशदर्शनकुतूहलेनेहागतः ।)—Act. II

situated large shady gardens<sup>3</sup> adorned with beautiful lakes belonging to the wealthy inhabitants and the king had an extensive garden called Puṣpa karandaka which was the most beautiful of all<sup>4</sup> and at a considerable distance from the city<sup>5</sup> The gardens were separated from one another and screened off from the public road and were full of umbrageous trees,<sup>6</sup> throwing cool shadows over the road and people could walk from the city to the Royal Garden Puṣpakarandaka in the shade of the overhanging trees without exposing themselves to the sun<sup>7</sup> The boundary walls were however not always carefully maintained and king Palaka's garden Puṣpakarandaka at least had a gap large enough to admit of a carriage passing through over the débris of fallen bricks and for Śakāra to fly by leaping over<sup>8</sup> It was otherwise neglected and large heaps of unswept dried leaves were blown about by the wind and gathered at the feet of trees<sup>9</sup> On the other side there were temples with spacious compounds built by the citizens outside the busy part of the city and we hear of one such temple in which the image had not yet been installed<sup>10</sup> Beyond this were the gambling houses and evidently the low quarters the East-end of Ujjaini

- 3 विदूषक — भो पेक्ख पेक्ख पुष्पकरण्डअजिण्णुज्जाणस्स सस्सिसरीअदाम् । ( भो पश्य पश्य पुष्पकरण्डकजीर्णायानस्य सश्रीकताम् । )—Act VII  
विट — काणेलीमात पशोयानस्य शोभाम् ।—Act. VIII
- 4 शकार — एशे मम बहिणीवदिणा शच्चुज्जाणाण पवले पुष्पकरण्डज्जाणे दिण्णे, जहिं दाव शिआला पाणिअ पिअन्ति । हम्गे वि पवलपुलिशे मणुससके ण प्हाआमि । तहिं तुम पुनख-  
लिणोए । etc ( एतन्मम भगिनीपतिना सर्वोयानाना प्रवरं पुष्पकरण्डोयान दत्तम्, यत् तावच्छुनका शृगाला पानीय पिबन्ति । अहमपि प्रवरपुरुषो मनुष्यको न स्नामि । तत्र त्व पुष्परिण्या etc. )—Act VIII
- 5 आर्यक — अहो नगरात्सुदूरमपवान्तोऽस्मि ।—Act VII
- 6 आर्यक — तत्किमस्मात्प्रवहणादवतीर्य वृक्षवाटिकागहनं प्रविशामि ।—Act VII
- 7 विट — यदि पुनरुद्यानपरम्परया पद्ममेव नगरीमुज्जयिनीं प्रविशाम ।—Act. VIII
- 8 शकार — पगारखण्डेण पवेशहि पवहणम् । ( प्राकारखण्डेन प्रवेशय प्रवहणम् । )—Act VIII  
.... एद अद्धपडिद पाआलखण्ड उल्लहिअ गच्छामि । ( एतमर्धपतित प्राकारखण्डमुद्धप गच्छामि । )—Act. VIII
- 9 शकार — एदिणा वादालीपुज्जिदेण शुक्खपण्णपुडेण पच्छादेमि । ( एतेन वातालीपुज्जितेन शुष्कर्णपुटेन प्रच्छादयामि । )—Act VIII  
संवादको भिणु — इध वादालीपुज्जिदे शुक्खवत्तसचए पशालइशम् । ( इह वातालीपुज्जिते शुष्कपत्रसंचये प्रसारयिष्यामि । )—Act. VIII
- 10 संवादक — हके विण्णडिवेहिं पादेहि एद शुण्णदेठळ पविशिअ देवीअविइशम् । ( अहं विपरी-  
ताभ्यां पादाभ्यामेतच्छून्यदेवकुलं प्रविश्य देवीभविष्यामि । )—Act II  
दूतकर — एसो वच्चदि । इअ पण्ण पदवा । ( एष मज्जति । इय प्रनय पदवी । )—Act. II

## STREETS

The streets of Ujjaini were narrow, especially in the busy part, the merchants' quarters<sup>11</sup> where Carudatta's large family mansion with its garden and orchard now out of repair, was situated so that there was hardly room for two carriages to go abreast especially if one of them happened to be a lumbering country cart.<sup>12</sup> In the market place of Ujjaini the shops were built close to one another, with only narrow lanes between, where the street dogs who lived on the leavings and sweepings of the shops comfortably ensconced themselves at night from the inclemencies of the weather under the projecting eaves of the shop rooms<sup>13</sup>

The streets were not lighted<sup>14</sup> and on dark nights citizens had to carry their own lights lights strong enough to give confidence to the pedestrians that no bad characters were lurking about.<sup>15</sup> Indeed the streets of Ujjaini were infested by bravos rowdies and revellers after night fall and the favourites of the tyrannical king Palaka added not a little to the insecurity of the streets<sup>16</sup> Flushed with insolence and wine they pursued unprotected females and made fun of simple citizens any oddity in whose appearance or manners happened to attract their attention<sup>17</sup> Thus were molested both Vasantasena and Radanikā and poor Maitreya who was with Radanikā There were no pavements for pedestrians apart from the high carriage-way and the houses gave right on to the streets. Pursued by the licentious importunities of Śakara, Vasantasena passes her hands over the boundary wall

11 मदनिका —सो क्वु चेद्विचतरे पडिवसदि । ( स खलु त्रेष्ठिचतरे प्रतिवसति । )—Act. II

12 स्यावरकधेट —कथ गमशअलेहिं लुद्धे मगो । ( कथं ग्रामशकटै रूद्धो मार्ग । )—Act VI  
चारुदत्त —किं यात्यस्य पुर शनै प्रवहण तस्यान्तरं मार्गते ।—Act VII

13 विदूषक —आवणन्तररच्छाविभाएसु सुह कुकुरा वि सुता । ( आपणान्तररम्याविभागेषु सुख कुकुरा अपि सुता )—Act III

14 शकार —बलिण क्वु अन्धआले माशलाशिप्रविश विअ मशिगुडिआ दीशन्दी ज्येय पण्डा वसन्तसेणिआ । ( बलीयसि खल्वन्धकारे मापराशिप्रविष्टेय मसीगुटिका दृश्यमानैव प्रनष्टा वसन्तसेना )—Act I

.. ...विट—अहो बलवानन्धकार ।—Act I

15 चारुदत्त —रात्रमार्गविश्रामयोग्या प्रज्वाल्यन्तां प्रदीपिका ।—Act I

16 विदूषक —एदाए पदोसवेलाए इध राअमग्गे गणिआ विडा चेडा राअवड्डा अ पुरिसा सचरन्ति । ( एतस्यां प्रदोषवेलायामिह राजमार्गे गणिका विटाधेटा राजवड्डभाध पुरुषा सचरन्ति । )—Act I

17 विदूषक —ता मण्डुअलुद्धस्स कालसप्पस्स मूठिओ विअ अहिमुहावदिदो वज्झो दाणिं भविस्सम् ।  
( तस्मान्मण्डुकलुब्धस्य कालमर्षस्य मूषिक इवामिसुखापतितो बध्य इदानीं भविष्यामि । )  
—Act I.

of Carudatta's house and finds the door<sup>15</sup> Houses of any pretension, as those of Carudatta and Vasantasena, had, besides the main entrance, a side entrance<sup>16</sup> also leading to a retired part of the house or to the garden and orchard which was situated on a side. Vasantasena had a temple to Cupid in her garden<sup>17</sup> and Carudatta had in his a beautiful pleasure house<sup>18</sup> which however was much the worse for want of repairs

### CITY POLICE

There was arrangement for patrolling of the streets by the police, and thieves and bad characters were spotted, questioned or pursued, but under the lax administration of the tyrannical king Palaka, the city guards were negligent of their duties, especially in the early part of the night when rowdies moved about the streets and brawls with the followers of the king's favourites were to be apprehended. When Vasantasena was pursued by Sakara and her servants fled from fear, there was no city guard to be seen anywhere<sup>19</sup> The policemen came out later at night when there was no danger of brawls and thieves and bad characters might be on their nightly prowls. When Carudatta returns home, after escorting Vasantasena to her place he finds the city guards asleep,<sup>20</sup> and we find the robber Sarvilaka mighty afraid of the city guards on his way back from his nocturnal adventure at the residence of Carudatta<sup>21</sup>

- 18 वसन्तसेना—अम्भो भित्तिपरामरिसूइद पक्खदुआरअ क्खु एदम् । जाणामि अ सजोएण गेहस्स सुवुद पक्खदुआरअम् । ( अहो भित्तिपरामरिसूचित पक्षद्वारक खल्वेतत् । जानामि च सयोगेण गेहस्स ससत् पक्षद्वारकम् । )—Act I
- 19 सवाहक—एशे कइश वि अणपावुदपक्खदुआलके गुहे । ता एत्थ पविशिदशम् । ( एतत्कस्या प्यनपावुत्तपक्षद्वारक गेहम् तदन प्रविशामि )—Act II
- 20 मदनिक्का—तेण हि तुम इमस्सिं कामदेवगेहे मुहुत्तअ चिड । ( सेव हि त्वमस्मिन्कामदेवगेहे मुहुत्तक तिष्ठ । )—Act IV
- 21 चारुदत्त—आरामप्राप्तादवेदिकायां क्रीडद्भिः पारवतैः पातितं भवेत् ।—Act V.  
चारुदत्त—स्तम्भेषु प्रचलितवेदिसवधान्त  
शीर्णत्वात् कथमपि धार्यते वितानम् ।  
एषा च स्फुटितमुधादवानुलेपात्  
सङ्किता सलिलभरेण चित्तभित्ति ॥—Act V
- 22 वसन्तसेना—( शून्यमवलोक्य ) हृदि हृदि, कथं परिअणो वि परिअमट्ठो । एत्थ मए अण्णा शअ अवे रक्खिदव्वो । ( हा धिक् हा धिक् । कथं परिजनोऽपि परिअट्ठ । अत्र मयात्मा स्वयमेव रक्षितव्य । )—Act I
- 23 चारुदत्त—राजमार्गो हि शून्योऽयं रक्षिणः सचरन्ति च ।—Act I
- 24 शर्विलक—अये पदशब्द इव । सा नाम रक्षिणः । भवतु । स्तम्भीभूत्वा तिष्ठामि ।—Act. III  
शर्विलक—नरपतिबले पादयोयाते स्थितं गृहदास्वत् ।—Act. IV

At convenient points in the city there were stations for the policemen<sup>25</sup> (gulma) and there were inspectors in charge of such police-posts. In case of alarm all pedestrians and conveyances were stopped and searched<sup>26</sup>. Under king Palaka this inquisition was carried out with a good deal of unnecessary zeal and anybody who excited the suspicion of the police was searched, questioned and apprehended whether he took the air in a garden, was seated in an assembly, was walking in the streets or was transacting any business in a shop<sup>27</sup>. If any citizen had the misfortune to be viewed with an evil eye by the police or any favourite of the king, he had no peace till he disappeared in the underworld of the city. Thus the policeman Candanaka, once he had a quarrel with Viraka, the chief inspector of police, did not consider himself safe till he and his relations joined the rebel army of Āryaka<sup>28</sup>. The viṣa attached to Śakara when he finally abandoned his patron after the strangling of Vasantasena to escape persecution, also had to join the rebel army of Āryaka<sup>29</sup>.

### THE ŚMAŚANAM

To the south of the city beyond the inhabited quarters was the place of execution (dakṣminasmaśanam). A place of execution is always a place of terror, but it was specially so during the reign of terror under king Palaka when executions were frequent and it was not an unusual sight to find the body of a person executed still hanging from the gibbet, half devoured by

25 अरे रे दोवारिया, अप्पमत्ता सएसु सएसु गुम्मट्ठणेषु होध । (अरे रे दौवारिका अप्रमत्ता स्वेषु स्वेषु गुम्फस्थानेषु भवत ।) —Act VI

26 वीरय — (अवलोक्य) अरे पवहणवाहका, मा दाव एव पवहण वाहेहि । कस्सकेरक एव पवहणम् । को वा इध आरूढो । कहिं वा वज्जइ । (अरे प्रवहणवाहक, मा तावदेतत्प्रवहण वाहय । कस्यैतत्प्रवहणम् । को वा इहारूढ । कुत्र वा व्रजति ।) —Act VI

27 चन्दनक — उज्जानेषु सहासु अ मग्गे णअरीव आवणे घोसे ।  
त त जोहह तुरिअ सङ्गा वा जाअए जय ॥  
(उज्जानेषु समासु मार्गं नगयामापणे घोष ।  
तं तम-वेपयत त्वरितं शङ्का वा जायते यत्र ॥) —Act VI

28. चन्दनक — (नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य) अरे, णिकमन्तस्स मे पिअवअस्सो सखिलओ पिट्ठो ज्वव अणुलमो गदो । भोटु । प्रधानदण्डधारओ वीरओ राअपवआरो विरोहिदो । ता चाव अहपि पुत्तमादुपठिवुरो एद ज्वेव अणुगच्छामि । (अरे निष्क्रमतो मम प्रियवयस्य शर्विलकं पृथत एवानुलमो गत । भवतु । प्रधानदण्डधारको वीरको राजप्रत्ययको विरोधितः । तयावदहमपि पुत्रभ्रातृपरिशृत एतमेवानुगच्छामि ।) —Act. VI

29 विट् — (स्वगतम्) न युक्कमवस्थातुम् । भवतु । यत्तार्यशर्विलकचन्दनकप्रश्रयः सन्ति तत्र गच्छामि । (इति निष्क्रान्तः) —Act VIII.

prowling jackals at night.<sup>30</sup> When a person is led to execution, it was the law that his name with ancestry and the crime for which he is condemned should be loudly proclaimed, after a flourish of the drum,<sup>31</sup> at five different fixed points in the city (ghoṣanāsthāna), the last point being the place of execution.<sup>32</sup> The proclamation with beat of drum and the strange appearance of the condemned—a garland of red flowers, smeared over with red sandal paste on which rice-powder and sun-dried rice had been sprinkled and carrying the gibbet on his shoulder,<sup>33</sup>—could not fail to attract a crowd of curious lookers-on.<sup>34</sup> In one of the round-points where the execution party stopped to make their proclamations, reared up the proud palace of the king's brother-in-law Saṁsthānaka.<sup>35</sup> This palace had a terrace up at the top with perhaps a small

30. चाण्डालः—(अग्रतो दर्शयित्वा) पेक्ख पेक्ख ।

अद्धं कलेवलं पडिद्युत्तं वट्ठन्ति दीहगोमाआ ।

अद्धं पि शल्ललग्नं वेशं विअ अट्ठहासस्य ॥

(पद्य पद्य । अर्धं कलेवरं परिवृत्तं कर्पति दीर्घगोमायवः ।

अर्धमपि शल्ललग्नं वेश इवाट्ठहासस्य ॥—Act. X.

31. चाण्डालौ—इमं घोपणट्ठाणम् । आदणोघ डिण्डिमम् । घोशेघ घोपणम् ।

(इदं घोपणस्थानम् । आहत डिण्डिमम् । घोपयत घोपणम् ।)—Act. X.

32. चाण्डालः—इमं व पच्छिमं घोपणट्ठाणम् । ता तालेघ डिण्डिमम् । उग्घोशेघ घोपणम् ।

(इदं च पश्चिमं घोपणस्थानम् । तत्ताज्यत डिण्डिमम् उद्घोषयत घोपणम् ।)—Act. X.

33. चारुदत्तः—(सविपादम्) नयनसलिलस्त्तिकं पांशुस्सीकृताङ्गं

पितृवनसुमनोभिर्वेष्टितं मे शरीरम् ।

विरसमिह रटन्तो रक्त्तगन्धानुलिप्तं

बलिमिह परिभोक्तुं वायसास्तर्कयन्ति ॥

.....

सर्वगात्रेषु विन्यस्तौ रक्त्तचन्दनहस्तकैः ।

पिटचूर्णावकीर्णेष्व पुरयोऽहं पशुकृतः ॥

.....

अंतेन चिभ्रत्करवीरमालां स्कन्धेन शलं हृदयेन शोकम् ।

आपातमयाहमनुप्रयामि शामित्रमालब्धुमिवाध्वरेजः ॥—Act. X.

34. चाण्डालौ—ओशलध अच्चा, ओशलध ।

(अपसरतार्याः, अपसरत ।)—Act. X.

35. शङ्करः—(सहर्षं) मए कख्ख.....उप्पादिदे ताह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह विणाशे । शंपदं अत्तणकेलिक्रए पाशदबाललग्नपदोलिमाए अहिल्लहिअ अत्तगो पल्लग्गं पेक्खामि । (तया कृत्वा दृष्ट्वा च) ही ही, एदाह दलिद्दचालुदत्ताह वज्झं णीअमाणाह जणसंमदे । (मया खलु उत्पादितस्तस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्य विनाशः । सांप्रतमात्मीयां प्रापादबाललग्नप्रतोलिक्त्रायामधिक्त्रात्मनः पराक्रमं पश्यामि । ही ही एतस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्य बन्धं नीयमानस्यैतावान् जनसंमदः ।)—Act. X.

room in which he had confined his slave Sthāvaraka<sup>36</sup> for fear lest he blurt out the truth about his master having himself strangled Vasantasenā. This was also his favourite resort<sup>37</sup> at idle hours from which he watched the crowd in the street below and what was happening in the city Samsthānaka's palace opened right on the street and when his slave proclaimed that it was his master who had strangled Vasantasenā, the executioner with Cārudatta immediately went in and closed the door upon the crowd, with the object of enquiring into the slave's allegations.<sup>38</sup>

The large powers wielded by the police were somewhat justified by the large floating population of low characters who infested Ujjainī. Gambling was the favourite pastime of the people, high and low. When the jewel casket of Vasantasenā was stolen from Cārudatta's house by the robber, unwilling to admit the loss by theft, the excuse which readily suggested itself to Cārudatta's mind was that he had lost it in gambling<sup>39</sup> the propensity to gambling being not regarded as in any way a blemish on his high character (caritra) of the purity of which he was so meticulously careful. When Samsthānaka's slave detained by the obstruction on the road saw the muffled figure of Āryaka slinking away in the early hours of the morning the simile that occurred to his mind was that of a gambler evading from the clutches of the keeper of the gambling house<sup>40</sup>. A crowd of habitual gamblers some of whom had lost everything in that fatal amusement, prowled in the by ways of the city and swelled the number of adventurers and criminals. Some of them were brahmins and of high families and could pretend to no small intelligence and education. Śarvilaka was one such character who was connected with the rich and accomplished merchant Revila a great friend of Cārudatta and he left his newly wedded wife Madanikā confidently in his

36 शकार—ममकेलकाए पाशादबालगपदोलिकाए चिट्ठ । . . . .चेड वि पाशादबालग-  
पदोलिकाए विगलपूदि कडुअ थावइइश । ( मदीयायां प्रासादबालगप्रतोलिकायां तिष्ठ । . . . .  
.. .. .चेटमपि प्रासादबालगप्रतोलिकायां निगडपूरित कृत्वा स्वापयिष्यामि ) ।  
—Act VIII

37. शकार—तथा मणेशि जघा हगे अत्तणकेलिकाए पाशादबालगकबोदबालिआए उपविट्ठ शुणामि ।  
( तथा भणियसि यथाहमात्मकीयायां प्रासादबालगप्रतोलिकायामुपविट्ठ शुणामि । )—Act I

38. चाण्डाली—ओशलथ देव मग्ग दाल ढकेष होष तुण्हीआ ।  
( अपसरत दत्त मार्ग द्वारे पिपत्त भवत सुणिगा ॥—Act X

39. चारुदत्त—वक्तव्या च सा मद्रूचनात्—यत्स्वत्वस्माभि. सुवर्णमाण्डमास्मीयमिति कृत्वा  
विभ्रम्भयात् सूते हारितम् ।—Act III

40. स्यावरकथेट—( अवलोम्य ) कथम्, एसे अवले हाहिअ विअ मं पेखिअ शहश जेव  
जूदपलाइदे विअ जूदिअले ओहालिअ अत्ताणअ अण्णदो अवकन्ते । ( कथम्, एसेउपर.  
समिकमिव मां प्रेइय सहसैव सुतपल्लयित इव एनकरोऽपवारोत्तानमन्यतोऽपकान्त । )  
Act. VI

custody,<sup>41</sup> before himself plunging in the perilous adventure of Āryaka. He had still a lot of family pride in him,<sup>42</sup> though pursuing the profession of a robber and a frequenter of brothels. The beggarly rascal Darduraka was another such character whose impudence and cleverness redeem his abject poverty and whose well-ventilated *paṭa* was a well-known object in the gambler's quarters. That he at one time belonged to cultured society is evident from the Sanskrit language which he uses. Indeed gambling was a form of amusement licensed by the king and the Gambler's Association, (Dyutakara-maṇḍali) wielded considerable powers over the life and person of the gamblers. When the gambling house-keeper Māthura declared that he was arresting Saṃvāhaka in the name of the Gambler's Association, Saṃvāhaka knew that he had no remedy.<sup>43</sup> Not only could the defaulting gambler be beaten and tortured in the most inhuman way,<sup>44</sup> but he could be even sold into slavery for the repayment of a gambling debt.<sup>45</sup> The last and extreme punishment was expulsion from the Gambler's Association, which made the expelled member a sort of outlaw in the gambling world. Darduraka was such an expelled member.<sup>46</sup>

41. मदनिका—( सास्त्रमज्जलिं बद्धा ) एवं नेदम् । ता परं जेदु मं अब्जउत्तो समीवं गुरुअण्णाम् ।  
( एव नेदम् । तत्परं नयतु मामार्यपुत्रः समीपं गुरुजनानां । )  
शर्विलकः—( चेदमुद्दिश्य ) भद्र, जानीये रेमिलस्य सार्यवाहस्योदवसितम् ।  
चेदः—अध ई । ( अध किम् । )  
शर्विलकः—तत्त प्रापय प्रियाम् ।—Act. IV.
42. शर्विलकः—अहं हि चतुर्वेदविदोऽप्रतिग्रहस्य पुत्रः शर्विलको नाम ब्राह्मणो गणिकामदनिकार्य-  
मकार्यमनुतिष्ठामि ।—Act. III.
43. संवाहकः—( उत्याय सविपादम् । ) कथं जूदिअलमण्डलीए बद्धो म्हि । ही, एसो अम्हाणं  
जूदिअलाणं अलङ्घणीए शमए । ( कथं द्युतकरमण्डल्या बद्धोऽस्मि । कष्टम्, एषोऽस्माकं द्युत-  
करणामलङ्घनीयः समयः । )—Act. II.
41. दर्दुरकः—यः स्तब्धं दिवसान्तरमात्रमिह वास्ते समुद्भवितो  
यस्योद्धर्षणलोष्टकैरपि सदा पृष्ठे न जातः किमः ।  
तस्यैतच्च न कुक्कुरहरहर्जहान्तरं चर्व्यते  
तस्यायतकोमलस्य सततं द्युतप्रसङ्गेन किम् ॥—Act. II.  
द्युतकरः—जइ बज्जसि पादालं इन्दं शलणं च संपदं जासि ।  
सहिअं बज्जिअ एक्कं रुद्धो वि ण रक्सिद्धं तरइ ॥  
( यदि व्रजसि पातालमिन्द्रं शरणं च सांप्रतं यासि ।  
समिकं वज्जयित्वैकं रुद्धोऽपि न रक्षितुं त्वरति ॥ )—Act. II.
45. मायुरः—अप्पाणं विकिणीय पअच्छ । ( आत्मानं विक्रीय प्रयच्छ । )  
संवाहकः—अम्हा, किण्णिधं मं इमस्स शहिअस्स हत्तापो दशेहिं सुवण्णकेहिं । ( आर्याः,  
क्रोणीत्वं मामस्य समिकस्य हस्ताश्रयिः सुवर्णकैः । )—Act. II.
46. दर्दुरकः—अयमस्माकं पूर्वसभिद्धो इह एवाभिवर्तते ।—Act. II.



## SLAVERY

Slavery was an established social institution in Ujjainī, and all well to-do inhabitants had one or more slaves. We meet with one slave, Vardhamānaka, and a slave girl, Radanikā in Cārudatta's household, one slave Sthāvaraka, in Śākāra's and two slaves, Pallavaka and Karmapūraka and at least three slave girls, Paravṛtikā, Mādhavikā and Madanikā in Vasantasena's household. The powers wielded by the slave-owners over their slaves were absolute extending even to death. Thus Sthāvaraka was prepared for any amount of beating, even death from Śākāra<sup>47</sup> and Vardhamānaka was philosophising whether he was not better off under a kind though poor master like Cārudatta than under a rich but capricious master like Śākāra (Act III). Devoted and reliable slave maids like Radanikā exercised considerable influence in their master's household and accomplished slave girls like Madanikā were admitted to friendship and confidence<sup>48</sup> of their indulgent and kind mistress. Such maids fetched a high price and Śarvilaka who was in love with Madanikā was driven to robbery to procure the means of paying the price of her liberty<sup>49</sup>. But as soon as a slave girl was liberated, she took her rank as a free citizen and could be married in gentle society, no reproach clinging to her on account of her previous condition of slavery,—as is seen in the case of Madanikā.

## SYSTEM OF JUSTICE.

Among a heterogeneous and numerous people as the inhabitants of Ujjainī cases of dispute were not infrequent and there was an elaborate system of justice. The court of justice was presided over by a judge (adhikaraṇika) assisted by a body of assessors<sup>50</sup> among whom were a Kāyastha clever in recording the proceedings in court, a sreṣṭhin or president of the merchants' guild expert in mercantile law and the practices of commerce,

47 चेटः—पिट्टयदु भट्टके, मालेदु भट्टके, अरुञ्ज ण कलइस्साम् ।

(ताडयतु भट्टकं, मारयतु भट्टकं अकार्यं न करिष्यामि ।)—Act. VIII

शकार —मए कसु एरो शुवण्णभण्डाले णित्ते शुवण्ण चोलअन्ते मालिदे पिट्ठदे । ता जदि ण पत्तिआअध ता पिट्ठि दाव पेक्खथ । (मया खल्वेप सुवर्णभाण्डारे नियुक्त सुवर्ण चोर-यन्मारितस्ताडित । तद्यदि न प्रत्ययथ तदा पृष्ठ तावत्पश्यत ।)—Act. X

48 मदनिक्क—अब्बए, तिणेहो पुच्छदि, प पुरोभाइदा, ता कि नेदम् ।

(आर्ये, स्नेहं पृच्छति, न पुरोभाणिता, तर्हि न्विदम्)—Act II

49 शर्विलकः—मदनिके, किं वसन्तसेना मोक्षयति त्वा निष्कदेण ।

मदनिका—सन्विलअ, भणिदा मए अब्बआ । तदो भणदि—'जइ मम छन्दो तदा विणा अत्थं सव्व परिजण अमुजिस्स करइस्साम् । (शर्विलक, भणिता मया आर्या । तदा भणति,—'यदि मम छन्दस्तदा विनार्थं सर्वं परिजनममुजिष्य करिष्यामि ।)—Act. IV.

50 तत प्रविशति धेष्टिणायक्यादिपरितोऽधिकरणिक ।

चारुदत्त —इहो नियुक्ता, अणि कुशल भवताम्—Act IX.

perhaps one or more interpreters translating the various dialects used by the miscellaneous people who resorted to the court of justice etc. There does not appear to be any lawyer on behalf of either party in the suit and the practice of public crimes being tried with the king as the prosecuting party also did not prevail. In the trial of Carudatta on the charge of murder of Vasanta senā the Śākara appeared as the prosecuting party<sup>51</sup> and not as a mere witness. On the opening of the court the usher loudly proclaimed if there was anybody with any petition to the judge praying for justice. The parties had then to step up and on being called upon stated their cases the Kayastha recording the statements. The accused and witnesses for the prosecution and defence were then called in and questioned about their knowledge of the facts of the case. Their statements were then recorded and we find the pampered brother in law of the king Śākara stepping up to the Kayastha and rubbing out with his feet an inconvenient statement<sup>52</sup>. The judge's duty consisted in taking evidence ascertaining the facts applying the law of the case before him and giving his findings on the issues of the case. He however could not pass the final order which was the province of the king<sup>53</sup>. The judge could however submit his recommendations to the king<sup>54</sup>.

### THE KING

The king was the depository of all power and the system of administration was one of absolute monarchy. This power was exercised by king Pālaka with great harshness and capriciousness. The poet has shown some humour in giving the name Pālaka lit. protector to a king who punished young wives for any offence with the barbarous punishment of cutting off their hair<sup>55</sup> and brahmin offenders with decapitation<sup>56</sup> against the dictates of Manu and the express recommendation of the judge. Persons of whom the king was afraid for political reasons were summarily caught hold of and

51. चारुदत्त — अधिकृत, केन सह मम व्यवहार ।

शक्रार — (सादोपम् ।) अले मए शह ववहाले । (अरे, मया सह व्यवहार ।) — Act IX.

52. शक्रार — किं कोलाहल कलेष । ( किं कोलाहल कुल । ) — ( इति पादेन लिखित प्रोच्छति । ) — Act. IX.

53. अधिष्ठाणिक — निर्णये वयं प्रमाणम् । शेषे तु राजा । Act IX.

54. अधिष्ठाणिक — तथापि शोधनक, विशाप्यता राजा पालक —  
‘अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुव्रवीत् ।

राष्ट्रदस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभर्त्सते सह ॥ — Act. IX.

55. सूत्रधार — (सक्रोधम्) कदा शु क्तु तुम कुविदेण रणा पालएण णववहुकमहत्थ विअ सुअन्ध कप्पिजन्त पेक्खिस्सम् । (कदा तु खलु त्वा कुपितं राजा पालकेन नववधूकेश हस्तमिव मुगध छेद्यमानं प्रेक्षिष्ये ।) — Act. I.

56. चाण्डाल — दोहाओ, अत्त सअभिओओ क्तु अवलज्जहि, ण क्तु अम्ह । (दार्पायु, अत्र राजनियोगं सत्त्वपराप्स्यति, न खलु वदम् ।) — Act. X.

thrown into solitary cells in torture houses where they were to die, without trial, perhaps of starvation<sup>57</sup> The keepers of such Bastilles often paid with their lives<sup>58</sup> for the crimes of their master King Palaka had a number of concubines and Śākāra the brother of one of them plays a leading part in the drama This worthless fellow was rewarded by the king with the gift of one of the finest royal gardens Pūṣpakaraṇḍaka, in the outskirts of the city<sup>59</sup> and boasted that he could turn out the judge and have a new judge appointed who would be more compliant to him—a threat which was not without foundation as the judge immediately decided to take up the case brought by him<sup>60</sup> The king was so superstitious that on hearing a report that a siddha had foretold to a cowherd boy Aryaka that he would be king he had the boy thrown into strict confinement<sup>61</sup> put him to torture with the object of killing him. But every part of the administration was lax under a tyrannical ruler, and it was not difficult for a scientific housebreaker like Śarvilaka to set Āryaka at liberty<sup>6</sup> There was a good deal of discontent brewing against king Palaka even amongst his immediate followers<sup>62</sup> and his deposition was very largely facilitated by his discontented followers many of whom were secretly in Aryaka's party

57 आर्यक —अहं खलु सिद्धादेशानितपरित्रासेन राज्ञा पालकेन घोषादानीय विशम्भेन गूढगारे बन्धनेन बद्धः ।—Act VI

58 (नेपथ्ये) एतो अज गोवालदारओ गुप्तिअ भजिय गुप्तिपालअ वावादिय बन्धण भेदिय परिन्मट्टो अवक्कमदि ।

(एषोद्य गोपालदारको गुप्तिं भन्त्वा गुप्तिपालक व्यापाद्य बन्धनं मित्वा परिभ्रष्टोऽयमिति ।)  
—Act VI

59 शंकर —एशे मम बहिणीवदिणा शच्युज्जाणण पवले पुष्पकरण्डोद्यानं दत्तम् । (एतन्मम भगिनीपतिना सर्वोद्यानानां प्रवरं पुष्पकरण्डोद्यानं दत्तम् ।)—Act VIII

60 शंकर —(सकोधम् ।) आ किं ण दीशदि, मम ववहाले । जइ ण दीशदी तदो आवुत्त लाआण पालक बहिणीवदिं विण्णविअ बहिणि अत्तिक च विण्णविअ एद अधिअलणिअ दूले फेलिअ एत्थ लण्ण अधिअलणिअ दयइस्सम् । (आ किं न दइयते मम व्यवहार । यदि न दइयते तदाखुत्त राजानं पालकं भगिनीपतिं विज्ञाप्य भगिनीं मातरं च विज्ञाप्यैतमधिकरणिं दूरीकृत्यान्धमधिकरणिं स्थापयिष्यामि ।)

अधिकरणिः —सर्वमस्य मूर्खस्य समाम्यते । भद्र, उच्यते—'आगच्छ, दइयते तव व्यवहार ।'—Act. IX.

61 (नेपथ्ये) राष्ट्रिय समाज्ञापयति,—'एष खत्वायको गोपालदारको राजा भविष्यतीति सिद्धादेशप्रत्ययपरिवर्त्तेन पालकेन राज्ञा घोषादानीय घोरे बन्धनागारे बद्धः ।—Act. IV

62. आर्यक —तस्माच्च प्रियसुहृच्छर्विलकप्रमादेन बन्धनात्परिभ्रष्टोऽस्मि ।—Act. VI

63 शर्विलक—ज्ञातीं बन्धनस्वभुजविक्रमलब्धवर्णा

नराजापमानकुपितान्ध नरेन्द्रभृत्यान् ।

उत्तेजयामि सुहृदः परिमोक्षणाय । .. Act. IV.

## THE COURTESANS

There appears to have been a large number of courtesans for whom a separate quarter (veśa) was assigned<sup>64</sup> and who were frequented by the gay and the dissolute<sup>65</sup> The lady's maid of Vasantasena was glad when she heard from Maitreya's mouth that Carudatta had gambled (Vasantasena's jewelry away) considering a gambler to be a suitable companion to a courtesan<sup>66</sup> The Courtesans were in many cases highly accomplished and association with them was for rich men considered a venial offence Thus Carudatta when questioned in the court of justice by the judge about his friendship with Vasantasena though rather ashamed of it thought it enough justification that he was a young man whose character in no way suffered by such association<sup>67</sup> The position of the courtesans in some measure resembled that of the Hetaerae in Athenian society where a man of the eminence of Pericles was not ashamed to be associated with Aspasia The courtesans obtained a measure of protection from the king they could not abandon their profession<sup>68</sup> or marry and become virtuous maids without the special dispensation of the king One of the first acts of Āryaka when he became king was to recognise Vasantasena as the married wife of Carudatta<sup>69</sup> It is noticed that the mutual acceptance of a man and a woman was considered valid marriage in Ujjaini society represented in the Mrcchakatika Thus Madanika was recognised by her mistress and Śarvilaka led her away as his legally married bride Even an honoured and high placed man like Revila would not refuse to accept her as a member in his household her who was a public woman and a slave too The union of Vasantasena and Carudatta in mar-

64. वसन्तसेना—दृष्टे, किं वेसवासदाक्षिण्येण मदणि, एव्व भणसि ।

( चेदि, किं वेसवासदाक्षिण्येण मदनिके, एव भणसि । ) Act IV

65. विट—सागेपकूटकपटानृतजन्मभूमे शाठ्यात्मकस्य रतिकेलिकृत्नालयस्य ।

वेशापणस्य सुरतोत्सवसप्रहस्य दाक्षिण्यपण्यमुखनिष्कयसिद्धिरधु ॥ Act V

66. चण्डी—अञ्चए, दिट्ठिआ वट्ठसि । अञ्जी जूदिअरो सवुत्तो ।

( आर्ये, दिट्ठया वर्द्धसे । आया घुत्तर सवृत्त । ) Act IV

67. अधिकरणिक्—आर्य, गणिका तव मित्रम् ।

( चारदत्तो लज्जा नाटयति । )

श्रेष्ठिकयस्यौ—अञ्चचारदत्त, भणहि । अल लज्जाए । ववहारो कवु एसो ।

( आर्यचारदत्त, भण । अल लज्जया । व्यवहार खल्वेव )

चारदत्त—( सलज्जम् ) भो अधिकृता, मया कथमीदृशम् वक्तव्यम्, यथा गणिका मम मित्रमिति । अथवा यौवनमश्रपराप्स्यति, न चारिष्यम् ।—Act. IX.

68. ( सक्ख्यम् । ) वसन्तसेने,

अन्यस्यामपि जातौ मा वेश्या भूत्वा हि सुन्दरि ।

चारिष्यगुणसन्ने जायेया विमले बुले ॥—Act VIII

69. शर्विलक—आर्ये, वसन्तसेने, परितुष्टो राजा भवती वधूशब्देनानुदङ्गाति ।—Act. X.

riage (Act X) is apart from the sanction of the new king Āryaka not marked by any religious ceremony, Carudatta's married wife, the intelligent, well bred and virtuous Dhūtā also accepts Vasantasenā as a legally married co wife, addressing her by the appellation my sister<sup>70</sup> (It reflects no small credit on the author that though depicting a society with no very high sense of morality he has nowhere depicted any scene of immorality or put any speech in the mouth of any character which smacks of it.) Though courtesans were suffered in Ujjainī society, they were not allowed to mix with well born ladies or to enter the ladies quarter in a family. When Vasantasenā pursued by Śakara took refuge in Cārudatta's house and the latter mistaking her for the maid Radanikā asked her to take his sleeping son Rohasena to the inner apartments, Vasantasenā said to herself that she was so unfortunate (being a courtesan) that she could not enter into the ladies quarter<sup>71</sup>. And after the union with Cārudatta on the night of the storm when she woke up in the morning her first thought was whether she had been admitted to the honour of the ladies quarter in Cārudatta's house as his accepted wife<sup>72</sup>. Indeed as compared with ladies in virtuous households courtesans were regarded so very untouchable that even Carudatta though deeply in love with Vasantasenā would not think of introducing jewelry worn by her, a courtesan into the inner apartments of the house<sup>73</sup>. When Madanikā was accepted by Śarvilaka as his lawful wife Vasantasena could not help heaving a melancholy sigh that as a virtuous wife Madanikā had become an object of reverence while she herself continued as an untouchable courtesan<sup>74</sup> (These small inconsistencies of social etiquette and decorum characterise all living societies and would not have happened had the author been dealing with a correct society of complete convention)

#### REFINED LIFE OF UJJAINI

There appears to have been a high degree of refinement among the cultured classes in Ujjaini which was not confined to the courtesans alone. Carudatta had come down to perhaps the lowest depth of poverty—his house

70 धूता—( वसन्तसेना इष्ट्वा ) दिष्टिआ कुशलिणी बहिणीआ ।

( दिष्टिआ कुशलिनी भगिनी । )—Act X.

71 वसन्तसेना—( स्वगतम् । ) मन्दमाभाङ्गी क्व अहं तुम्हे अव्यन्तरस्य ।

( मन्दभगिनी खल्वहं तवाम्यन्तरस्य । )—Act I

72 वसन्तसेना—हवे, किं पविट्ठा अहं इह अव्यन्तरचतुस्सालम् ।

( चटि, किं प्रविष्टाहमिहाम्यन्तरचतुस्सालम् । )—Act. VI.

73 चाहं दत्त —अलं चतुस्सालमिमं प्रवेक्ष्य प्रसन्नशरीरित एव यस्मात् ।—Act III

74 वसन्तसेना—उपदं तुमं जेव वन्दनीआ सनुता ।

( सोप्रतम् त्वमेव वन्दनीया संनुता । )—Act. IV.

was dilapidated the doors had huge cracks <sup>5</sup> the pleasure house in the garden was crumbling <sup>76</sup> there was no oil even to light a lamp <sup>77</sup> and no food to offer to an honoured and beloved guest, like Vasantasena <sup>78</sup> But his drawing room was full of musical instruments <sup>9</sup> he frequented musical soirées in the houses of his rich friends (like Revila) and as a connoisseur of music could be in ecstasy when he heard good music <sup>80</sup> Scarves scented with delicately perfumed flowers like jasmine were used <sup>81</sup> The use of golden and jewelled ornaments appears to have been the fashion both among men and women The corcomb śakāra wore a profusion of jewelry <sup>8</sup> and though Carudatta had given away all his jewelry we hear of his having worn golden bracelets and jewelled rings <sup>83</sup> Women naturally used a lot of jewelry

75 आयक —इदं गृहं भित्तमदत्तदण्डो विद्वशीणसधिव्य महाकपाट ।—Act VI

76 चारुदत्त —स्तम्भेषु प्रचलितवेदिसचयान्त etc.—Act V

77 विद्वपक —ही, ताओं वपु अम्हाण पदीविआओ अवमाणिदिनिद्धनकामुआ विद्य गणिआ गिस्सिणेहाओ दाणिं सवुत्ता । ( आध्वयम्, ता यत्त्वस्माकं प्रदीपिआ अपमानितनिधनकामुआ इव गणिका निस्तेहा इदानीं सवुत्ता । )—Act I

78. वसन्तसेना—अज्ज का तुम्हाण सुखस्सस्वडिआ चुचदि । ( आर्य, का युत्ताक शुष्कदृक्ष वाटिकोच्यते । )  
विद्वपक —भोदि, जहिं ण खाईअदि ण पीई अदि । ( भवति, यत्र न खायति न पीयते । )  
—Act V

79 शर्विलक —( समन्तादवलोक्य । ) अये, कथं मृदङ्ग । अयं दर्दुर । अयं पणव । इयमपि वीणा । एते वशा । अमी पुस्तका । कथं नाट्याचार्यस्य गृहमिदम् ।—Act III

80. चेत् —आ वि बेल अज्जचारुदत्तस्स गंधव्वं शुण्णिदु गददस्स । ( कापि बेलार्यचारुदत्तस्य गंधर्वं श्रोतुं गतस्य । )

चारुदत्त —अहो अहो, साधु साधु रेभिलेन गीतम् ।—Act III

81 मैत्रेय —एसो अ अज्जचारुदत्तस्स पिअवअस्सेण जुण्णवुद्धुणं नादीकुसुमवासिदो पावारओ अणुप्पेसिदो सिद्धीकिददेवकज्जस्स अज्जचारुदत्तस्स उवणेद्वो ति । ( एष चार्यचारुदत्तस्य प्रियवयस्येन जूर्णवृद्धेन जातिकुसुमवासितं प्रावारजोऽनुप्रेषितं सिद्धीकृतदेवकायस्यायचारुदत्तस्यो पनेतव्यं इति । )—Act I

82 शङ्कर —केलिसे शुनिदस्स पल्लिणामे । ( कीदृशं सुकृतस्य परिणामः । )

चेत् —जादिसे मट्ठके बहुसोवण्णमण्डिदे । ( यादृशो मट्ठको बहुसुवर्णमण्डितः । )

—Act VIII

शङ्कर —( नानाभरणमवतप्य । ) मेह एद अलङ्कारअम् । गृहाणेममलङ्कारम् । )

—Act VIII

शङ्कर —ण हि लअणकुम्भशलिसे हग्गे इयिअ वावादमि ।

( नहि रत्नकुम्भसदृशं स्त्रियं व्यापादयामि ।—Act X. )

83. कर्णपूरक —एकेण सुण्णं अहरण्णादा परामुत्तिअ उद्ध पेदिगअ दोह णीसत्तिअ अअ पावरआ मम उवरि म्मिस्सो । ( एकेन शल्यान्दाभरणस्यानानि परामृत्युस्य कर्णं प्रेश्य दीर्घं निधत्स्वायं प्रावारश्चे ममोपरि स्थितः । )—Act II

especially rich courtesans like Vasantasenā<sup>84</sup> Indeed Vasantasenā's jewels play a great part in the plot of the drama—the deposit of the jewels with Cārudatta the theft of the jewels by Śarvilaka the return of the jewels by Śarvilaka after stealing them from the house of Carudatta the gift of the jewels to Rohasena in his clay-cart, Cārudatta's direction to Maitreya to return to Vasantasenā the jewels which she had stuffed into Rohasena's clay cart the discovery of the jewels with Maitreya (which he was taking with him for return to Vasantasenā) in the trial scene which led to Cārudatta's condemnation to death Even the poor wife of Cārudatta Dhūta still had a magnificent pearl necklace<sup>85</sup> the last remnant of an evidently large and expensive set of jewelry befitting the wife of a wealthy merchant like Cārudatta and with this she redeemed the reputation of her faithless and spend thrift husband by sending it to Vasantasenā in lieu of the latter's jewelry which was stolen Dandies like Sakāra used to wear long and flowing hair which they used to perfume and dress in a variety of ways<sup>86</sup> Drinking of wine appears to have been common especially in the houses of courtesans<sup>87</sup>

#### RELIGION

In Ujjainī courtesans like Vasantasenā lived the life of householders surrounded by their mother and brother and performing the regular duties of householders Thus we find Vasantasenā's mother requesting her to perform the daily worship of the domestic deity which is the regular duty of the

84 क्षणज्ज्ञानन्तबहुभूषणशब्दमिदं किं दोषदी विअ पलाअशि लामभीदा ।

(क्षणज्ज्ञानमितिबहुभूषणशब्दमिदं किं द्रौपदीव पलायसे रामभीता ।)—Act I

वसन्तसेना—अज्ज, जइ एव्व अह अजस्स अणुगेज्जा ता इच्छे अह इम अल्लकारअ अजस्स गेहे णिक्खविदुम् ।

(आर्य, यद्येवमार्यस्यानुप्राह्या तदिच्छाम्यहमिमलकारकमार्यस्य गेहे निक्षेप्तुम् ।)—Act I

दारक—जइ अम्हाण अज्जआ जणणी ता कीस अल्लिदा ।

(यद्यस्माकभार्या जननी तत्त्विमर्यमलकृता ।)—Act VI

85 विदूषक—मा दाव अक्खाइदस्स अभूतस्स अप्पमूलस्स चोरेहिं अवहिदस्स कारणादो चतु समुदसारभूता रत्नावली दोअदि । (मा तावदखादितस्याभुत्स्यात्पमूल्यस्य चौरैरपहतस्य कारणाच्चतु समुदसारभूता रत्नावली दीयते ।)—Act III

86 शंकर—खणेण गण्ठो खण्जुलके मे खणेण बाला खणकुन्तले वा ।

खणेण मुक्के खण उदचूडे चित्ते विचित्ते हुगे लाअशाले ॥

(क्षणेन प्रणिश खणजूलिका मे क्षणेन बाला खणकुन्तला वा ।

क्षणेन मुक्ता क्षणमूर्ध्वचूडाधिनोऽह राजस्याल ॥)—Act IX

87 विदूषक—पिबीअदि अ अणवरअ सीसकारं मइरा । इमे अवरे अवधीरिदपुत्तदारणि मणुस्सा आसवकरआपीदमदिरेहिं गणिआजणेहिं जे मुक्का ते पिअन्ति । (पीयते वानवत्त ससीत्कारं मदिरा । इमे अपरेऽवधीरत्तपुत्रदारविता मनुष्या आसवकरकापीतमदिरेमणिआजनेयं मुक्कास्ते पिबन्ति ।)—Act IV

head of the household<sup>88</sup> In rich households like that of Vasantasenā, there were regular priests employed for the worship, when the head of the house could not for some reason or other, perform it<sup>89</sup> Poorer people did the worship themselves and we find Cārudatta meticulously observing the morning and evening worship of the family deity and distributing the offering at the cross roads<sup>90</sup> Pious householders also used to offer an oblation of water, with a prayer to the rising sun at early dawn, and the robber Śarvilaka found a part of the wall of Cārudatta's house worn out by the daily sprinkling of water to the sun at dawn<sup>91</sup> This popular religion was buttressed by a number of superstitious like faith in Dakinī<sup>92</sup> (malignant female spirit), omens like the trembling of eyelids or throbbing of limbs,<sup>93</sup> the cawing of crows on dry branches of trees<sup>94</sup> or seeing snakes on the way<sup>95</sup> The omni-

88 प्रथमा चेटी—अज्जए, अत्ता आदिसदि—‘ण्हादा भविअ देवदाण पूअ णिवत्तेहि’ति । )  
(आर्ये, मातादिशति,—‘स्नाता भूत्वा देवताना पूजा निर्वर्तय’ इति ।)—Act. II

89. वसन्तसेना—हजे, विण्णवेहि अत्तम्,—‘अज्ज ण णाइस्सम् । ता बग्घणो ज्जेव पूअ णिवत्तेदु ति । (चेटि, विज्ञापय मातरम्—अद्य न स्नास्यामि । तद् ब्राह्मण एव पूजा निर्वर्तयतु’ इति ।)—Act. II.

90 चारुदत्तः—वयस्य, कृतो मया गृहदेवताभ्यो बलिं गच्छ । त्वमपि चतुष्पथे मातृभ्यो बलिमुपहर ।.....गृहस्थस्य नित्यैऽयं विधिः । तपसा तपसा मनसा वाग्भिः पूजिता बलिकर्म्मणि ।  
तुभ्यन्ति शमिना नित्यं देवता किं विचारितै ॥—Act II

चारुदत्त —तदमच्छतु भवान् । अहमपि कृतशौचं सन्ध्यामुपासे ।—Act. III

91. शर्विलकः—नित्यादित्यदर्शनोदकसेचनेन दूषितेयं भूमिं क्षारक्षीणा मूषिकोत्करध्वेह ।  
Act. III

92 विदूषकः—अहो से कवहुडाइणीए पोष्टवित्तारो ।  
(अहो, अस्या कपर्दकङ्गाकिन्या उदरविस्तार ।)—Act. IV

93 वसन्तसेना—(दक्षिणाक्षिसन्दनं सूचयित्वा प्रवहणमधिरूपं ग ।) किं ण्णेदं फुरदि दादिणं लोअणम् । अथवा चारुदत्तस्य ज्वेव दसणं अणिमित्तं पमज्जइ स्सट्ठि । (किं विदम्, स्फुरति दक्षिणं लोचनम् । अथवा चारुदत्तस्यैव दर्शनमनिमित्तं प्रमाज्जेयिस्सयति ।)—Act VI.  
चारुदत्तः—(वामाक्षिसन्दनं सूचयित्वा) सखे मैत्रेय वसन्तसेनादर्शनोन्मुक्तोऽयं जन ।  
पश्य

अपश्यतोय ता वान्ता वामं स्फुरति लोचनम् ।

अक्षरूपपरितस्तं हृदयं व्ययते मम ॥—Act. VII

वसन्तसेना—फुरदि दाहिणं लोअणम् । वेवदि मे दिअअम् ।

(स्फुरति दक्षिणं लोचनम् । वेपते मे हृदयम् ।)—Act. VIII

94 चारुदत्त —शुक्लवस्त्रितो यादु आदित्याभिमुखस्तथा ।

मयि चोदयते वामं बहुभारमसशयम् ॥—Act. IX.

95 मयि विनेदितगणिर्भिन्नीलाञ्जवामं स्फुरितवित्तजिह्वं शुष्कदंष्ट्राचक्रम् ।

अभिपतति मरोपो जिह्विताम्बानकुक्षिर्भुजगपतिरयं मे मार्गमात्रम्यं शुभा ॥—Act. IX.



potence of Fate<sup>96</sup> was a universal belief as also belief in the predictions of siddhas<sup>97</sup>. Popular religion in all ages has been tinged with a local and even family colouring and thus naturally was the case in Ujjain. The prevailing religion appears to have been the Pauranic form of Brahmanism with the worship and invocation of various gods in the Hindu Pantheon<sup>98</sup>. Idols were worshipped in temples and we hear of an empty temple being ready for the installation of a god<sup>99</sup>. There were public temples frequented by all the citizens on festive occasions and it was at the sight of Carudatta in such a temple that Vasantasena fell deeply in love with him<sup>100</sup>. There was a ring of fatalism in the form of Brahmanism and a reliance on the gods. The educated and refined Viṭa when fearing lest Śākara murder Vasantasena utters a resignation to the gods<sup>101</sup>. Mendicancy was still practised by religious persons and we hear of a Parivrajaka (Brahmanical mendicant) being attacked by the rogue elephant of Vasantasena<sup>102</sup>. Buddhism though no longer the dominant religion was still prevalent and the monastic discipline of Buddhism was still very strict thus when the gambler Samvahaka expressed his desire to turn a Buddhist monk (Śakyaśramanaka) Vasantasena in view of the hard discipline of a Buddhist monk's life warned him not to take the vow rashly<sup>103</sup>. They had to subdue all their senses shave their heads wear ochre-coloured scanty clothes repeat prayers dwell on the inconstancy of

96 वसन्तसेना—भव कअन्न, पोखरवत्तपडिदलवि दुसरिसेदिं कीलसि तुम पुरिसभाअघेएहिं ।

( भगवन्कृतान्त पुष्करपत्रपतितजलविन्दुसदृशं कीडसि त्व पुरुषभागधेयै । )—Act VI

97 ( नेपथ्ये ) एष खत्वार्यको गोपालदारको राजा भविष्यतीति सिद्धदेशप्रचयपरिजस्तेन पालकेन राजा घोषादानीय धोरे बधनागारे बद्ध ।—Act IV

98 चन्दनक —अमअ तुह देड हरो विण्हु ब्रम्हा रवी अ चन्दो अ ।

हस्तुण सत्तुक्ख सुम्मे सुम्भणिमुम्मे जघा देवी ॥

( अमय तव ददातु हरी विण्हुर्ब्रम्हा रविश्च चन्द्रश्च ।

हत्वा शत्रुपक्ष शुम्भन्तिशुम्भौ यया देवी ॥ )—Act VI

99 सवाहक —हके विपरीताभ्यां पादाभ्यां पविशितं देवीभविशाम् ।

( अहं विपरीताभ्यां पादाभ्यामेतच्छ्रयदेवकूलं प्रविश्य देवीभविष्यामि । )

—Act V

100 शङ्कर —एशा गर्भदाशी कामदेवाभदणुज्वाणादो पडुदि ताह दलिद्वालुदताह अणुलता ण म कामाद । ( एषा गर्भदाशी कामदेवायतनोद्यानां प्रवृत्तिं तस्य दरिद्रचारुदत्तस्यानुरक्ता न मा कामयते । )—Act I

101 विट —सर्वथा देवता स्वरितं करिष्यन्ति । Act VIII

102 कर्णपूरक —तदा तेण दुट्ठहयिणा समासादिदो परिव्वाजओ । तच्च परिभट्टदण्डकुण्डि आभाअण । ( ततस्तेन दुष्टहस्तिना समागमादिनं परिव्राजकः । तच्च परिभट्टदण्डकुण्डिकमात्रजः । )—Act II

103 वसन्तसना—अन्न, अन्न साहसेण । ( आय, अल साहमेन । ) Act II

worldly things believe in Lord Buddha not indulge in too much repose and occupy themselves with succouring the distressed as a dharma an obligatory duty of their religion<sup>104</sup> They were not unoften despised by the rich and aristocratic society and we find the king's brother in law treating the Samvāhaka turned mendicant with blows and relating how he treated Buddhist mendicants as bullocks by passing a nose-string through their nose and yoking them to the cart<sup>105</sup> Though they were tolerated by high minded persons like Cārudatta, the sight of a Buddhist monk was still considered inauspicious and avoided as far as possible.<sup>106</sup> The Buddhists still had their own religious establishments inhabited by monks and nuns and we find the Shampooer mendicant leading Vasantasenā after she had regained conscious

- 104 मिश्र —सन्मद गिअपोड गिबं जग्गेय ज्ञाणपटहेण ।  
 विशमा इन्दअचोला हलन्ति चिलशचिद धम्म ॥  
 अवि अ । अणिचदाए पेनिअण णवल दाव धम्माण शलणम्हि ।  
 पच्चजण जेण मालिदा इत्थिअ मालिअ गाम लक्खिदे ।  
 अवल क चण्डाल मालिदे अवश वि शे णल शग्ग गार्हदि ॥  
 शिल मुण्डिद तुण्ड मुण्डिदे चित्त ण मुण्डिद कीश मुण्डिदे ।  
 जाह उण अ चित्त मुण्डिदे शाहु शुद्धु शिल ताह मुण्डिदे ॥  
 (सयच्छन निजोदर नित्य जागृत ध्यानपटदेन ।  
 विपमा इन्द्रियचोरा हरन्ति चिर सचित्त धर्मे ॥  
 अपि च । अनित्यतया प्रेक्ष्य केवल तावदद्धर्माणा शरणमस्मि ।  
 पच्चजना येन मारिता अविद्या भारयित्वा ग्रामो रक्षित ।  
 अवल क चण्डालो भारितोऽवश्यमपि स नर स्वर्ग गाहते ॥  
 शिरो मुण्डित तुण्ड मुण्डित चित्त न मुण्डित विमर्ष मुण्डित ।  
 यस्य पुनश्च चित्त मुण्डित साधु सुष्ठु शिरस्तस्य मुण्डितम् ) ..Act VIII  
 मिश्र —मिश्रु ति शुदे मम एसे धम्मे । ( मिश्रु इति शुद्ध मेव धर्मे । ) Act. VIII.
- 105 मिश्र —एकेण भिक्खुणा अवलाहे किदे अण्ण पि जहिं जहिं भिक्खु पेक्खदि, तहिं तहिं गोण विअ णास विन्धिअ ओवाहेदि ।  
 ( एकेन भिक्खुणापराधे कृतेऽन्यमपि यत्न यत्न मिश्रु पश्यति, तत्त गामिव नासिको विक्षोपवाहयति । )—Act VIII  
 शम्भर —चिट्ठ ले दुइअमणक, चिट्ठ । आवाणअमग्गअवेइदश विअलतमूलअस्स शीश दे मोइइस्सम् । )  
 शीश दे मोइइस्सम् । ( चिट्ठ रे दुइअमणक, चिट्ठ । आपानकमध्यप्रविष्टस्यैव रक्तमूलस्य शीपं ते मश्यामि । ) ( इति ताडयति । ) .. .....Act VIII  
 शम्भर —एसे मेए णशि च्छिदिअ वाहिदे । ( एव मया नासां छित्वा वाहित )—Act VIII.
- 106 चारदत्त —यधमभिमुलमनाभ्युदयिक श्रमणकदर्शनम् । ( विचार्य । )  
 प्रदिशन्त्ययमनेन पया । यधमयनेनैव पया गच्छाम ।—Act. VII

ness to a Buddhist nun in a vihāra close to the royal garden Puṣpa karandaka<sup>107</sup> They quietly pursued their religious duty of succouring the distressed<sup>108</sup> There was however no ban to Buddhists attaining high honours and position in state. Thus on the recommendation of Carudatta, who was grateful to Saṃvāhaka bhikṣu for preserving Vasantasena's life, the Bhikṣu was made the chief abbot<sup>109</sup> of all the Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom, the king being evidently the head of all the religious endowments in the kingdom.

The above sketch of the picture of Ujjain and the life of Ujjain is enough to dispel the idea that Sanskrit dramatists were always delineating a conventional society and an imaginary city. Whether we call it Ujjain or not, the author of the *Mṛcchakatika* was dealing with a real city which he knew intimately and the life in which he delighted in.

107 मिथु—एदस्मि विहाले मम धम्मवहेनिया चिट्ठदि । तहिं शमरससिदनम मविअ उवाशिआ मेह गमिस्सदि । ( एतस्मिन्विहारे मम धम्ममगिनी निष्ठति । तत्त समाधस्तमना भूत्वोपासिच्च मेह गमिष्यति । )—Act VIII

108 मिथु—एसा तल्लणी इत्थिआ, एसो मिथु शुद्धे त्त मम एसो धम्मे ।  
( एसा तरुणो स्त्री, एय मिथुरिणि शुद्धो ममैयधम्मं । )—Act. XIII

109. चारुदत्त—तत्तुपेन्नां सर्वविहारेषु कुत्तपतिरयं कियदाम् ।—Act. X.

# THE STORY OF DHANIKA, THE POTTER'S SON, AS TOLD IN THE DIFFERENT VINAYAS

By

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The second pārajika commences with the story of the potter's son Dhaniya in the Pāli *Suttavibhanga*. Dhaniya was the first to be guilty of the charge of stealing and this was the occasion for Buddha's narrating the second pārajika in detail in order to warn the Bhikkhus against the offence of stealing. The story occurs in all other Vinayas in more or less modified forms and a comparative study of the different versions will clearly show how each of the schools has developed the story.

## I

### SUTTAVIBHANGA—PĀRĀJIKĀ II

(Ed Oldenberg III, pp 41 ff , translated by Horner, Book of the Discipline I)

The story in the *Suttavibhanga* may be summarised thus. Buddha was staying at Rājagaha on the Vulture's Peak. At that time the Venerable monks were in the habit of setting up temporary huts for residence during the rains. The Venerable Dhaniya, the potter's son, also set up a grass hut and not only passed the rains there but also the summer and the winter. Once when he had gone out to the villages for alms, the hut was demolished by the women gathering grass and firewood. Dhaniya on his return found that the hut had been demolished. He built a second hut but that also was demolished in the same way. He built a grass hut for the third time and this time also the hut met with the same fate.

Dhaniya then thought of building a hut with more durable materials. He said "I am well taught, experienced in my own craft, accomplished in the potter's craft. What now, if I, kneading mire myself, should make a hut consisting of nothing but mud?" Dhaniya thereupon made a mud hut and collecting grass, wood and cow-dung baked it. It was a beautiful, lovely, pleasing red hut, just like a little *indragopa* and just like the sound of a small bell, so was the sound of this hut.

It so happened that Buddha while descending the slopes of the Vulture's Peak saw the hut and on enquiring about it learnt that it belonged to Dhaniya. He disapproved of Dhaniya's action in strong terms as it was unbecoming of a recluse to possess such a hut and ordered the monks to demolish it so that it might not bring downfall to those who would come after. So

was the mud hut destroyed Dhaniya did not oppose and said "Destroy it, reverend sirs, if the lord of dhamma causes it to be destroyed"

Dhaniya then thought of making a wood hut. The overseer in the wood yard was his friend and so he resolved to go to him to beg some sticks. He then went to the overseer and asked for the sticks. The overseer replied 'There are no such sticks, honoured sir, that I could give the master. These, honoured sir, are sticks held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in case of accident. If the king has those dealt out, you might take them.' Dhaniya said "Your reverence, they are gifts from the king." The overseer could not disbelieve a Sakyaputta and allowed him to take away the sticks.

Now the chief minister of the king of Magadha named Vassakāra while inspecting the works in Rājagaha came up to the overseer in the wood yard and spoke thus to him: "Look here, where are these sticks held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in the case of accident?"

The overseer said: "Sir, these sticks were given by the king to master Dhaniya, the potter's son."

The Brahmin Vassakāra was very much displeased and not believing that the king could really give it, went up to king Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha and told him: "Is it true, sire, that the sticks held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in case of accident, were given by the king to Dhaniya, the potter's son?"

Who said that?

'The overseer of the wood yard, sire', he said.

"Then, brahmin, send for the overseer of the wood yard", he said.

The overseer was then sent for. While he was being taken to the king bound, Dhaniya saw him and asked why he was being taken bound. He said: "Because of this business with the pieces of wood." Dhaniya then promised to follow him to the king.

Then Dhaniya went to the dwelling of king Seniya Bimbisāra and sat down on the appointed seat. The king asked him: "Is it true, honoured sir, that the pieces of wood held for the king, serving to repair the city, laid down in case of need, have been given by me to the master?"

"It is so, your majesty"—he said.

"We kings are very busy, honoured sir, with much to do, having given, we may not remember. Come, honoured sir, remind me."

"Do you remember, your majesty, when you were first anointed, this phrase was uttered: Let the recluses and Brahmins enjoy, gifts of grass, wood and water?"

'I remember, honoured sir, there are, honoured sir, recluses and Brahmins who are modest, scrupulous, anxious for training, there is only a little

worry with them. What was uttered by me was meant for those and that was what was in the jungle not owned. So, you, honoured sir, think to steal wood not given (to you) by this trick. How could one like me flog or imprison or banish a recluse or a Brahmin living in the kingdom? Go, honoured sir, you are freed on account of your hair but do not do such a thing again.'

The remaining part of the story is not of any special interest. When this incident was reported the people began to speak ill of the Sakyaputta Samanas. It reached the ears of Buddha. He had Dhaniya called before him. When Dhaniya admitted what he had done Buddha took him severely to task. He defined the act of Dhaniya as an act of stealing—a *parajika* offence for which the punishment prescribed was not to be in communion.

## II

### SARVĀSTIVĀDA VINAYA PĀRĀJIKĀ II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed. XXIII, pp. 3-4)

Buddha was staying in the city of Rājagṛha. The Bhikṣus then used to pass the rainy season (*varṣā*) together in one place. A few of them used to live in cottages. They would beg grass and wood from their acquaintances and make huts to live in. When the Bhikṣus entered the city for alms the men who gather fire wood demolished the huts and took away the wood. The Bhikṣus on returning from begging saw this and felt very sad. They said, 'We suffered great pains in begging. Sinful people have demolished our cottages and taken away the wood. We had to beg the grass and the wood from our acquaintances in order to make these huts to live in.'

Amongst them there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika who was the son of a potter. By means of his own art he made a mud hut with mud doors and mud windows. The lintels, the ox's head, the elephant's tusk, the supports were all made of mud. He then collected grass and wood and burnt it. The hut took a fine red colour. He then left the hut in charge of other Bhikṣus and went out for two months on begging.

At that time Buddha was advising Ānanda to make rules concerning the huts. From a distance he saw this hut of beautiful red colour. Buddha knew what it was but still he asked Ānanda, 'What is this beautiful red thing?' Ānanda replied, 'The Bhikṣus of the city of Rājagṛha lived in one place. Cottages were few. The Bhikṣus begged grass and wood from their acquaintances and made huts to live in. When they had been away to the city for alms people came to gather fire wood, demolished their cottages and took away the wood. After begging for food they came back, saw it, felt sad and said, "We had great pains in begging—sinful people came, demolished our cottages and took away the wood." Amongst them there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika who was a potter's son. By means of his own art

he made a mud cottage, collected grass and wood and burnt it. So it is beautiful like this.

Buddha then told Ānanda: 'Demolish this red mud cottage of the Bhikṣu Dhanika. Don't let the *anyalīrthikas* either blame or suspect us or laugh at us by saying: 'During the life time of Buddha the sin defiles the law.' Ānanda followed the instruction, went and demolished the hut. The Bhikṣu Dhanika came back after two months' travelling and saw that his hut had been demolished. He asked the Bhikṣus in whose charge he had left it: 'Who has demolished my hut?' The Bhikṣus replied: 'The great teacher Buddha ordered it to be demolished.' Dhanika thought: 'When the custodian of the law orders it to be demolished we have nothing to say.' The master of wood in the city of Rājagṛha is my acquaintance. It is possible for me to make a wooden hut.

After the night had passed Dhanika put on his robe, took his bowl and entered the city for alms. As he was begging for food he came up to the place of the master of wood (and told him): 'Do you not know that the king of Magadha, king Ajātaśatru, the son of Weṭṭihī (Vaidehī) has given me wood?' The master of wood replied: 'When the king has given you wood you may take whatever you like. There are some heavy sticks inside, used for protecting the city, and difficult to be taken out or put in. You should not take them.' He however took those sticks, cut them into pieces and collected them in one place. At that time the city chief saw that the heavy sticks for protecting the city had been cut into pieces and collected. When he saw this, he became horrified, his hairs stood on end and he thought: 'I shall be satisfied only when the brigand comes out.' He then went to the master of wood and asked: 'These heavy logs are meant for the protection of the city. Who has cut them into pieces and stored the sticks in one place?' The master of wood replied: 'The Bhikṣu Dhanika came and told me: "King Ajatasatru has given me wood." I then told him: "If the king has given you wood take whatever you like." He himself must have taken the heavy sticks, cut them into pieces and collected them in one place.'

The city chief then thought: 'I shall now ask the king if he has given the heavy sticks to the Bhikṣus.' He then went to the king and asked him: 'Great king, your wood is missing. Have you given to a Bhikṣu the wood meant for protecting the city?' The king answered: 'No, I have not given it.' The city chief said: 'The king has given it to-day.' (The king replied): 'Who says that I have given it?' (The city chief said): 'The master of the wood says that you have given it.' The king said: 'Ask the master of wood to come.'

Following the king's instruction, order was sent to the master of the wood to come. At that time the master of the wood saw the Bhikṣu Dhanika

on the way and told him I am in this difficulty for you The Bhikṣu said You better go and I shall follow you The king saw them from a distance and said Leave the master of the wood and order the Bhikṣu to come. The city chief then left the master of the wood and ordered the Bhikṣu to come to the king's presence The king asked Well Bhikṣu does your law teach you to take things that are not given? The Bhikṣu replied Great king I have not taken things that were not given The king gave them previously The king said I do not remember to have given them The Bhikṣu replied Allow me to remind the king now The king said How? The Bhikṣu replied The king should remember that when he was first installed king he had said this—I give to the Śramaṇas and Brahmanas for their use all the grass wood and water in my kingdom The king said When I said that I meant only the grass and wood that have no owner The king then said You have committed a great sin The Bhikṣu said I am a houseless person (*parivrajaka*) living in your kingdom Why should you kill me The king said Bhikṣu you may go

## III

## MAHIŚASAKA VINAYA—PARAJIKA II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka Taisho ed XXII pp 56)

Buddha was staying in the city of Rajagrha At that time there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika He was the son of a potter He lived in a grass hut on the Isigila hill At that time, when once he had gone to the city for alms men who collect fire wood came destroyed the hut and took away the wood Dhanika after returning from begging made it again This happened three times He then felt dejected and thought My body is fortunately capable in the mud work Why not make a tiled cottage and remove the anxiety? So he did it It had a solid summit the capitals of the columns beautiful the supports the transversal woods and the lintels were all decorated and the doors and windows were artistic and looked like something heavenly He collected fire-wood burnt it and made the colour red and beautiful At the time of the wind blowing it made the sound of a guitar Buddha was staying on the Grdhrakuṭa hill He saw from a distance different kinds of engravings, paintings and the beautiful red colour of the cottage He then asked Ānanda What is this cottage Ānanda told Buddha Dhanika by his own industry has made it Buddha said to Ānanda This Dhanika has committed a sin How can you call him a *pravrajita*? By this bad act he has gravely injured the living things He is not sorry for it I have previously spoken in different ways on the law of mercifulness How could this Bhikṣu not have a merciful heart? The Venerable Ones will in various ways ridicule the Bhikṣus doing like this You should go there and demolish it so that the Bhikṣu may get (proper) instruction So he went up to the cottage At that time Dhanika had gone out of the cottage. (On



his return) he asked the Bhikṣus I did not commit any sin What for did the people demolish my cottage The Bhikṣus replied The Exalted One ordered it We did not do it Dhanika said The Chief of the law had it demolished So I have nothing to say The Bhikṣus then demolished it together and directed Dhanika to go to the place where Buddha was For this thing Buddha was questioned Buddha therefore assembled the community and Bhikṣus and asked Dhanika Is this true or not He replied It is true Lord Buddha as before took the Bhikṣus doing so to task and said If you Bhikṣus burn tiles you will commit the *T'u lo che* (Thullaccaya) sin You will be guilty of *T'u ki lo* (Dukkaṭṭa)

Dhanika then thought I had previously a grass hut. People coming to collect fire wood demolished it. Then I had a tiled hut It was a transgression of the law of the Chief of the Law and the *parivrajakas* I should now seek for good wood in order to build a big cottage I can certainly live in it without much trouble. He then thought The officer of the wood yard in the city of Rajagṛha is my acquaintance. I should go there to seek for it He then went to him and said I need some wood The king has given me. The officer of the wood yard said If the king gives you then you can take it Dhanika then took the big wood for the city rampart cut it into pieces and took it away At that time the Chief Minister named Vassakāra was on an official tour to all places He asked the officer of the wood yard Who has given the big wood for the city ramparts to this Bhikṣu? The latter replied I have not given it He again asked Who is it then? The latter replied It is the king Vassakāra then informed the king Great king without examining why have you given the big wood for the city ramparts to Dhanika? The King said Who says I gave it? Vassakāra replied It is the officer of the wood yard The king then ordered his guards to arrest the officer of the wood yard According to the instruction he was arrested When he was being led to the king Dhanika was entering the city for alms He saw him on the way and asked him Why have you been put in chains? He replied It is for the Reverend one that I am having this punishment. You should now save my life Dhanika said You go first, I shall come after you

When the officer of the wood yard was taken to the place where the king was the king asked him Why have you given the big wood for the city ramparts to Dhanika? He replied Great king I did not dare to give it Dhanika said that the king had ordered it to be given When the king was giving orders Dhanika was waiting outside the gate The king ordered him to come before him When he came to his presence the king asked When did I give the wood to the Bhikṣu? Dhanika replied Does not the king remember that he gave at the time of his first anointment all herbs, trees and water within his empire to the Śramaṇas and Brahmanas? The King said What I then gave were not things which have a master You

are a strange Bhikṣu By this means you take away other peoples' things  
I am an anointed king How can I imprison or kill a Śramana? You may  
now go away

## IV

## DHARMAGUPTAKA VINAYA, PĀRĀJIKĀ II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taishō ed XXII, pp 572-573).

The Venerable One was then travelling on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill in the city of Lo-yue (Rājagṛha) At that time there was in the city of Rājagṛha a Bhikṣu named Dhanika, the potter's son He was living in a grass hut in an enclosed place The Bhikṣu once went to the village for alms At that time the people who collect fire wood came, demolished the grass hut where the Bhikṣu used to take shelter On coming back from begging he thought I was staying in an enclosed place and had made myself a grass hut I had gone to the village for food The people who collect fire wood came and demolished my hut where I used to live I myself know my art I can knead the mud and can make a tiled cottage. So the Bhikṣu kneaded the mud and made a tiled cottage He then collected fire wood, and cow dung and burnt it The cottage then assumed a red colour like the fire

While the Exalted One was descending from the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill he saw from a distance this cottage red as fire He knew what it was but still he asked the Bhikṣus What is this red thing? The Bhikṣus told Buddha There is a Bhikṣu named Dhanika, a potter's son He used to live in a grass hut within an enclosure. When he had gone for begging the people who collect fire-wood came and demolished the cottage where he used to live On returning he saw that the cottage had been demolished He then thought I know my own art I can now make a tiled cottage where I can live without any obstruction So he made a cottage It is that cottage which looks red like that The Exalted One then took the Bhikṣus to task in numberless ways and said You have done it in vain It is not conduct. It is not the law of Śramana It is not a pure act It is not in accordance with the proper practice, it should not have been done Why did the Bhikṣu Dhanika, the potter's son make a big collection of cow-dung and fire wood and burn it? I have constantly and in numberless ways spoken about kindness to living beings Why has this foolish man himself made a mud hut and by collecting fire wood and cow dung burnt it? He should not have thus made the tiles red and committed T'u ki lo (Dukkata) The Exalted One then ordered the Bhikṣus You should go there in a body and ask Dhanika to demolish this cottage The Bhikṣus then according to the advice of Buddha went to get it demolished When Dhanika saw them demolishing the cottage he told them What sin have I committed that my cottage is being demolished? Sin or not sin, we do not know We have no hatred towards you We have come to demolish your cottage according to the instruction of the

Exalted One. Dhanika Bhikṣu then said The order of the Exalted One must be right At that time the king of Magadha Piṅgśha (Bimbisāra), had a keeper of the wood and this man was more or less a friend of the Bhikṣu Dhanika The Bhikṣu Dhanika then went to the keeper of the wood and told him Do you not know that king Bimbisāra has given me wood ? As I now require wood you should give it to me. The other man said When the king has given you then take whatever you like good or bad few or many The Bhikṣu took the wood retained for the king and cut it into pieces. At that time one of the Chief Ministers (Mahāmātras) while directing the affairs of the city came to the wood yard and saw that the wood retained for the king had been cut into pieces and thrown hither and thither On seeing this he asked the keeper of the wood Who has cut into pieces the wood retained for the king ? The keeper of the wood said The Bhikṣu Dhanika came and told me that the king had given him wood and that he was in need of it I then told him When the king has given you wood you may take whatever you like He then entered the wood yard cut it into pieces took it and went away When the Mahāmātra heard it he doubted the king's orders and said Why have you given these useful woods to the Bhikṣu ? You should have given him other sticks. Why have you spoilt these good sticks ? The king replied I do not at all remember to have given wood to this man If there is any record then tell me The Mahāmātra then asked the keeper of the wood to come by the order of the king The keeper of the wood saw the Bhikṣu Dhanika from a distance and told him Reverend Sir I have been arrested because you took away the wood You must come to free me out of mercy The Bhikṣu said You go earlier I shall go at the right time. The Bhikṣu Dhanika went there afterwards and in a short time stood in the presence of the king The king asked Reverend Sir Did I really give you this wood ? The Bhikṣu answered You really gave me the wood The king replied I do not remember to have given you the wood You should make me remember it The Bhikṣu answered Does not the king remember that at the time of his first installation he himself pronounced this gift While I am king in my kingdom let the Śramanas the Brahmanas, the conscientious ones and those who happily practise the *śīla* take that which is given not take that which is not given, use that which is given and not use that which is not given From to-day let the Śramanas and Brahmanas use the grass, wood and water according to their own liking Do not take that which is not given Use that which is given. Listen the Śramanas and Brāhmaṇas may use the grass, wood and water according to their own liking The king said At the time of my first installation I had really said so Reverend Sir The king then said Reverend Sir but I spoke about things that have no master I did not speak of things that have a master The reverend one must die. The king then remembered and said I am a Kṣatriya king born from the race of anointed head (*mūrdhabhiṣikta*) How can I take the life of a parivrajaka for a small piece of wood ? This must not

be Then the king in different ways took the Bhikṣu to task and asked all his ministers to let the Bhikṣu go The king allowed him to go Then all the ministers spoke in a loud voice that it was a great injustice The King asked—Why? They said This man instead of being put to death has been simply taken to task and allowed to go

## V

## THE MŪLA SARVĀSTIVĀDA VINAYA, Chap II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka, Taisho ed XXIII, pp 635 637)

Buddha was staying in the bamboo garden of the Kīe lan to kua (Kālandaka) lake At that time there was a Bhikṣu named Dhanika He was formerly the son of a potter He used to live in an Ā lan jo (Aranyaka) grass hut At the time when Dhanika entered the city of Rājāgrha and was going from place to place begging for food the cow boys, the people who collect fire wood and grass, those who live in the right way and those who live in wrong way came after the Bhikṣu was gone, demolished his hut and took away the grass and wood Dhanika on his return saw that his hut had been demolished and grass and wood taken away He then built a new hut In the same way he also built a third hut All the people came as before and demolished his hut Dhanika then thought Alas what profound misery, Alas, what great misery, at the time I go for alms, they come and demolish my hut This has been done thrice I have good knowledge of the art of my forefathers Why not make a tiled cottage? Dhanika then dug the earth mixed it with water which did not contain any insects and burnt the clay He first made the foundation of the hut and then raised the walls The roof was given to cover it Elephants tusks and posts were placed in different directions Windows and doors were made of clay The whole thing was given a white colour and decorated with drawings and paintings Then cow-dung was collected and the hut was burnt When it was very well burnt it got a red colour like the *jalika* flower The Bhikṣu Dhanika then made the following reflection My cottage is well made, has a good colour and is lovely It should be looked after Dhanika then entrusted it to the care of the neighbouring Bhikṣus put on his robe took the alms bowl and went out for begging The Exalted One, as was his constant practice, had not yet entered into Nirvāṇa He held his body in good order (*śogak śema*) so as to be able to convert the people at the right time At that time he was seeing the habitation of gods the demi gods and other living beings near the end of the earth and the hell and was asking the people He was seeing also the lan jo (aranya), the forest of dead bodies, the mountains, the oceans and other places of habitation The Exalted One then wished to regulate the places of habitation and for that purpose told *āyasmān* Ananda Go and tell the Bhikṣus that the Tathagata will now go to visit their places of habitation The Bhikṣus will do well in following the law and

will be benefited by it. Ananda then followed the instruction of the Exalted One and went to the different places either in the forest or under the trees inside the monasteries, outside the cottages, on the roads etc. He told the Bhikṣus. The Exalted One today wishes to see your places of habitation. The Bhikṣus will do well in following the law and will be benefited by it. When the Bhikṣus heard these words each of them put on the robe in order to show it to the Exalted One. When the Exalted One, in the company of the Bhikṣus was walking step by step along the road, he came to the place where Dhanika lived. The Exalted One saw Dhanika's cottage which was built of tiles, and had a red colour like the *jātika* flower. On seeing it he asked the Bhikṣus. Whose cottage is this? The Bhikṣus told Buddha. The Bhikṣu Dhanika the potter's son, himself made this cottage. Buddha asked the Bhikṣus. Demolish this cottage otherwise the *anyatīrthikas* will make light of my teaching and say. While the Śramana Gautama is alive his Śrāvakas are defiling the law. What will happen after his death? The Bhikṣus then demolished the cottage according to the instruction of the Exalted One. The Exalted One after seeing the cottage demolished it, left it and went away. When the Bhikṣu Dhanika came back he saw the cottage demolished and asked his associate monks. Who has demolished my cottage? The Bhikṣus replied. The Great Teacher ordered it to be demolished. Dhanika said. When the Exalted One, the master of the law, ordered the demolition it must be good demolition. At that time there was in the city of Rājagṛha a Chief Minister (Mahāmātra) in charge of wood. He was a former friend of the Bhikṣu Dhanika. In course of conversation he remembered it. The Bhikṣu Dhanika then thought. The Chief Minister in charge of wood is my friend. I shall beg wood and make a wooden cottage. Upon this reflection he went to the Mahāmātra's place and said. Do you not know at present that the Prince of Emperor of Magadha king Ajātaśatru previously gave me wood? I want to take it now for use. May I see it? The Mahāmātra replied. Reverend Sir, If the great king has given you wood it is good. Take it according to your own choice. All the wood is only for this city. So it is completely under the protection of king Ajātaśatru. It is well kept and protected to be used for the destroyed parts of the great city of Rājagṛha. The wood is collected for this difficult work. How could he give it to you? The Bhikṣu Dhanika then entered the place took a stick cut it into pieces and took it away. At this time the Chief Minister in charge of the city while proceeding along the road saw that a big stick of wood had been destroyed. On seeing this he was much horrified and made this reflection. Is it possible that while king Ajātaśatru of Magadha is ruling a discontented brigand could enter the city? This wood is preserved for the king. It could not have been given to him. How could it be cut into pieces? On seeing this he went to the minister in charge of the wood and said. Does the Mahāmātra know it? While proceeding along the road I saw that a big stick of wood has been cut into pieces. When I saw

it I was much horrified my hairs stood on end Is it possible that while king Ajataśatru is ruling a discontented brigand could enter the city? Or the officer in charge of the wood has given it to another man? The Chief Minister replied I have not yet given the wood to the man I met the Bhikṣu Dhanika sometime ago He told me King Ajatasatru has given me wood So you should see that it is given to me. I then replied to him If the great king has already given you wood you may go and use your own discretion. Is it possible that he has taken this wood? The Chief Minister in charge of the city then went to king Ajataśatru and told him King do you know this? While proceeding along the road I saw a stick of wood It is the wood which is preserved for the king to be used in difficult works An intruder had cut it into pieces When I saw it I was much horrified and my hairs stood on end Is it possible that while the great king is ruling thieves have entered the city? I asked the chief minister in charge of the wood Did you allow the wood to be given to somebody or not? He replied I have not given it to anybody Sometime ago I met the Bhikṣu Dhanika who told me that the king had given him wood The officer in charge of the wood told him The king has given you wood then use your own discretion The Bhikṣu then cut the big stick of wood into pieces Is it possible that the great king has allowed the wood to be given to that man? The king said I do not remember it. Send for the Chief Minister in charge of the wood The Chief Minister then sent orders and wished him to come to the king At that time the Bhikṣu Dhanika was entering the city of Rajagṛha for some business The Officer in charge of the wood saw the Bhikṣu Dhanika from a distance and told him Reverend Sir Do you not know this? As you took the wood the king has sent for me The Bhikṣu replied You go first I will follow you later The Officer in charge of the wood went first. Dhanika went later On coming up to the king's gate he waited Then the envoy went to the king and told him Great king the officer in charge of the wood is waiting outside the gate The Bhikṣu also although not sent for has come and is waiting at the gate The king said Let the officer in charge of the wood come in Ask also the *parivrajaka* to come. The envoy then called the Bhikṣu On entering he raised his hand and told the king Oh Great king be free from disease and live long He then sat on one side The king then asked the Bhikṣu Dhanika Reverend Sir did you take the wood not given to you and cut it into pieces? Dhanika replied Not quite so The king asked Why then did you take my wood? Dhanika replied The king gave it previously The king said I do not remember it. If you remember it then make me remember it. Dhanika replied Does not the king remember that at the time of his first anointment he said in a lion's voice in the great assembly—let all the *śramaṇas* *Brāhmaṇas*, the people who practise *śīla* those who are in the good path and those who do not commit theft within my kingdom let all of them enjoy according to their own wish the use of grass, wood and water in

my kingdom The king said I meant by saying so only things that have no master This wood is protected by another Why did you cut it? Dhanika replied The king meant things which have no master But what about the king's things? The king on hearing this, was extremely angry and said . Śramaṇa, you should die But I cannot put you to death You may now go away but don't do it again

## VI

## THE MAHĀSĀNGHIKA VINAYA, PĀRĀJIKĀ II

(Chinese Tripiṭaka Taisho ed XXII pp 238 240)

Buddha was staying at Rajagṛha and speaking at length as before At that time the Sthavira Dhanika, the potter's son, had built a monk's cottage to live in, decorated it in various ways and furnished it with good and big sculptures He had rubbed the ground with scented oil and it got the colour of blue Vaidurya He used to collect there various kinds of food and drink. At this time a Sthavira Bhikṣu came to Dhanika and enquired about his age Dhanika having replied the newly arrived Bhikṣu said You are younger than me and so I should live here Dhanika allowed the elder monk to live there and built a second cottage for himself Later on another Sthavira Bhikṣu came did as before and got this cottage too from him. Dhanika built a third cottage for himself Another Bhikṣu came and did as before Dhanika now thought Although I took great pains in making these cottages I was not allowed to live in them Where can I get wood and artisans every time to make a cottage for me? Besides there is suffering on account of wind, rain, cold, heat and insects. Neighbours waited for the cottages that I first made just as cats wait for the mice I do not see any place What to do? Dhanika then thought I am an artisan and have a strong body I should go to the Rṣi's hill (Rṣigiri) on the black stone by the side of the cave and make a solid shelter of burnt tiles Dhanika did as he thought He built a house of tiles on the black stone by the side of the cave of Rṣigiri In this house he had various kinds of engravings designs and walls with doors. It had doors, windows, and brackets. Moreover as it had been burnt the house had a red colour like the Yu'tan p'o (Udumbara) flower

At this time the Lord came after the rains to the Grdhrakūṭa mountain to stay and to go about (cankramaṇa) There is nothing which the Buddha Tathagata cannot see, there is nothing which he cannot hear, nothing which he cannot know In order to make the Sūtras and the Vinaya he asked the Bhikṣus What is that thing of Udumbara colour on the black stone near the cave of the Rṣigiri? The Bhikṣus replied O Lord the Bhikṣu Dhanika had built a Sanghārāma sometime ago It was embellished with sculptures, decorations etc. This was taken by a Sthavira He built a second and a third, but all were taken by the Sthaviras in the same way

He then built this house of burnt tiles on the black stone, by the side of the cave of the Rṣigiri. Its colour is beautiful like the Udumbara flower. This is what you see on the black stone by the side of the cave of Rṣigiri. Buddha then said to Ānanda. Bring my robe. Ānanda brought his robe and gave it to the Tathāgata. Thereupon the Exalted One put the clothes on his self, and went towards the black stone near the cave of the Rṣigiri. The Exalted One performed great miracles.

Buddha then reached the tiled house of Dhanika. The gods and the divinities opened the door for him. Although the door was low the Tathāgata entered it without lowering his head. Although the door was low it did not obstruct him. So the Exalted One entered the tiled house of Dhanika. Joining the palms of his golden hands he told the Bhikṣus. You all see the house of Dhanika, it is well constructed, decorated and fine. Such is Bhikṣu Dhanika. Although he had given up the world he could not give up his original practice. He is not able to give up his craft. Then again by burning the earth you kill all sorts of living beings. The tiled house is cold in winter and very hot in summer. It destroys sleep and brings disease and pain. You should destroy this cottage. Or else all the Bhikṣus will follow this method of building houses. In future the Bhikṣus will say. During the life time of the Lord the Bhikṣus made such houses to live in. So you must destroy it. Thereupon the Bhikṣus destroyed the house. After destroying the house the Exalted One returned to the Gṛdhrakūṭa.

The Sthavira Bhikṣu returned after begging and saw his house demolished. He asked. Who has destroyed this house? The Bhikṣus who were there told Dhanika. You have obtained great benefit. The Tathāgata condescended to turn his face to this house. By having this house you have acquired merit. The Exalted One knew the proper time and so he has destroyed this house. On hearing it Dhanika was much pleased and forgot to eat and drink during seven days.

After seven days he made this reflection. Where shall I go to procure wood for constructing a wooden hut? There is the Chief Minister (Mahā mātra), Ye-shu to the carpenter of king P'ing sha (Bimbisāra) whom I knew formerly. He must have wood. He then entered the city with his bowl and went to the house of Ye shu to and after exchanging words of greetings said. May you be hale and long lived. I want to build a cottage but there is no wood. Can you not find some wood for me? The Mahāmātra replied. There is no wood in my place excepting the king's wood. I can give you wood sometime later. Dhanika said. Don't say so. Tell me where is the king's house and you speak of preserving his wood. The Mahāmātra said. Reverend Sir, If you don't believe, go and see for your self. So Dhanika went to the place where the wood was kept. He found there the wood of five flying ladders. He took two of these and went to construct his house.



It was an ancient custom of the former kings to go out once in five days to inspect the arsenal the treasury, the people of the palace, the horses, the elephants, the chariots etc. On coming to the place of wooden things he saw that his flying ladders seemed diminished and that two of them were missing. He told Ye shu t'o that two of the flying ladders were missing. Ye shu t'o said: O, Great King, all of them are there and none is missing. After the second and the third round the king said the same thing to Ye shu t'o, but the latter replied: Great King, all are there and none is missing. The king was then angry and said: You must have burnt my wood. You cannot get it again or you must have given it to somebody. He then ordered Ye shu t'o to be arrested. When Ye shu t'o was under arrest he remembered that when the Venerable Dhanika came, there was no wood. Did he take them? So he sent a message to Dhanika enquiring whether he had taken the two pieces of the flying ladders. The reply was that he had taken them. Another message was sent: I am in prison for having lost the flying ladders. So you must find out some means so that I may be soon freed. Dhanika replied: You only tell the king that the Bhikṣu Dhanika, i.e. myself, has taken the wood and that he can enquire from me. The king sent for Dhanika and the latter came to the king. The Śthavira Dhanika appeared as a straight man. He had fine appearance like a godly man. On seeing him the king felt very happy. He asked: Reverend Dhanika, have you taken the two pieces of flying ladders belonging to me? He replied: Yes, I have taken them. The king said: Reverend Sir, the houseless ones cannot take things that are not given. Dhanika said: O, King, it was formerly given; it is not that it is not given. The king asked—Who gave it? Dhanika said: The king has given it. The king said: Reverend Sir, I am the ruler of this country and have to attend to many things. I do not remember it. Why do you say that I have given it? Dhanika replied: O, King, do you not remember that you gave it at the very beginning. In this kingdom in the assembly of ministers you gave all rivers, lakes, fountains, medicinal herbs etc. while receiving the royal abhaya on the white elephant's tooth. At the time of becoming king you said yourself: I am today king. I give the Śramaṇas and Brāhmanas all forests, trees, waters and springs within my kingdom. So I said that the king has given it. It is not not given. The king said: Reverend Sir, in my kingdom I have given things that are not protected but not the things that are protected. My former words have been wrongly interpreted by you. The king then ordered Ye shu t'o to be released. All Brahmins, religious men and women became happy and thanked Dhanika. As they were all pleased they requested the king to condone the past.

## VII

### CONCLUSIONS

As may be expected, there is a fundamental agreement amongst the six

versions of the story By a wrong interpretation of the first proclamation of the King of Magadha which the latter made at the time of his coronation the Bhikṣu Dhanika took away the wood owned by the king He was thus guilty of the offence of stealing (*adattadāna*) The king's law provided the punishment by death for such offences but as Dhanika was a houseless monk, he was allowed by the king to go away unscathed According to the law of Buddha it was one of the four grievous offences and the punishment prescribed for it was expulsion from the Sangha

But a detailed examination of the different versions will bring into prominence their differences and throw light on their origin The name of the king of Magadha is given in some of the Vinayas (Theravāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsaṅghika) as Bimbisāra but in two of them (Sarvāstivāda and Mūla Sarvāstivāda) as Vaidehīputra Ajātaśatru In the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya no name is given The name of the Chief Minister of the king is given as Vassakāra only in two versions (Theravāda Mahīśāsaka) No name is given in other versions In the Sarvāstivāda and Mūla Sarvāstivāda versions he is called the "the city Chief" and the "Chief Minister in charge of the city", both probably meaning the same officer—the *nagara vyāvahāraka-mahāmātra* The Mahāsaṅghika vinaya alone tells us that it was the king himself who was out on inspection In this connection the same Vinaya gives us an interesting information that it was an old custom of the kings to go out once in five days to inspect the arsenal, the treasury, the palace, the horses the elephants, chariots etc

In regard to the causes which led Dhanika to build a tiled cottage on the Rṣiḡiri mountain the account of the first five Vinayas (Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda) is unanimous Dhanika built grass huts thrice but every time it was destroyed by the people who came to collect fuel wood and grass and the wood taken away But the Mahāsaṅghika vinaya gives quite a different account. Dhanika built huts three times to live in but every time it was taken by more elderly monks on the pretext that they were old in age but Dhanika was young and capable of building a new hut for himself

As may be expected the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya has introduced elements which are characteristic of the special leanings of the school The followers of this school believed that Buddha was *lokottara*, supra mundane, and that his divine powers were limitless. This doctrine had evidently its influence on all writings on the school Thus the Vinaya of this school alone says that when Buddha came to the tiled cottage of Dhanika "the gods and the divinities opened the door for him" and that "although the door was low the Tathāgatha entered it without lowering his head"

But the Sarvāstivāda and the Dharmaguptaka vinayas which are supposed to follow strictly the conservative traditions (Sthāviravāda) are not quite immune from this influence. Both the Vinayas say that while Buddha

saw the tiled cottage of Dhanika from a distance, he came to know what it was, evidently through his supernatural power, but he still made enquiries about it from Ānanda according to the ordinary human custom. The Mūlasarvāstivāda version betrays this influence to a larger extent. When Buddha intended to regulate the habitation of monks he started not directly with their dwellings but with the dwellings of the gods, demi gods, etc. This was because he was the master not of this world alone but of all the three worlds (*tri dhātu*)

One of the most important things which the Pāli Vinaya fails to state is the reason which guided Buddha to order the demolition of the tiled cottage of Dhanika. It is simply said that it was unbecoming of a recluse to possess such a hut and that it might bring downfall to those who would come after. The Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla sarvāstivāda Vinayas are also silent about it. The former says that Buddha feared that the *anyatūthikas* might ridicule the Buddhists and say "During the life time of Buddha the sin defiles the law". The latter almost reproduces the same sentence. None of these three Vinayas say why the construction of a tiled hut was unbecoming of a recluse and why by doing so a Buddhist monk exposed himself to the ridicule of the heretics. The three other Vinayapitakas viz the Mahāśāsaka vinaya, the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahāsaṅghika, give a cogent reason for Buddha's ordering the demolition of the tiled hut. The Mahāśāsaka says that Buddha disapproved of Dhanika's act because it involved the killing of living beings. Buddha says "By this bad act he has gravely injured the living things. He is not sorry for it. I have previously spoken in different ways on the law of mercifulness. The Venerable Ones will in various ways ridicule the Bhikkhus doing like this. Buddha then clearly says "If you Bhikkhus, burn tiles you will commit the *Tu lo che* (Thullacaya) sin. You will be guilty of *Tu ki lo* (Dukkāṭa)". The Dharmaguptaka says the same thing. Buddha disapproved of Dhanika's act because it involved injury to living beings. Buddha says "I have constantly and in numberless ways spoken about kindness to living beings. Why has this foolish man himself made a mud hut and by collecting fire-wood and cow-dung burnt it? He should have thus made the tiles red and committed *Tu-ki lo* (Dukkāṭa)". The Mahāsaṅghika says that Buddha disapproved of the construction of the tiled hut for two reasons. Firstly because it involved injury to living beings and secondly because it was unhealthy. Buddha says "Then again by burning the earth you will kill all sorts of living beings. The tiled house is cold in winter and very hot in summer. It destroys sleep and brings disease and pain". On this point therefore the Pāli Vinaya seems to be defective. With the development of the Saṅgha certainly a time came when the monks could not quite tolerate an injunction prohibiting the use of dwelling places made of tiles or burnt bricks. The Pāli, the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūla sarvāstivāda Vinayas in this regard seem to have suffered some alteration in the hands of their redactors.

The imperfection of the Pāli account can be noticed in another connection. While describing the tiled cottage of Dhanika it says that "it was a beautiful, lovely, pleasing, red hut, just like a little *indragopa* and just like the sound of a small bell, so was the sound of this hut" (*kuṭṭikā abhirūpā dassamiyā pasādikā lohutikā seyyathāpi indragopakā seyyathāpi nāma kukinikāsaddo evameva tassa kuṭṭikāya saddo ahoṣi*). But the last part of the sentence—"just like the sound of a small bell, so was the sound of this hut" seems to be absurd. The Mahāśāsaka Vinaya is more complete on this point. It says "At the time of the wind blowing it (i.e. the hut) made the sound of a guitar". The colour of the cottage is compared with different things in the different Vinayas. According to the Pāli Vinaya it was red like an *indragopa* which is according to the Pāli commentaries a coral red insect. According to the Dharmaguptaka the colour of the hut was red like fire, according to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda it was like the *jalika* flower while according to the Mahāśāṅghika it was like the Udumbara flower.

On another point the accounts of the Pāli, Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinayas are less interesting than the accounts of the other Vinayas. It is about the wood which was taken from the wood yard in charge of the royal officer on the false pretext. The Pāli Vinaya says that these were sticks 'held for the king, serving to repair the city laid down in case of accident' (*nagara paṭisamkhānāni āpadatthāya nikkhuttanti*). According to the Sarvāstivāda it is "the heavy sticks used for protecting the city" and according to the Mūla Sarvāstivāda it was wood "to be used for the destroyed parts of the great city of Rajagṛha". The Dharmaguptaka simply says that it was the wood retained for the king. But the Mahāśāsaka and the Mahāśāṅghika accounts attach greater importance to the wood taken away by Dhanika. According to the former it was "the big wood used for the city rampart", whereas according to the latter it was "two of the five flying ladders". Probably the last two accounts mean the same thing. The wood taken away by Dhanika was therefore of such importance as the king could not afford to lose it without a proper enquiry.

The comparative study of the different versions of the story of Dhanika therefore shows that in spite of their fundamental similarity in regard to the commission of the sin of stealing by a monk for the first time, there are important and significant differences between them. They raise problems which may be answered only from a thorough and comparative study of all the six Vinayas.

# EARLY BUDDHISM AND THE TAKING OF LIFE

By

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The Indian genius we are often and rightly, told is for religion, and when the religion we now call Buddhism arose in the sixth century B.C. in India, the tradition and exercise of religious thought, speculation and livelihood were strong and they were protected. Kings were patrons of religion, and the men of religion commanded much respectful attention and enjoyed kindly and honourable treatment alike from kings ruling chieftains, their ministers and the ordinary people. There abounded, as early Buddhist and Jain texts show, all kinds of ascetics, *tapasas*, numerous wandering teachers and students, *paribbājakas*, and a diversity of sects *tutthiyas*, many of them brahminical. Among the most famous of all the religious groups were the Jains, whose doctrines were already well developed by the time of the rise of Buddhism.

In India in the sixth century B.C. there was thus much that went by the name of religion, and there was much besides that masqueraded under a religious guise. For example, there was the offering of sacrifices, partly made for temporal gains and which might involve the taking of life. There were, on the other hand various other habits and customs which while no attempt was made to attribute their origin, observance or perpetuation to any religious source, yet also depended on the taking of life. Impelled, perhaps by a mixture of motives, the two greatest religious systems flourishing in these times, Jainism and Buddhism, both made an indelible impression not only on the India of their day but, in the case of Buddhism, on the lands where it has since spread, by the firm stand they took against the prevalence of practices which deprived creatures of life. The object of this paper is to discuss in a general way the attitude adopted by Early Buddhism to a practice which it deplored.

There is no doubt that in the lay world of the Early Buddhist epoch life was frequently deliberately and knowingly destroyed. Human life was taken by kings and their armies in battle. It was taken again by murderers who, after all broadly speaking, do in an unorganised way what armies do in an organised way. Animal life was taken by kings and their attendants when out for the pleasure of hunting. It was taken, although unintentionally, by farmers ploughing and by agriculturists digging. It was taken by anyone who felled a tree,<sup>1</sup> or destroyed vegetable growth,<sup>1</sup> who trampled down

crops and grasses<sup>2</sup> and who dug the soil<sup>3</sup> For according to the Indian way of thinking as this is expressed in the Pali canon a certain form of life called "one-facultied", *ekundriya jīva*, inhabits trees, plants and the soil, and even water may have creatures, or "breathers", (*sappānaka udaka*) in it<sup>4</sup> Again animal life was taken by hunters and trappers, by butchers and fishermen for human consumption and other human needs And it was taken by brahmin priests for sacrificial purposes, as was perhaps, although certainly to a lesser extent, human life<sup>5</sup> Thus slaughter took place under four major forms in battle, in agriculture, for eating meat and fish and for sacrifice.

The emergence in India of the notion of *ahiṃsā*, non harming non injury, is historically speaking not clear Its origin cannot be attributed to a definite date or to any particular teacher, social reformer or law giver The problem of the birth of the idea of non injury is indeed as obscure as that of 'leaving the world',<sup>6</sup> of forsaking home for homelessness Non injury, which includes the principle of sparing life, of not taking it, of not depriving man or beast of it, receives much emphasis in the surviving Jain texts, but whether the notion actually sprang up under the Jains or whether they exploited some life-sparing tradition already there we do not know Although the birth of the notion may be hidden to us, the magnitude of the stress the Jains lay on doing anything so calamitous as taking life has the appearance of a protest, a protest against an existent and more or less widespread slaughter of creatures of which it was impossible to be unaware.

Buddhism also was aware of this state of things and was very much alive to the divers purposes for which life was destroyed If it did not use the word *ahiṃsā* and the verbs connected with it as frequently as the contemporary Jains, it all the same fostered the scruple against the taking of life as much as they did Other sects which inhabited the Valley of the Ganges at the same time, while not making such a mark on the thought and custom of the day nevertheless contributed to this new or revived scruple and upheld it by themselves practising non injury under the form of vegetarianism.<sup>7</sup>

But in spite of teaching precept and example, the evil persisted for some two hundred and fifty years at least after Gotama's lifetime until it was given, not a mortal but a severe blow by the Emperor Aśoka. His Rock Edict I is a revelation of the terrible slaughter of animals that went on daily

2. Vin. i 137, 138 iv 296      3. Vin. iv, 32 33      4. Vin iv 49 125

5. Cf. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 347, and C H I, vol. I p 106

6. This latter problem is discussed by Mrs. Rhys Davids in Ch. II of *Poems of Cloister and Jungle*

7. M i 80

so that the royal kitchen could feed hundreds of people and the king's popularity thereby increased. But Aśoka, who became exceedingly sensitive to the taking of animal life, abolished this communal feeding, first of all reducing the number of animals to be slain daily to three, and for use only at the royal table itself, and then decreed on the rock that "even those three living creatures shall not be slain in the future." The Emperor's conviction of the sanctity of animal life culminated in his Pillar Edict V, assigned to the date 243 B.C. This lays down "an elaborate code of regulations restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals throughout the empire. Those regulations were imposed upon all classes of the population without distinction of creed, social customs, or religious sentiment."<sup>8</sup> The broad principles of Buddhist teaching on compassion to all that lives and breathes here finds concrete, detailed and definite expression. Aśoka applied this teaching to his times, he lived it and he spread it through the unusual medium of hard rock and polished pillar.

It may have been acquaintance of the fact that during the early Buddhist epoch some control was exercised over the unchecked slaughter of animals which emboldened Aśoka to restrict their destruction or mutilation on certain days on holy days. Although we have little knowledge of any such previous interdictions, Asoka's Pillar Edict would suggest in some form these had existed before his time, and that therefore he was continuing a practice, perhaps expanding it but not innovating it. A brief reference is found in the *Vinaya* to a "non slaughter day." In the story of the lay woman follower Suppiyā it appears that before she cut a piece of flesh from her own thigh for an ill monk to whom she had promised some broth, she had a search for meat made throughout Benares. But she was told that none was to hand, "for today is not a slaughter day," *māghato ajja*.<sup>9</sup> The *Jataka* mentions the "drum of no-slaughter" being sounded through a town,<sup>10</sup> and as having been heard by kings of old,<sup>11</sup> and it mentions a zemindar who had laid an interdiction upon the slaughter of animals.<sup>12</sup>

It is tempting to suppose that some of these no-slaughter days coincided with the *uposatha*, or Observance days, days of the new and the full moon, when monks in each "residence" recited their body of Patimokkha rules, and when lay people were meant to abstain from some of their more congenial activities. And for such a coinciding there is support from a *Jataka* in which it is said that a man was unable to get meat, not merely because it was a no-slaughter day but, with greater precision, because it was a "first day on which there was no slaughter," *uposathamāghata*.<sup>13</sup> This may well have been the case but yet it throws little light upon any early connection made

8 Vincent Smith, *Asoka* 3rd edn., 1920 p. 57

9 *Vin.* i, 217

10 *Jā* iii, 428-434

11 *Jā* iii, 428

12 *Jā* iv, 115

13 *Jā* vi, 346

between such a restriction and special days. For the *Jātaka* prose is comparatively late, and was probably composed nearer to Aśoka's time than to Gotama's.

There is plenty of evidence however to show that, before Asoka's reign, Gotama had protested against the taking of life. His surviving talks and prohibitions and "allowances" (*anuṣāṇāmi*) too—are addressed mainly to monks, and these after all formed his most malleable as well as his most vulnerable material since they were under the control and discipline of the Order, of which he was, as the canon shows particularly the *Vinaya*, the fountain head. Yet records are not lacking where Gotama is portrayed as either directly or by implication trying to drive home to lay people his abhorrence of taking life.

In one respect, he was not unsuccessful. For he was instrumental in bringing about a decrease in the popularity of great animal sacrifices. But in the three other ways—that is, in warfare, agriculture and meat eating with its attendant trades of hunting, trapping and butchery, it may be said that he met with only a limited success. There is no means of assessing the number of those who turned to the humaner way of life presented to them by Gotama. It would however be reasonable to suppose that some of his contemporaries responded to his gifts of persuasion, and, further inspired by a feeling for *ahiṃsā*, refrained from activities which involved destroying animal or human life. For this has been the case later and in other Buddhist lands. On the other hand, there is no doubt that even if warfare, agriculture and meat eating diminished somewhat as lay occupations in Gotama's times they were by no means abolished nor even largely renounced. And for this two chief reasons may be adduced: in the first place, kings and people did not want to give up these ways of ministering to their ambitions, livelihood or pleasure, and in the second, since Gotama was not a temporal ruler, he had no actual power to impose a body of restrictive regulations and penalties on the laity as he had on his monastic followers.

With blood sacrifice the case was different. The times were ripe for its virtual abolition, and it only needed some authoritative lead, some champion, and the support of a strong minded, convinced and articulate opponent for the perhaps already dying brahminical customs of animal sacrifice and of such human sacrifice as there was to fall into decay. Gotama entered the area, and according to passages in the canon however infrequent he spoke with vigour. Of his protests, I will mention two: the one serious, the other revealing a delightful sense of humour. Both are well known. The serious protest is found in verses occurring in the *Saṃyutta*, *Anguttara*, *Suttapāṭa* and *Itiuttaka*<sup>14</sup>.



The sacrifices called the Horse the Man  
 The Peg thrown Site the Drink of Victory  
 The Bolts Withdrawn and all the mighty fuss —  
 These are not rites which bring a rich result.  
 Where divers goats and sheep and kine are slain  
 Never to such a rite as that repair  
 The noble seers who walk the perfect way  
 But rites where there is no bustle nor no fuss  
     Are offerings meet bequests perpetual  
 Where never goats and sheep and kine are slain  
 To such a sacrifice as this repair  
 The noble seers who walk the perfect way  
 These are the rites entailing great results  
 These to the celebrant are blest not cursed  
     The oblation turneth o'er the gods are pleased

This is serious and persuasive. Yet the half humorous way which is chosen to convey the protest made in the Kuṭadanta Suttanta<sup>15</sup> does nothing to militate against its fundamental earnestness. In his Introduction to this Suttana which as he points out,<sup>16</sup> consists of a legend obviously invented *ad hoc* Rhys Davids wrote "having laughed the brahmin ideal of sacrifice out of court the author or authors of the Suttana go on to say what they think a sacrifice ought to be. Far from exalting King Wide-Realms (Mahaviṇṇa) procedure, they put his sacrifice at the very bottom of a long list of sacrifices each better than the other and leading up to the sweetest and highest of all which is the attainment of Arahatship<sup>17</sup> King Wide-Realms sacrifice, although it never took place except in the half serious half comic legend told for the sake of its moral is as described typically Vedic in character. There would have been the slaughter of cows goats cocks and pigs. As it was in the legend only ghee, oil butter milk, honey and molasses were used and largesse was distributed in the four quarters. Rhys Davids thinks that the battle over the Vedic form of sacrifice was really won by the Buddhists and their allies. And the combined ridicule and earnestness of our Suttanta will have had its share in bringing about the victory."<sup>18</sup>

At all events it is sufficiently clear that strictures such as these did not fall upon deaf ears. The people were sympathetic broad minded and not completely dominated by priestly superstition. In a word they provided excellent material on which to work in the matter of suppressing the destruction of animals for quasi religious purposes, and the growing realisation that large-scale sacrifice was both spiritually and economically unsound will have played a decisive part in stamping it out.

15 D. I. 127ff

17 Dial I 164

16 Dial I 162

18. Dial I 165

This potent stand against a mistaken custom may have been further backed by the feeling, even by the knowledge, that in India animals had not always been offered up on the sacrificial altar (*vedi*). There would appear to be a contrast between the religion of the Aryan invaders and the attitude adopted, in particular to the cow, by the cattle-breeding inhabitants of the overrun territory. Horse<sup>19</sup> and cattle sacrifices were characteristic of the Vedic tribes; and by their own religion they were enjoined to sacrifice cattle to their gods and to slay them for guests, the actual worship of the cow as such not being found in Rig-Veda.<sup>20</sup> But, on the other hand, it would appear as though among the indigenous population a certain reverence for the cow had gone back to a remote antiquity. The *Suttanipāṭa*, in a very remarkable Sutta,<sup>21</sup> speaks of the brahmins of old as having regarded the cow as their parents, brothers and kin, as their best friend and as the source of all healthful things. So in gratitude they never slaughtered cows.<sup>22</sup> But then there came a change. The brahmins became greedy and avaricious. Fired by the huge gifts they obtained from the king by instigating him to offer horses and human beings in sacrifice, their next choice fell upon cows. And Okkāka, the king, doomed hundreds and thousands of cows to be slain. A sense of the injustice and wickedness of this, felt by the teller of this story :

The cows that do no hurt with horn or hoof,  
yes, gentle lamblike cows that fill the pail,  
he bade be taken by the horn and slain<sup>23</sup>

was shared by others at the time when of old this outrage (*adhamma*) began:

'Tis wrong ! 'tis wrong ! arose th'united wail  
of Brahmās, Indra, titans, demons too,  
as cows were butchered for the sacrifice<sup>24</sup>

as it was by other and still later people presumed to be the contemporaries of the story-teller :

Thus, thus the wise condemn this ancient guilt,  
and folk condemn the sacrificers' crime.<sup>25</sup>

This outstanding Sutta doubtless refers in its thirty-two verses to some ancient tradition of brahmin degeneracy. Instead of their former life of zeal and rectitude which needed no animal sacrifices to abet it, later, in the lust for wealth, brahmin priests procured the sacrifice of horses, men, and finally of cows. But sacrifice in its turn succumbed to the force of public opinion. Substantiation for such popular disapprobation may be found in the outcry the people made at the prospect of the sacrifice of elephants, horses, bulls

19. *RI*. I. 162, 163 were used at horse-sacrifices in Vedic ritual.

20. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 191.

21. *Sn. Brāmanadhammikasutta* (No. 7 in *Cūḷavagga*).

22. *Sn.* 296-297.

23. 309.

24. *Sn.* 310.

25. *Sn.* 313.

and other four footed creatures, and which is recorded in a *Jātaka* story<sup>26</sup> The evidence provided by Pali "literature" for the suppression of great animal sacrifices suggests that outside brahminical circles this practice was not one particularly cherished by the ordinary people

This degeneration from harmless rites to bloody sacrifices is noticed by Buddhaghosa in the *Samyutta Commentary*<sup>27</sup> and by Dhammapāla in the *Itivuttaka Commentary*,<sup>28</sup> in their exegesis on the verses beginning "The sacrifices called the Horse, the Man" already quoted Formerly, these Commentaries tell us, the *assa medha* horse sacrifice was *sassa medha*, a corn or crops festival, the *purisa medha* human sacrifice, took the form of a six months gift of food and wages to great soldiers, the throwing of the peg, *sammāpasa*, was then called a bond to bind men's hearts, people addressed one another in affectionate language *vācāpeyya*, the word being later altered to *vajāpeyya*, a sacrificial drink,<sup>29</sup> and people were so pleasant that there was no need to bolt the doors of the houses<sup>30</sup> But, so the commentaries go on with no doubt the *Suttantapāṭi* in mind, in the time of the former king Okkaka (who is there regarded as in part responsible for the brahmin ascendancy) the brahmins upset all this happy arrangement and the "four bases of popularity" and contentment in the realm took on the aspect of sinister sacrifices and orgies.<sup>31</sup>

In speaking of human sacrifice, *purisamedha* which in the verses quoted is mentioned with *assamedha* horse sacrifice and three other rites which did not involve death for the victim, the question should be borne in mind of whether it was in early times ever more than a symbolical ceremony No reference to the practice can be established in the Rig Veda,<sup>32</sup> the Brāhmanas do not describe a rite of an actual slaying of a man,<sup>33</sup> there is in the Śāta pāṭha and Taittirīya Brāhmanas and their Sūtras merely the symbolic offering of men as is the case in the Yajurveda<sup>34</sup> Indeed evidence for a human sacrifice on the lines of the horse-sacrifice appears to be provided only by two of the later Sūtras

This does not mean however that on occasion a man may not have been

26 *Ja* No 433

27 *SA* i 144 ff

28 *It A* i 93

29 On Vājapeya or Drink of Strength see A B Keith *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* p 339, and for mention of the *assamedha* and the *Vājapeya* (soma sacrifice), associated with secular Brahmanism" as being "two forms of sacrifice having a political significance see B C. Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism* p 205

30 Cf Megasthenes, *Fragm XXVII* (McCrindle *Ancient India*, p 70) their houses and property they generally leave unguarded

31 Cf *G S* ii 50 n 1 to which I am indebted.

32 A. B Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* p 347 and *C H I*, vol. I, p. 106

33 A. B Keith *Religion* p 347

34 A B Keith *C H I* vol I, pp 123 136

slain for some sacrificial purpose. In the *Takkariya Jātaka*<sup>35</sup> one brahmin proposes the slaughter of another so as to make an oblation with his flesh and blood when a new gateway for a town was to be built. Rouse, in his translation of this *Jātaka*,<sup>36</sup> has an interesting note on the persistence of traditions about human sacrifice at the founding of a building and so on, so as 'to propitiate the spirits disturbed by the digging,' and he refers to the rumours current at the time of many young children being immured in the foundations of the Hooghly Bridge at Calcutta. Keith in discussing the later *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, alludes to the building of an altar for the sacred fire. He says, "in one sense no doubt this was an ancient and simple rite, accompanied as so often by the slaying of a man in order to secure the abiding character of the structure"<sup>37</sup>. Even if there was some tradition, as the Pali Canon and commentaries may suggest, for a full scale Human Sacrifice similar to the Horse Sacrifice, evidence is lacking for any actual slaying of a human victim or victims. The more casual and far less costly, sacrifice of one man on occasions when buildings were being erected appears to be better attested. There is no ground for believing however that it was customary to offer human beings on such occasions, there are more grounds for believing that in early Buddhist times any form of human sacrifice was much less common than animal sacrifice. Yet however progressive and enlightened was the bulk of the population, there was always a backward element to contend with, the element which for example made oblations (*balikamma*) of deer and swine to *yakkhas*<sup>38</sup>.

It would moreover seem as if animal sacrifice had been superimposed, partly as a royal and priestly undertaking on an older tradition of harmlessness, breaking it, cutting into it, it is true, but not crushing it into oblivion. The survival, the memory, of this tradition, denying to animal sacrifice the status of an unbroken custom must be regarded as a further reason why any difficulties which the Early Buddhists may have met in fighting for the abolition of the sacrifice of horses and cattle in particular were by no means insuperable.

The Early Buddhist attitude to warfare agriculture and meat-eating was more mixed than was its attitude to blood sacrifices. It made no whole hearted condemnation of these three practices although they all entail the taking of life. But it did what it could to lessen their incidence and popularity. The most fertile field for reform was the monastic Order. Monks were forbidden to have more than a minimum to do with armies<sup>39</sup> on pain of committing offences which needed confession as their expiation, and no one who was a soldier, subsumed under the heading "in a king's pay," was

35 *Ja* iv 246

37 *C H I.*, vol I p 142.

39 *Vm.* iv 104 108, *Pac* 48-50.

36 *Ja Transl* iv 155

38 *Ja* iv 115

allowed to go forth <sup>40</sup> from home into homelessness that is, to take the first step to becoming a monk. Further monks were forbidden to dig the soil or to get another to do so <sup>41</sup> a rule which presumably could have been companioned by another to cover ploughing. But because monks were entirely supported by the laity and because apparently they had not attempted to plough there was no occasion to formulate such a prohibition. But a different set of considerations was entailed in regard to eating meat the result of which was that monks were allowed to eat meat and fish provided that it was pure in three respects which means a monk had neither seen heard nor suspected that it had been killed on purpose for him <sup>42</sup> and further provided that it was not the flesh of certain animals which it was made unallowable to eat <sup>43</sup>

I will say a little more about these three practices in turn and will begin with warfare. But I have written about the early Buddhist views on this subject elsewhere <sup>44</sup> I will here only point out that Gotama is represented neither as having glossed over nor as having passed by its existence without a word of censure. On the contrary he faced the fact of fighting openly and frankly and in three main ways. In the first place there are verses attributed to him depicting the utter futility and inconclusiveness of war <sup>45</sup> and more verses contrasting the use of force with the exercise of *dhamma* <sup>46</sup> conscience what ought to be done because it is right. Yet although the love of fighting is deeply embedded in the human heart there were apparently some people in the times to which the *Vinaya* purports to refer who regretted that they had to have anything to do with an army <sup>47</sup> It was their *karma* which drove them to this means of livelihood and in a vicious circle this means of livelihood set up a new bad *karma* for them. Many classes of people, as the *Suttampata* enumerates including the farmer *kassaka* the fighting man *yodhajita* and the sacrificer *jajaka* are what they are because of their deeds *kammama* <sup>48</sup>

Again it is interesting to notice that public opinion <sup>49</sup> and the opinion of the pious monks <sup>50</sup> as well as that ascribed to Gotama <sup>51</sup> was against monks talking *tracchanakatha* <sup>52</sup> low inferior talk concerned with mundane matters, and that two out of its twenty seven specified forms are talk about armies and talk about fights. Such talk is said to be connected with the

40 *Vin* i 74

41 *Vin* iv 33 *Pac* 10

42 *Vin* i 238 ii 197 iii 171 *M* i 369

43 *Vin* i 219 f

44 *Ceylon Daily News Vesak Number* 1939 and (briefly) *B D* ii Intr

p xxxii

15 *S* i 85

46 *Dhp* 206, 257

47 *Vin* iv 104 105 107

48 *Sn* 650-652.

49 *Vin* iv 164

50 *Vin* i 188

51 *A* v 123-129

52 Also mentioned at *D* i 7 178, ii 54 *M* i 513 ii 1 23 In all these

passages, except *D* i 7 warderers are spoken of as talking *tracchanakathā*

goal nor to tend to the highest form of godly life<sup>53</sup> In substituting ten topics of conversation Gotama is made to say to the listening monks that if they would engage in these they would outshine in brilliance the moon and sun—not to mention the wanderers, followers of other sects and who, as other records show, were prone to indulge in *tiracchānakathā*<sup>54</sup>

In the second place, it adds greatly to Gotama's fame as a leader of humanitarian thought and practice that he was able to eliminate warfare as an occupation for his monastic followers who, after all, formed a considerable proportion of the population In this respect Eastern monachism differs strikingly from Western, where monks not only regarded themselves as soldiers of Christ but saw nothing wrong or incongruous in resorting to arms Fighting was automatically closed to Buddhist monks by their third Pārājika rule if they deprived a human being of life or incited him to commit suicide or instigated another person to murder him, they committed an offence of the utmost gravity whose penalty was expulsion from the Order They were further debarred from fighting by other rules which made it an offence, although of a lesser kind, knowingly to take animal life.<sup>55</sup> And since two of the four "wings" of an army consisted of elephants and horses, these were inasmuch danger as the infantry (*patti*) of being targets for destruction in battle.

The third way in which Gotama faced the fact of fighting was, however strange this may seem, by expressing a certain admiration for the soldier Although metaphors from warfare are less frequent in Buddhist than in Christian literature,<sup>56</sup> there are several similes which are military in nature, their point usually being to encourage monks to be steadfast in endeavour as soldiers are steadfast in battle and to wage spiritual battles as they wage armed ones Discipline was the aim for both On the other hand unstable monks are likened to the (five kinds of) warriors who lose heart as the latter falter at various (preliminary) stages of the battle so the former falter if they are unable to steer quite clear of women<sup>57</sup> Thus soldiers, even cowardly ones, have their uses as pegs on which to hang various aspects of Buddhist teaching for monks.

And the same may be said of the soldiers' various battle adjuncts the warrior elephant and horse The former especially is used in metaphor But it is interesting to find that the ways in which a monk is compared to a battle elephant represent as a rule quite initial stages in his spiritual training For example, when monks are compared to elephants who falter when

53 S v 420

54 A v 129

55 Vin iv 33, 35, 49, 125

56. *Pss Breth.*, p. 144, n. 1 But see T. R. Glover, *The Disciple* 1942, who, in his chapter on The Soldier points out that in Paul's Epistles the soldier and the athlete are "sometimes confused by English readers".

57. A iii 89 100.

going forth to battle because each of their five senses is afflicted by disagreeable sensations—a metaphor which resembles that of the soldiers who lose heart almost before the battle begins—it is to show that such monks are not yet immune to the lure of the five senses<sup>58</sup> Again as the elephant entering battle destroys all parts of the fourfold army and endures the blows of weapons so should a monk destroy all sensual thinking and endure physical discomfort<sup>59</sup> Both these metaphors point to stages where a monk is not far advanced in his training

A verse from the *Theragatha*<sup>60</sup> further suggests that only the early stages of the training were envisaged where warrior-elephant similes are used This verse is ascribed to the former soldiers Soṇa Poṭṭiya's son<sup>61</sup> After having gone forth he remained so sluggish and did not apply his mind to meditation that Gotama had to admonish him He thereupon reflecting upon his shortcomings and working for insight<sup>62</sup> uttered this verse

If in the fight my warrior elephant  
Advanced twere better fallen from his back,  
Dead on the field and trampled I should lie  
Than beaten live a captive to the foe.

This is a verse which comes well from a former soldier and it may be only accidental that Soṇa compares his own almost desperate state after he had turned monk with his imagined desperate state in battle due to being dislodged from his elephant But on the other hand this comparison may be deliberate since in other similes battle elephants are apt to be connected with weak or elementary attainments in the life of religion

Agriculture does not involve the taking of human life, but in the process of ploughing and digging small animals and insects may be destroyed Now in regard to taking life Early Buddhism drew two distinctions In the first place there was a distinction between taking it deliberately and taking it unintentionally Thus if monks took human or animal life in the latter way there was no offence for them<sup>63</sup> But if they took it knowingly and intentionally there was as I have already indicated the most serious penalty in the case of human life, and a penalty also although less severe, in the case of animal life For in the second place Early Buddhism recognised a dis-

58 A i 157

59 A ii 116 iii. 161

60 *Thag* 194

61 *Thag* and *Vin* evince some discrepancies. This is one for *Vin.* i 74 forbids monks to allow anyone in the king's pay to go forth Again *Vin.* i 79 decrees that monks shall not let a youth under fifteen years of age go forth. But six boy-theras are mentioned in *Thag* all of them recorded in the *Comy* to have gone forth when seven years old including Sivali who lay in his mother's womb for seven years before being born but who went forth on the seventh day after this event (*Thag* A i 147)

62. From *Comy* on *Thag* 194

63 *Vin* i 1 ~9ff iv 33 35 49 125

unction between men and animals. But since this was in degree rather than in kind it therefore held it as principle of right behaviour for monks that they should destroy neither the one nor the other.

Agriculture certainly opened the door to the danger of taking life. A farmer could hardly avoid killing or maiming small creatures in the soil. Yet, because he did not destroy them of set purpose the evil of taking life was not the point of Gotama's famous ploughing talk with the farmer Bharadvaja<sup>64</sup>. The point was that *his* kind of ploughing—that of the mind and spirit—was richer in result than the farmer's ploughing of the land and it was meant to show how much finer were the activities of those who were able to devote themselves to a spiritual instead of a mundane way of life.

But agriculture had been practised from time immemorial. Moreover, it was in the India of Gotama's days as it had been for centuries previously, not only the economic mainspring of the people and by far the greatest industry but its results were vital to the life, health and prosperity of the entire population. So vividly had this been realised even in remotest antiquity and in lands wide apart that ceremony and ritual had come to be connected with the chief agricultural operations of the year.

Everything depended on the fertility of the crops. These therefore had to be sown in an atmosphere of the rite and festival. It is true that this may have dwindled by the Early Buddhist epoch even if it had not disappeared altogether. Yet certainly the tradition remained. The *Jalakamdana* the Introduction to the *Jatakas* a collection of stories of the past, contains a valuable description of a Festival of Sowing or of Seed time called a *vappa mangala*<sup>65</sup>. This was a ploughing festival in which the king played a leading part. The people decorated the city like a *deva's* mansion and all the servants and workmen in spotless white clothes and adorned with scented garlands collected at the king's house. A thousand ploughs *nangala* were yoked for the king's work. He himself had a golden plough ornamented with red gold and the horns, reins and goads of the oxen were ornamented with gold. Of the thousand ploughs a hundred and seven (or seven hundred and ninety nine<sup>66</sup>) were adorned with silver as were the yokes and reins of

64 S : 172 Sn 76-80

65 Ja : 57

66 Ja : 57. The Pali is *ekena unam affhasalam* and *ekounaffhasalam*. Rhys Davids *Bud Birth Stories* 1880 p 74 renders 'a hundred and eight minus one' and A. K. Coomaraswamy *Rg Veda as Land nama Bôk* p 14 as 'a hundred and seven'. At some time 108 certainly came to be regarded as an auspicious number. 108 marks on the soles of the Buddha's feet. 108 books in the Tibetan canon. 108 beads on a Buddhist rosary. On the other hand *affhasala* has the meaning of 'a great number' and as such is 800. This is the meaning which C. P. D. ascribes to this passage. Moreover *una* is generally prefixed to round numbers. But '799 ministers' was large in proportion to the then 200 ploughmen unless this was an intentional device used to emphasise the importance of the occasion.



their oxen; and these were used by the ministers. The ploughmen took the remaining ploughs and ploughed from this way and that, *ito c'ito*, perhaps up and down, while the king went *orato param parato oram*, from the hither to the further (side) and back again, perhaps across the field, on the analogy of *orato param* when crossing a river. There is no doubt that once this was a most important festival and things were done on a lavish scale.

The *Jātakanidāna* relates that while the ritual ploughing was in progress the shadow of the Jambu tree stood steady and circular<sup>67</sup>. This incident provides a clue to the time of the year when the festival was held, for it relates to a solar solstice, and as the seed will have been sown at the turning of the year, it is reasonable to assume that the spring equinox was intended.

The *Samyutta Commentary*<sup>68</sup> and the *Suttantapāṭa Commentary*,<sup>69</sup> in passages very similar to one another, discriminate between a wet sowing and a dry sowing,<sup>70</sup> and in elucidating the verses addressed to Bhāradvāja say that here the latter is meant. This is the first sowing of the year in a land fertile enough to bear two sowings annually, and it is done before the ground has been watered by the rains of the monsoon (June-September). It would therefore have taken place about the same time of year as the *mangalavappa* of the *Jātakanidāna*.

The *Samyutta Commentary* goes into a good deal of detail, as does the *Suttantapāṭa Commentary*, as though recalling a ceremony no longer customary and therefore in need of recapitulation. Both say that they are describing a *mangalavappa* or Sowing Festival, a ritual sowing, which took place on the first day (of the sowing). After this the sowing went on in the ordinary way and without any ritual. Each of the three thousand oxen was adorned with golden hooves and silver horns, and all had sweet smelling white garlands. Their bodies were coloured with signs or marks (*lakkhana*) some black, some white, some red some variegated. The fronts of the ploughs, the yokes and goads were decorated with gold. The leading plough was yoked with eight oxen the others with four each. There were five hundred ploughmen all clad in white, and they were adorned with scented garlands and arrayed with bunches of flowers on their right shoulders, their limbs were dyed red and yellow and they got the ploughs into teams of ten. No king is spoken of as taking part in the sowing here, but the brahmin farmer Bhāradvāja

He had his beard attended to, he bathed,<sup>71</sup> he was smeared with sweet

67 Jā. i. 58.

68. SA i. 242f

69 Sn A 137f

70 Cf VA 550, *udakavappa* sowing in water, and *thalavappa* (v 1 *thula*), sowing on the dry ground. Cf Megasthenes, *Fragm XI* (McCandless *Ancient India* p 55) and Strabo *Geography* 15.1.13.

71 Probably meaning ceremonially here.

smelling unguents; he clothed himself in costly garments, put many rings on his fingers, the "lion's earrings"<sup>72</sup> in his ears, folded the brahmin's turban on his head, and placed a golden garland round his neck. His wife too having had rice milk cooked in a hundred assorted vessels, had these placed in great wagons. She then bathed herself in scented water, and put on all her ornaments and went off to the ploughing accompanied by a crowd of brahmin women. Nor was the house neglected: it was sprinkled with corn and decorated with full pitchers, plantains, flags and banners. Flags and banners were likewise erected here and there on the field. Then came the oblation to the plough, *nangalabalikamma*: the brahmin had a golden bowl washed, he filled it with rice milk, then mixed ghee, honey and molasses into this and had the oblation made. The brahmin lady, having had vessels of gold, silver, copper, bronze and brass given to the five hundred ploughmen, took a golden spoon and stayed beside the rice milk. When the brahmin had made the oblation and had put on his red gold sandals, he took up a red gold stick and said: "Give rice milk here, ghee here, sugar here." This, says the *Samyutta Commentary*, is how the business, or the ploughing, *kammanta*, proceeded *ayaṃ tāva kammante pavatti*.

It will be noticed that a woman (the brahmin's wife) took part in the festival. She, like the furrow, *sita*, was a symbol of fertility, and as such was a necessary feature in the ceremony. In the *Rig Veda* there is a ploughing hymn in one verse of which<sup>73</sup> *Sitā* is venerated as a kind of deity of agriculture and prosperity. The *Sitā* of the *Ramāyana*, according to legend, was not born in the ordinary way but sprang from a furrow as Janaka was ploughing.

The *Jātakamūlana* and these two Commentaries thus supply good evidence of a great ploughing and sowing festival held in times gone past. I think however that no such minute descriptions of any festival held at the ripening of the corn survive, although this too was an important time in the agricultural year. It seems we have in fact not much more than the reference in the *Samyutta Commentary* and the *Itivuttaka Commentary*<sup>74</sup> to the *sassamedha*, corn or crops festival, as having been the original of the *assamedha*, Horse Sacrifice. Monier Williams gives *sasyashṛṣṭi* as "sacrifice offered on the ripening of new grain". So there is some faint tradition. But the Pali canon pays no special attention either to the time when the crops are ripening or are being harvested. Various measures are taken to protect the growing corn,<sup>75</sup> and we hear that in the last month of the hot weather cows must be kept off all crops,<sup>76</sup> and again that deer must be herded away

<sup>72</sup> *Sihakunḍala* Sn. A i 138 has the v 1 *sihamukhakunḍala* as at Jā v 438 which has the shorter form as well.

<sup>73</sup> RV IV 57 6.

<sup>74</sup> SA i 144, It A i 93

<sup>75</sup> Vin. i 137, 138, iv 47, 205 266, 296 Sn p 15

<sup>76</sup> Mf i 116

"at the time of crops" *sassasamaya*<sup>77</sup> It looks as though any ancient festival to celebrate the ripening of the grain had given place to the practical and careful attention which by common consent was bestowed upon the growing crops, but which had nothing ritual about it. The dying out, if this were indeed the case, either of this festival or of that held at showing time in no way impaired the popular determination to keep the land productive. Crops were regarded as supremely valuable by the lay contemporaries of the early Buddhist monks, and agriculture was ranked in the *Vinaya*, which was intended principally and one might say almost exclusively for monks, as one of the three "high works" or activities<sup>78</sup> It was not therefore an occupation which would yield easily or extensively to Gotama's deprecations or it.

He realised that while people remained in the world, no radical alteration could be made in many of their activities. It was only when any member of the laity felt the call to come apart and decided to renounce the world and to become a monk that prohibitions, made partly for the sake of protecting living creatures and partly for the sake of the monks' moral welfare, could be enforced and made fruitful. The monk world had a different code from the lay world for it was one of as complete non-harming as it was possible to achieve. But in the completeness of this there was a curious anomaly connected with some of the foods that a monk might eat.

The eating of neither fish nor meat was banned for monks, and if not positively encouraged was likewise not positively discouraged. Indeed fish and meat formed two out of the five permissible "soft foods," the other three being different cereals<sup>79</sup>. It looks as if, because the laity were neither stopped from growing grain which after all did not involve the intentional taking of life nor from occupations which made the eating of meat possible, so similarly the monks were allowed to partake of cereals, fish and meat. But we have seen that in the case of the last two, certain restrictions were imposed: meat, and fish had to be "pure" in the three respects, and meat had to be 'the meat of those (animals) whose meat is allowable.'<sup>80</sup> Gifts to the Order were made allowable *kappakata* by the donor uttering some phrase to the effect that he was giving for with a few minor exceptions it was an offence to take anything not given<sup>81</sup>. But especially in times of scarcity, monks had a right to ask, and in fact incurred an offence of wrong doing if they did not whether the meat that was being given to them was that of certain animals of an elephant, horse, dog, serpent, lion, tiger, leopard, bear or hyena<sup>82</sup>. For the meat of these animals came to be unallowed. But the reasons for this ban do not in the least imply that for

77 *Jā* i 143

79 e.g. at *V'm* iv 83

81 *Pārājika* II

78 *V'm.* iv 6

80 *V'm.* iv 83

82 *V'm* i 218 ff

monks or laity meat eating was thought to be wrong in itself. Elephants and horses are attributes of royalty, dogs and serpents are revolting and disgusting, while to eat any of the wild animals mentioned, including again the serpent, might involve the monks in personal danger.

Many other passages show, although almost incidentally, that the eating of meat was thought of as customary, and monks are recorded to have done so often enough to give meat the appearance of having been a fairly constant article of their diet. There was the monk to whom Suppiya promised broth, already referred to, and to whom she sent a piece of her own thigh, having prepared it, *sampādetvā*. There was the nun Uppalavannā who got as a gift some meat from a cow killed by a robber chief, and which having prepared *sampādetvā*, she wished to present to Gotama<sup>83</sup>. And there were the monks who were allowed to take and eat the kills of wild animals which of course would be other animals<sup>84</sup> and they had these cooked *pacāpetvā* before eating them. Only in the case of a strange non human disease were monks allowed the remedy of the raw flesh and blood of pigs<sup>85</sup>. These are instances taken only at random.

While injunctions survive showing which animals flesh was forbidden, there are none specifying which was allowed. Thus, in the absence of any definite rulings, we have to piece together our knowledge of those early times from any source that seems helpful or suggestive. We have just seen that if monks ate beef or the kills of wild animals or, in certain circumstances, the raw flesh of pigs no objection was made. Similes which depict the cattle-butcher and his apprentice displaying piecemeal at the cross-roads the carcass of the ox they have slain<sup>86</sup> hacking at the inwards<sup>87</sup> or flinging a bare bone to a famished dog who has made his way to the slaughter house,<sup>88</sup> all indicate the cattle-butcher to have been a well known part of the existing social fabric, ministering to the needs of those who had no objection to eating beef. There is too the simile which compares the life of man insignificant, trifling and full of ill and trouble, to the cow about to be slaughtered, and who with every step she takes while being driven to the shambles, comes nearer to her death and destruction<sup>89</sup>.

References to sheep although often to their wool and the purposes which this served<sup>90</sup> point to these animals as forming a useful part of the animal population of India then as now. And from further references to the cattle butcher, the sheep-butcher, the pork butcher, the deer hunter and the fowler,<sup>91</sup> and also to the fishermen all selling their wares<sup>92</sup> it would seem beyond

83 Vin iii 208

85 Vin i. 202-3

87 M i 244 S iv 56 A iii 380

89 A iv 138

91 Vin iii 104 ff = S ii 254 ff

84 Vin iii 58

86 D ii 294 M i 58

88 M i 364

90 Eg Vin iii 225-7, 233 234

92 Ibid and A iii 301 ff

all doubt that the laity ate the flesh of cows sheep pigs deer and game-birds, and fish. Such are the animals which (not including fish) perhaps yielded the meat of those whose meat is allowable, and hence might be eaten by the monks if offered them so long as the other necessary conditions were fulfilled.

There is a verse in the *Theragatha*<sup>93</sup> which speaks of snaring a monkey by means of some sticky stuff *lepa* glue or pitch. The process is explained in the *Samyutta*<sup>94</sup> where finally the hunter having caught the monkeys spits him then and there and prepares him for eating *atasajeti* over charcoal embers. We hear of a monk keeping a female monkey<sup>95</sup> and of another monkey which was confined in captivity<sup>96</sup>. But there is no evidence that monkeys ever formed any part of a monks diet. They were probably only eaten by such low people as hunters.

Although the eating of meat by laity and monks alike is tacitly condoned the bloody trades which bring animals to destruction for this purpose by no means escape condemnation. Verses ascribed to the nun Puṇṇā<sup>97</sup> speak of sheep-butchers pork butchers, fishermen and trappers together with executioners and thieves, as evil-doers who cannot be freed from their evil deeds by the rite of ablution<sup>98</sup>. For then all aquatic creatures would go to heaven which is clearly absurd. She is speaking to a brahmin who believes in the efficacy of purification by water but her verses plainly show the conviction that butchers, fishermen and trappers are doers of wrong. The *Anguttara* in knitting beings to their deeds<sup>99</sup> posits one of two bourns and uprising for those who make onslaught on creatures (restraint from which is the first of the moral habits or *sīlas*) who are hunters bloody handed given over to killing and slaying either downright woe in hell or rebirth in the womb of an animal. Again horribly painful consequences in after lives are ascribed to those who in this life had been butchers hunters and trappers<sup>100</sup>. But similar painful consequences for their cruel deeds here are also ascribed to animal tamers, slanderers, frauds, adulterers and fortune-tellers. It is therefore impossible to say that slayers of animals although considered as wrong-doers and liable to very uncomfortable rebirths were worse thought of than the other wrong-doers here named.

But monks did not, or should not, themselves actually take animal life. They did not act as butchers they did not fish hunt or trap. All their food was provided for them by the laity. But they were able, unlike those recluses and brahmins who are recorded to have lived on jujube fruits sesa

93 *Thag* 454

95 *Vin.* iii 21

97 *Thag* 2412

98 *Cf M* i 39 *Kd* p. 6 for (heretical) notion of purification by water

99 *Im.* i. 1. 104 ff = *S* ii 254 ff

100 *A* v 288 and *cj M* i 387 ff iii 203

94 *S* v 148 f

96 *Thag* 125 f

mum, beans or uncooked rice,<sup>101</sup> to receive gifts of fish and meat, provided they observed the restrictions and safeguards of not receiving more food than their one begging bowl would hold,<sup>102</sup> of not eating more than once a day,<sup>103</sup> of establishing that the fish and meat was "pure", and that it was not the meat of certain prohibited animals

But the broad principle remained whereby monks aroused no criticism or contumely if they ate meat. A variety of causes may have led to this leniency where we might have expected a greater stringency. For example, a difference was made between oneself killing and oneself eating what another person had killed. Moreover Gotama advocated an adequate diet for his monks and was as opposed to fasting and bodily mortification as he was to greed and luxury, for he saw in these no true way to achieve the highest goal *paramatta*. Since cereals in particular rice, with some meat, fish, fruit and dairy products formed the staple foods of the population these were most likely to have been bestowed by them upon monks. Monks therefore, since none of these foods was prohibited to them obtained sufficient 'to keep themselves going' and did not go short of almsfood. And in addition by accepting an offering of food by not rejecting it, they would neither have appeared rude to the donor nor would they have spoiled his chance to acquire merit by his gift. To have rejected an offering of food would more over have opened the door to picking and choosing, not only between what went into the begging bowl<sup>104</sup> but between the houses visited on the alms round.<sup>105</sup> This in its turn would have prevented some of the laity from setting up merit, and it would have given a handle to greedy and gluttonous monks to indulge their tastes and preferences.<sup>106</sup>

Again it is possible that the habits of other sects were taken into consideration. There were on the one hand the Jains ultra scrupulous in their avoidance of taking life and no doubt the bovine ascetics ate,<sup>107</sup> or affected to eat only grass.<sup>108</sup> There was on the other hand the important class of Naked Ascetics, called *Ājīvikas* and who apparently were not strict vegetarians<sup>109</sup> but who abstained from fish and meat now and again with a view to 'schooling their bodies' or "making to become by bodily means", *kayabhavana* rather than from humanitarian reasons or because they saw in such a diet anything intrinsically wrong.

Yet perhaps the reason which weighed most heavily in the condonation of fish and meat-eating was the strong conviction that it was not material things which made or marred a man. Early Buddhism did not agree with

101 *M* i. 80

102 *Cf* *Sekhiyas* 28 30 32

103 *Vm.* iv. 85

104 *Cf* *Sekhiyas* 34-36, where however (in 34 35) monks choose what they most fancy from what is already in the bowl

105 *Cf* *Sekhiya* 33

106. *Vm.* iv. 88.

107 *M* i. 387

108 *M/A* iii. 100

109 *M* i. 238

the supposition that purity comes through food<sup>110</sup> Purification comes, it held, by restraint over such bodily, mental and moral conduct as could defile a man, and with the possession of moral habit.<sup>111</sup> It did not consider it to be his outward signs his wearing his hair matted in the braids of an ascetic, his birth or his clan which made a man a true brahmun<sup>112</sup> It was not these things, nor his abstinence from fish and meat, which cleansed a man who had not crossed over doubt.<sup>113</sup> For it was not the eating of meat, *na hi māṃsabhojanam*, which sullied him and was his defilement, *ama gandha*, but any one out of a long array of wrongs which he might perpetrate by conduct, thought or speech<sup>114</sup> He was neither defiled nor purified by what he ate nor was he cleansed by fasting<sup>115</sup>

In conclusion, it need only be said that no clear picture of the world in which Early Buddhist monasticism flourished can be obtained if the feature of life taking is ignored And nor can a clear picture of this monasticism be obtained if its attempt to crush the desire to destroy life are left out of account There was a strong movement to remedy, even to eradicate, what was regarded by several leaders of contemporary religious thought as an undesirable practice The remedy was a life-sparing scruple To the birth of this there is no historical clue We only know that it was strong under Jainism, fostered by Early Buddhism observed by some contemporary sects and that it then culminated under Aśoka

Early Buddhism's advocacy of non injury cannot, I think, be attributed to any one cause for there were monks, laity, brahmins and other sects as well as the animals to consider And no doubt a mixture of motives operated Such championship may have seen in non harming a way to increase the moral welfare of the monks, it may have been part of a disinterested social reform movement, it may have been, as in the case of sacrifice, polemical in nature anti brahminical, and it may have been due to the presumption that animals have as much right to their lives and to compassion as have human beings

Whatever the motives which led Early Buddhism to stand firm in the cause of non injury, the results are in the main sufficiently clear Some control was imposed over monks in the matter of meat-eating, but they were not made to give it up Warfare and agriculture were however entirely ruled out as monastic occupations Sacrifice, as ordinarily understood, seems never to have been practised by monks, for they had no gods to whom to make offerings "Only within burneth the fire I kindle."<sup>116</sup> Therefore their

110 *M* i 80

112 *Dhp* 393 and *cf* 141

114 *Sn* 241 247

116 *S* i 169 *Cf* A. K. Coomaraswamy *Hinduism and Buddhism* p 56, for this being the Internal Agnihotra of the Brahminical *Āraṇyaka*

111 *A* i 221

113 *Sn* 249

115 *Dhp* 141

discipline does not comment on outward sacrifice one way or the other. The laity, on the other hand, continued in meat-eating, warfare and agriculture, although the killing of animals for human consumption was probably restricted, at all events on certain days, before Aśoka's reign. Agriculture could not be so strongly condemned as warfare, since in its operations creatures are not killed deliberately. The surprise is that not more opportunities were taken roundly to condemn fighting. It is likely that no way to its eradication was seen, that no tide was turning in this direction as it was to abolish blood sacrifices. The suppression of the great organised sacrifices had the popular support: the ordinary people knew that they were the losers and not the gainers through them. But any effective blow dealt to their trades, industries and occupations would have spelt a blow to their livelihood. Householders therefore continued to practise meat-eating, warfare and agriculture, and to indulge in many "pleasures of the senses" which, because of their different way of life, came to be denied to monks.



# THE LINGA CULT IN ANCIENT INDIA

## (Its proto-Indian origin and early development)

By

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Mainly on account of its close association with Śiva, the phallic cult has assumed a significant role in the religious history of India. The Linga worship has been of wide prevalence in the ancient world. We find the traces of it in India, ancient Egypt, Syria, Babylon, among the Assyrians in Persia, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, among the Gauls, and in different parts of Armenia, Mexico, Peru and Hayti.

In India itself the Mohenjo Daro discoveries have thrown a flood of light on the early prevalence of the cult of the Linga and Yoni.

Diverse opinions have been expressed in regard to the origin and antiquity of the Linga cult. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar expresses the view point, that, 'the Linga worship had, it appears, not come into use at the time of Patañjali for the instance he gives under Pāṇini v. 3.99 is that of an image or likeness (Prakṛti) of Śiva as an object of worship and not of any emblem of that God. It seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema Kadphises, for on the reverse of the coins there is no Linga or a phallus'.<sup>1</sup>

Creuzer represented it as, next to that of the Trinity, the most ancient religious form of India.<sup>2</sup> Stevenson is of opinion that it was originally prevalent amongst the Dravidians alone. Some scholars point out that the cult must have first originated in the western nations and even among the Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

But the curt manner in which the Rgvedic bards refer to the phallic god (*Śisna devah*—from the Dravidian word *Sunni*) clearly proves the non Aryan nature of the phallic cult. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions also corroborate this view point.

### THE LINGA IN THE MOHENJO DARO PERIOD

Both the Archaeological data and the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions point out the unique phase in the history of the phallic cult in ancient India. It is proposed to deal here with the main results below.

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1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other minor religious Systems* p. 115

2 *Symbolik* L.I. p. 575, 2nd Ed

3 Cf. F. Kittel, *Über den Ursprung des Linga Kultus in India*, p. 46

Sir John Marshall distinguishes three types of cult stones at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, namely, the bœtylic, the phallic and the *yoni* ring stones. To say in the words of Marshall,<sup>4</sup>

Archæological  
Data

"The first class comprises those of the type illustrated in Plates XIII, 3, and IV, 2, 4 and 5. Two of these (Pl XIV, 2 and 4) are unquestionably phallic, more or less realistically modelled, and for all of the fantastic theory that it was introduced into India by the Greeks or other western invaders. Further evidence on the same point is furnished by two realistic specimens of the same kind, one a *linga* or phallus (Pl XIII) and the other a *yoni* or vulva (Pl XIII, 7), which Sir Aurel Stein found on the Chalcolithic sites in Northern Baluchistan, the former at Mughal Ghundai, the latter at Periano Ghundai. The other objects are rather conventionalised in shape.

"Indeed the only explanation applicable to them all is that they were sacred objects of some sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, the smaller as amulets to be carried on the person, just as miniature *lingas* are commonly carried by Śaivas today.

"The stones of the second class are like many of the *lingas* seen in Śiva temples today. They equally resemble the bœtylic stones which have recently been unearthed in the temple of Mekal at Beison<sup>5</sup>. The only reason, therefore, for interpreting Mohenjo Daro examples as phallic rather than bœtylic is that their conical shape is now commonly associated with that of the *linga*.

"The third class of these stone objects comprises ring stones of the types illustrated in Pls XIII, 9-12, and XIV, 6 and 8 in large numbers at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. An explanation of these ring stones that has been suggested to me by Mr. Henry Cousens is that they were threaded on poles to form columns, but this suggestion leaves out of account the smaller specimens some of which are no bigger than finger rings and obviously could not have served as architectural members.—Nor can they be similar to the stone wheel money in use on the island of Uap in the Carolines.

Finally, he concludes, "whether these three types represent three distinct cults is uncertain, but it is not unnatural to suppose that *linga* and *yoni* worship may have been associated then, as they were later under the *aegis* of Śaivism. On the other hand, it is probable that they were originally quite distinct from bœtylic worship, which is found frequently connected with the cult of the Mother Goddess among the oldest tribes, whereas phallism is rarely, if ever, found among these aboriginal people."

Besides the archæological evidence, the inscriptions of the period also supply us with an interesting data. We are here summarizing the main results arrived at by Father Heras, which are still regarded as being of tentative value.

Inscriptional  
evidence.

4 Marshall *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I p 59 ff

5 *Daily Telegraph* 13th April, 1929

The inscriptions relate that the early worshippers of the *linga* were the Kāvāls and the Bilavas. The Bilavas evidently were the Bhils and the Kāvāls the same as the robber caste of the North and the South.<sup>6</sup> They were probably Kolerian in origin and they brought this cult from far-off Eastern Islands.<sup>7</sup> Their symbol consisted of the *linga*.<sup>8</sup> That the *linga* cult was originally in vogue among the Kāvāls and the Bilavas is proved by the following inscriptions

(1) "In the dark growing half of the moon, when the sun was on high, the Bilavas pulled down the four houses of the *Linga*"<sup>9</sup> (According to this inscription the *Linga* among the Bilavas had houses the rent of which was used for fostering the cult)<sup>10</sup>

(2) "The *linga* of the eight villages of the Velvel Bilavas (is) the high sun of the harvest."<sup>11</sup>

(3) Kāvāls—"The old *linga* of the Kāvāls."<sup>12</sup>

The inscriptions indicate, in the opinion of Father Heras, that the cult was first introduced in the Mohenjo Daro region by the Mina king. One of the inscriptions relates "the imprisoned illustrious ruler of the *Linga*"<sup>13</sup> Another inscription designates him as 'Cunni Mina'<sup>14</sup> Probably on account of this the king seems to have been deposed and imprisoned by a popular rising. An inscription says " (the object of) the hostility of the Minas is the imprisoned illustrious ruler (who is) a priest"<sup>15</sup> Other inscriptions describe "the end of the power of Mina"<sup>16</sup> and "of the death of Mina"<sup>17</sup> Later on an inscription carved after his death seems to commemorate the bitter feeling of the Minas towards their old king in a sarcastic way "The tree of the canalized united countries of the Kāvāls of (dedicated to) all the gods, whom Mina who was in the house has reached"<sup>18</sup>

Some of the inscriptions relate how the *Linga* was identified with the sun, who was identified with Āṇ originally e.g. (1) "The *Linga* of the eight villages of the Velvel Bilavas (is) the high sun of the harvest,"<sup>19</sup> and (2) "The lustrous *linga* of the high sun"<sup>20</sup>

6 Heras, 'Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People acc to Ins.' *J U B V I*, p 16

7 *Ibid*

8 Cf Heras, Mohenjo Daro the People and the Land *Indian Culture*, Vol III, No 4

9 Marshall *M D*, No 406

10 Heras *op cit*, p 16

11 Marshall, *Harappa* No 99

12 *Ibid*, *H*, No 118

13 *Ibid M D*, No 132

14 *Ibid*, *M D*, No 40

15 *Illustrated London News* 4 10-24

16 Marshall, *H* No 153

17 *Ibid*, *H*, No 127

18 Marshall, *M D*, No 11

19 Marshall *H*, No 99

20. Marshall *H*, No 45, Cf *Ibid M D* Pl XVI, No 337, *Ibid H* No

The cult seems to 'have been connected with a house divided on account of the rites of the two *suns*'<sup>21</sup> One of the inscriptions says 'those (are) the high *suns*'<sup>22</sup> As Father Heras observes 'At the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say how this sect originated but it seems to have been the cause of division of a house or family as the inscription avers. Perhaps this expression refers to an event similar to the revolution caused in Mīṇaḍ by the introduction of the cult of the *Linga*'<sup>23</sup>

Consequently in the opinion of Father Heras, it was during this period alone that the *Linga* was identified with *Āṇ*. *Āṇ* was supposed to be creator of the world. And when once the *Linga* was given the sublime position by its identification with the Sun it was but natural that it should be identified with *Āṇ* also. One of the inscriptions relates 'The moon (is) over the white mountain of Velan of the *Linga* of the divided house of the two high *suns*'<sup>24</sup> The white mountain referred to in the inscription is the Kailasa mountain. And Velan is the name of Subrahmanya or Murugaṇ. Evidently the *linga* must stand for *Āṇ*. Because to whom did the Kailasa mountain belong?<sup>25</sup>

#### EARLY REFERENCES

Side by side with the Mohenjo Daro period the earliest reference made to the *Linga* cult is in the *Rgveda*. The Vedic bards prayed that 'let not the *Śisnadevah* enter their sacrificial pandal'. To quote the exact stanza itself

Na yatavah Indra Jjuvahn nah na  
Vandana viṣṭatvetyabhūh  
Sa—śardhan Aryah viṣumajya Jantoh ma  
Śisna devah asiguh ṛtam nah<sup>26</sup>

The expression occurs once again in the *Rgveda*<sup>27</sup>

But what should be the meaning of this expression? Almost all the scholars up till now interpreted the word as meaning (those) who (have the) Phallus as their deity<sup>28</sup>. But under the present circumstances especially in the light of the new evidence that has become available in Sumer (Khafaje) and Mohenjo Daro we may definitely say that the above interpretation is wrong and that the expression *Śisna devah* must mean those (Gods) possessed of a *Śisna* (*Śisna yuktah Devah*) which is rather a curt manner of abusing the Gods of the indigenous people of India whose *Śiva*

21 Heras, *The Velajās in Mohenjo Daro* *Indian Culture* Vol III No 4 p 54

22 *A S of I Report* 1929-30 Pl XXVIII No 11466(4) Cf Marshall *op cit* *M.D* No 490

23 Heras, *op cit* p. 54

24 Photo *M.D* 1930-31 Dk 1051 25 Heras, *op cit* p 54

26 *Rgveda* VII 21.5

27 *Ibid* X 99.3

28 Cf *Vedic Index* Sayana interprets the word as meaning *abrahma-carnah*

was perfectly nude. The standing figures of Ān are to be found in Khafaje (Sumer) also. That is an instance how the God of the Mohenjo Daro had later travelled there.

This kind of interpretation is also in keeping with the learned scholarship of the Vedic singers. If they really wanted to refer to the Śśna worshipers then we may say that vocabulary was not wanting for them so as to use the expression in such a round about fashion—as the later critics and commentators want them to do. Further this also agrees with the version how the Rudras who were not allowed to have any share in the sacrifice, were later on offered the share in the oblations. The story of Dakṣa and Śiva also shows how mythology developed itself later on.

That the word Rudra conveyed the meaning of a standing figure of Śiva in an *Ūrdhva līga* posture is directly conveyed by many of the Purāṇic passages, which have tried to give the meaning of the word Sthānu. The word Sthānu occurs once in the Rgveda but in a different sense. But the expression as indicating Śiva is of free and common occurrence in the Purāṇic period.<sup>29</sup>

The Atharvaveda describes the Skambha (pillar) as co-extensive with the universe and comprehends in him the various parts of the material universe, as also the abstract qualities, such as Tapas, faith, truth, and divisions of time. It is further stated that, "He is distinct from Prajapati, who founds the universe upon him. The thirty three gods are comprehended in him and arose out of non-entity, which forms his highest member, as well as entity is embraced within him. The gods who form part of him do homage to him. Where Skambha brought Purāṇa Puruṣa (the primeval Being) into existence and Skambha in the beginning shed forth that gold (Hiranya) out of which Hiranya garbha arose) in the midst of the world. He who knows the golden reed standing in the waters is the mysterious Prajapati."<sup>30</sup> It is interesting to note that the word *Velas* which is used for the reed has the sense of *membrum virile*, both in the Rgveda<sup>31</sup> and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Gopinatha Rao makes a significant observation in this connection. "It is this same Skambha that has given birth to the Purāṇic story of Śiva's appearance as a blazing pillar between Brāhmā and Viṣṇu when they were quarrelling about the superiority of the one over the other."<sup>32</sup> But, in our opinion, this idea even seems to be even of pre-Vedic origin.

It is also pointed out that there are many phallic ideas and rites depicted in the Yajurveda<sup>33</sup> e.g. in the Mahābhārata at the winter solstice, in the horse

29 Karmarkar, Fresh and Further Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle' A B O R I XXI, pp 122-23

30 Atharvaveda X, 8

31 Rgveda, X, 95-4-5

32 Gopinatha Rao E H I, II, 1 p. 571

33 Cf Vājasaneyi Samhitā 23, 19 Taittirīya Samhitā Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 13 2, 8 5 Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā 3 12 20

sacrifice and even in the Soma sacrifice. However they are not really phallic rites but may be styled as obscene only, and they very likely reveal some early fertility magic of the primitive Aryans.<sup>34</sup>

The Śvetasvatara Upaniṣad describes Rudra as the Lord of Yonus<sup>35</sup> - thus indicating the close association of Rudra-Śiva with the cult of Yoni

The Mahabharata has supplied us with some interesting details regarding the Linga cult. In the Drona Parva it is said that Śthānu is so called because the Linga is always standing (erect)<sup>36</sup>. Further the expressions Ūrdhvalinga<sup>37</sup> Ūrdhvaretas<sup>38</sup> and Sthira linga<sup>39</sup> as applied to Śiva occur in the different portions of the Mahabharata. Best of all we find that Śiva is designated at *Mahaspho Nagno* thus referring to his nude posture<sup>40</sup>. The Anuśāsana generally depicts the importance of the worship of the Linga<sup>41</sup>.

*The Harivamsa* The Harivamśa emphatically identifies the Linga and the Bhagalinga with Tryambaka (Śiva) and Umā and states that there is no third entity as apart from these in the world<sup>42</sup> (See *infra* )

Both the Mahabharata and the Purāṇas have given fantastic accounts regarding the close identification of the Linga and Śiva. We are dealing with the problem below

#### NATIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF LINGA

The Purāṇas and the Epics have preserved many traditional accounts regarding the origin of the Linga cult. These accounts are mainly mythical and fabulous. Before narrating a few of these stories we shall just summarize the details wherein they actually vary. The Skanda P narrates that when Śiva went for begging alms in a naked fashion to Daruvana all the wives of Rṣis fell in love with him and that the Rṣis cursed him eventually that his Linga would fall down<sup>43</sup>. The Saura Purāṇa corroborates the above account<sup>44</sup>. The Linga P states that Śiva wanted to know and examine the philosophical knowledge attained by the Rṣis residing at Daruvana and it was afterwards that the above facts happened<sup>45</sup>. The Padma P gives a different story altogether. On the event of the second marriage of Brahma with Gayatrī Savitrī cursed also Śiva (because he attended the ceremony) saying that the Rṣis would curse him and eventually his Linga would fall

34 Heras, Were the Mohenjo Darans Aryans? *Journal of Indian History* XXI p 29

35 *Śvetasvatara Upaniṣad* 4.11.5.2

36 *Mahabharata Drona*, pp. 203-133

37 *Santa P* Adh. 46.266

39 *Ibid* 161.11

41 *Ibid* Adh. 45.214 ff

43 *Skanda Purana Nagarakhanda* 1.22 ff

VI *Nagarakhanda* Adh. 258

44 *Saura Purana* 69.53

38 *Anuśāsana P* 4.212.17.41

40 *Ibid.*, 14.15

42 *Harivamśa* II.72.60

also VII.1. Adh. 187.23 also

45 *Linga P Purvardha*, Adh. 29

down But later on, when appeased, she said that the Linga thus fallen down shall be worshipped by mankind <sup>46</sup>

The Vāmana P. on the other hand relates that when Brahmā retired, Śiva installed the Linga (in the subtle form) in the Chitravana forest, and began to wander <sup>47</sup> The Mahābhārata relates a funny story how Śiva forcibly thrust the Linga in the ground, and how it stood erect we shall now quote some passages

#### ORIGIN OF THE LINGA

##### *Vāmana Purāna* <sup>48</sup>

It is said that Śiva being grieved at the loss of Sati began to wander The story proceeds, "Then Hara, wounded by the arrows of Kāma, wandered into a deep forest, named Daruvana, where holy sages and their wives resided. The sages on beholding Śiva saluted him with bended heads, and he, wearied, said to them, 'Give me alms.' Thus he went begging round the different hermitages, and wherever he came, the minds of the sages wives, on seeing him, became disturbed and agitated with the pain of love, and all commenced to follow him. But when the sages saw their holy dwellings thus deserted, they exclaimed, "May the *linga* of this man fall to the ground " That instant the Linga of Śiva fell to the ground, and the *god* immediately disappeared The Linga, then, as it fell, penetrated through the lower worlds, and increased in height, until its top towered above the heavens, the earth quaked, and all things movable and immovable were agitated On perceiving which Brahmā hastened to the sea of milk, and said to Viṣṇu, 'Say, why does the universe thus tremble?' Hari replied, 'On account of the falling of Śiva's *linga*, in consequence of the curse of the holy and divine sages' On hearing of this most wonderful event, Brahmā said, 'Let us go and behold this *linga* ' The two Gods then repaired to Daruvana, and, on beholding it without beginning or end, Viṣṇu mounted the king of birds (Garuḍa) and descended into the lower regions in order to ascertain its base, and for the purpose of discovering its top, Brahmā in a lotus car ascended the heavens, but they returned from their search wearied and disappointed and together approaching the *linga* with due reverence and praises entreated Śiva to resume his *linga* Thus propitiated, that God appeared in his own form and said, 'If gods and men will worship my Linga I will resume it, but not otherwise, and Brahmā divided its worshippers into four sects, the principal one of those, that which simply worships Śiva under the symbol of the Lingam, the second that of Paśupati, the third of Mahākāla, and the fourth, the Kapila, and revealed from his own mouth the ordinances by which this worship was to be regulated Brahmā and the Gods then departed, and Śiva resumed the Linga "

46 *Padma Purāna* 5 Sṣṭikhaṇḍa 17

47 *Vāmana Purāna*, Adh 6 93

48 Cf Kennedy, *op cit.*, pp. 298 ff

*Mahabhārata*

The Mahābhārata gives an interesting account in connection with the origin of the linga. Kṛṣṇa is described to have related to Yudhiṣṭhira "Brahmadeva once told Śankara not to create. Whereupon Śankara concealed himself under water for a long time. When therefore, there was no creation for such a long period, Brahmadeva created another Prajāpati who brought into existence a large number of beings. These beings, being afflicted with hunger, went to Prajāpati to devour him. He being afraid, went to Hiranyagarbha, who created two kinds of food for those beings and then they were quieted. After some time Mahādēva rose out of the water, and seeing that new beings had been created and were in a flourishing condition, he cut off his organ of generation as no more necessary, and it stuck into the ground. He then went away to perform austerities at the foot of the Mūjavant Mountain."<sup>49</sup>

*Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa gives an altogether different description of the version. It relates "The eighth Kalpa is known as the Linga Kalpa. Dharma was the Supreme Being. From Dharma was born desire (Kāma), and from Kāma (or on account of Kāma) the Linga divided itself threefold i.e. Pullinga (Male), Strīlinga (Female) and Kliba linga (Neutral sex). From the Pullinga was born Viṣṇu, from Strīlinga was born Indirā and from the third Śeṣa (Serpent). Later proceeds the story of the creation of the world through Brahmā etc."<sup>50</sup>

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE LINGA CULT

During the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇic periods we find that almost all the functionings of Śiva were attributed to the Linga. Besides the cult of the Linga had assumed different forms according to the nature of worshippers. It is proposed to deal here with the main aspects of the problem.

We have already observed that the cult of the Linga and Yonī as symbolising the generative and reproductive aspects of nature, had come into vogue during the proto-Indian period. Moreover both these elements were identified with the Supreme Being Śiva and Amma the mother Goddess. These aspects are represented in the Puranas and in Indian art also. The Puranas specifically state that all that is Pullinga (male sign) is Śiva and all that is *bhagalinga* (female sign) is Pārvatī.

Marshall has referred to several other curious stone discs, three of which were unearthed from the Bhur Mound at Taxila belonging to the Mauryan

49 Cf. Quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism* etc. Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV p. 61.

50 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, 3.4.25 Vs. 124 ff.



Period, one from inside the structure uncovered near the foot of Hathial (Taxila) and one at Kosam. A fragment of a similar object was recently found in course of excavation at Rajghat near Benares. Marshall describes that, the Hathial disc is of a polished sandstone 3½" in diameter adorned on the upper surface with concentric bands of cross and cable patterns and with four nude figures alternating with honey suckle designs engraved in relief around the central hole<sup>51</sup>. Recently Banerjea has described another instance. It is a partially broken reddish steatite circular disc about 2½" in diameter, found at Rajghat, which contains on the outer side of its top surface a very well-carved decorative design. The decoration consists of a palm tree with a horse by its side beyond which is a female figure holding a bird in her out stretched right hand, then follow in successive orders a long and short tailed animal, a crane, the goddess again with her hands this time stretched downwards, some object which is broken, a palm tree again, a bird, a circular disc, the goddess again with the circular disc near her left shoulders, then a winged mythical animal and lastly a crane with a crab-like object near its legs<sup>52</sup>.

Marshall observes that 'All things considered, however, a more reasonable and adequate explanation of these ring stones is to be found in the magical properties which they possess and in the universal awe in which they are held in India, whether as fetishes or as actually imbued with a divine spirit'<sup>53</sup>. Crooke gives some illustrations in this connection 'There is the Śrīgundi stone at Malabar Point near Bombay, which is supposed to purify those who crawl through it of sin or sickness. It was through this stone that Śivaji crept to purge himself of the murder of Afzal Khan, and others of the Maratha Peshwas followed his example. Again at Śatruñjaya, the hole in it being known as Mukta-dvara (door of absolution) through which any one who can creep is assured of happiness. These and other stones of the same class are definitely regarded as Yonis or female symbols of generation, the idea being that those who pass through them are as it were born again, while in the case of the smaller stones of the same form the mere passing of the hand or finger through them is an act of special virtue or significance'<sup>54</sup>.

Instances may be added. Banerjea points out that all the above discs can justifiably be regarded as cult objects comparable with the prehistoric ring stones on the one hand and the Cakras and the Yantras of the Śaktas the Viṣṇupaṭṭas of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Āyāpaṭas of the Jains on the other<sup>55</sup>.

The joint representation of the Linga and the Yonī can be very easily perceived in the case of all the installations of the Linga e.g. 'there is a spout-like projection from which the Pūjābhāga of the Śiva linga rises upwards

51 A. S. I. A. R., 1927 28 p. 66

53 Marshall *op cit* I p. 62

55 Banerjea, *op cit* p. 138

52 Banerjea *op cit*, p. 138

54 Crooke, *op cit* p. 322 ff

and which serves the purpose of *nālā* or drain for the easy outflow of water usually poured on the top of the emblem by the worshippers'

We have already detailed the account of the Lingodbhava of Śiva, when actually a quarrel for supremacy had arisen between Viṣṇu and Brahmā. This story is clearly invented for showing and enhancing the importance of Śiva and much more so, that of the Linga. The story of the Lingodbhava is also described in the legends of Mārkaṇḍeya, who was saved by Śiva from the clutches of Yama, and of Kaṁmappā. The former is of free and common occurrence in the Puranas. The latter may be briefly narrated as follows

'The hunter Tinnen, while chasing a wild boar one day, reached the banks of the river *Ponna mogaliar*. A small Śiva temple had been built near the spot. Tinnen, with another hunter Kadden visited this shrine. Living always in the forests, he knew nothing of religious matters, but his friend Kadden explained to him that the god head was incarnate in the Lingam. Tinnen felt within himself a burning devotion. Daily thereafter he offered the god water, flowers and even meat, since he knew not the rules of the cult. One day he saw the drops of blood flowing from the eye of the god. Young Tinnen thinking that wicked persons had broken it, tore out one of his own eyes to replace the one which Śiva had lost. Next day Tinnen saw drops of blood flowing from the other eye, so he wanted to cut out his only remaining one, with a knife. Both his hands were required for this operation, for, after losing his eye-sight he would not be able to find the eye-socket on the Linga in order to put his eye into it. He therefore put his sandalled foot on the spot and was just going to insert the knife into his own eye when Śiva coming out of the Linga, stayed his arm.'<sup>56</sup>

In accordance with the system of polarization prevalent amongst the Dravidians the idea of destruction and fertility were brought together in the case of the Linga also. A snake is often found enclosing the Linga in Hindu mythology.

The Linga and Serpent. In some southern temples two erect serpents have their heads together above the Linga or they may appear on either side of it as if in an attitude of worship. Monier Williams observes that he had seen images of serpents coiled round the symbol of the male organ of generation. In some cases five-headed snakes formed a canopy over the Linga.<sup>57</sup> In the temple of Viśveśvara in Benares, there is a coil of a serpent carved round one or two of the most conspicuous symbols of male generative energy.<sup>58</sup> It is also worth noting that the Phoenicians entwined the folds of a serpent around the cosmic egg.<sup>59</sup>

56 G. Jouveau—Dubreuil *Iconography of South India*, p. 16

57 Murray, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (1833) p. 327

58. *Ibid* p. 439

59 Scott, *Phallic Worship* p. 82

centre. It is interesting to note that some of the famous centres of the Linga worship (*Jyotir lingas*) are said to have been cemeteries originally. The Skanda P narrates that the following places were originally divine Smaśanas (*divya smaśana*) Mahakala vana Avimuktaka Ekamraka, Bhadrakala, Karavira forest Kolagiri, Kaśi, Prayaga Amareśvara Bharatha Kedara and Rudra mahālaya.<sup>73</sup>

It is worth noting that 'in Phoenicia in Greece and among the Etruscans pnaioi were often placed over the tombs'<sup>74</sup>

Tradition has it that fourteen crores of Bana lingas are found in eight different parts of the world one crore each in the Amara pati kṣetra Mahendra mountain Gaṇḍaki in Nepal Kanyakubja and Titharānya three crores each in Sngiri (Śrī-śaila) Linga-śaila and Kaligarta Besides it is said that the Gaṇḍaki supplies six varieties of linga stones which are called respectively, Śivanabha Aghora Sadyojata Vāmadeva Tatpuruṣa and Iśana—of which the Aghora alone is unfit for worship.<sup>75</sup>

The origin of the lingas in the Narmada is ascribed to the Asura Baṇa.<sup>76</sup>

The Lakṣmī Narayana-Samvada gives some interesting details in regard to the worship of the Linga. It is said that different lingas should be worshipped inside and outside the houses. Those used inside by householders should be made of gold or precious stones or quick silver or other similar material. There exist twenty two various kinds of such lingas. The Brahmin householders should use *lingas* made of rock-crystal Kṣatriyas of silver Vaisyas of bell metal Śudras of earth and Rakṣasas of gold. Further in the ritual of Pancayatana are mentioned various kinds of *lingas* which can be worshipped as the Narmadā or Bana linga an artificial linga a Paṇipīṭha linga an earthen linga one consisting of a jewel or one made of butter or one of gold silver or copper or one which representing life is drawn as it were from the heart.<sup>77</sup> We need not however enter into the other details.

It is interesting to note that the main philosophical tenets of the Linga vats centre around the cult of the Linga. Besides the small images of thus

73 Skanda P. *Atanti kṣetra Ma* (*Avanti khanda*) I 1 32. It should also be noted that the oft-quoted twelve Jyotir lingas are  
Saurāṣṭre Somanatham ca Śrī saile Mallikarjunam |  
Ujjayinyam Mahakalam Onkaram-amaleśvaram ||  
Paṭālyam Vaiṣṇanatham ca Dākṣiṇyam Bhimasankaram |  
Setubandhe tu Raresam Nagesam Darukavane ||  
Varanasyam tu Viśveśam Tryambakam Gautamīste |  
Himalaya tu Kedaram Ghṛṣṇesam tu Śivalaye ||  
Etanī Jyotir lingani ||

74 Heras, M.S. Cf. also Scott *Phallic Worship*

75. Oppert *Original Inhabitants of India* p 382 f

76 Ibid

77 Lakṣmī Narayana-Samvada Ch 18 Oppert *op cit* pp 382 ff

The Purāṇas have given details regarding the early devotees of the Linga  
 e.g. *The Traipuras*<sup>60</sup> Maṇuśūra,<sup>61</sup> Rāma (Dāśarathī),<sup>62</sup>  
 Early Devotees. . Bāna,<sup>63</sup> Śākalya (a Rājarsi),<sup>64</sup> Vasumata,<sup>65</sup> Kṛṣṇa,<sup>66</sup>  
 Sudhvarṇukha,<sup>67</sup> Kārttavīrya,<sup>68</sup> Viraketu,<sup>69</sup> Ravana and others

The most important places of Linga worship are Kedāreśvara linga on  
 the Himālaya, the Vaidyanātha at Deogarh (or Parali)  
 Important the Viśveśvara linga in Benares, the Mahākāla linga and  
 places. Amarēśvara linga in and near Ujjain in Malva, the  
 Onkara linga on the Narmadā, the Somēśvara linga at Somnāth in Surāstra,  
 the Tryambaka linga near Nāśik, the Bhīmāśankara linga near the source of  
 the Bhīmā in Mahārāstra, the Mahābalēśvara-linga at Gokarna in Kanara  
 the Mallikārjuna linga at Śrī-Śaila in Karnul, the Rāma linga at Ramēśvaram  
 The location of Gautamēśa linga and Nāge-a (Dārukāvana) is not known  
 It is said that 'the South of India has five holy lingas representing the five  
 elements earth, water, fire, wind and air (ākāśa) respectively, at Kāñchī or  
 Conjeeveram Jambhukeśvaram or Tiruvanaikaval between Trichinopoly and  
 Śrīrangam Tiruvannamalai or Arunācala, Kālahastī and Cidambaram'<sup>70</sup>

The Linga at Tiruvarur in Tanjore also claims to be the Ākāśalinga.  
 The Skānda P gives interesting information regarding the Kumārēśvara linga  
 at Khambayat (Stambha tirtha)<sup>71</sup>

Crooke has made some interesting observations in this connection 'The  
 old ritual directs that all who return from a funeral must  
 The Linga on touch the Lingam fire, cow dung, a grain of barley, a  
 burial ground grain of sesame and water, "all" as Prof Gubernatis  
 says, symbols of that fecundity which after the contact with a corpse might  
 have destroyed'<sup>72</sup>

The Linga as a symbol of fertility is installed on the Samadhi of saints  
 and it is also regularly worshipped To quote an instance the Linga on the  
 Samadhi of Puṇḍalīka who was responsible for the installation of the image  
 of Viṭṭhala at Paṇḍharpur, is worshipped by all the visitors to this pilgrim

60 *Skanda P Arunacala Ma* 10 57

61 *Ibid Uttarardha Adh* 19

62 Cf *Ramayana*—Rāma installs the Linga at Ramēśvaram.

63 *Matsya P*, 187 8

64 *Skanda P Prabhasa kṣetra Ma* 742

65 *Skanda P Prabhasa khaṇḍa* 11 21

66 *Mbh Drona P Adh* 202 101

67 *Skanda P Prabhasa kṣetra Ma* 15 16

68 *Ibid Avanti-khaṇḍa Caturāṣṭi Ma*, 11 23

69 *Ibid* 5 2 73 40

70 Cf Kittel *Linga Kārtus* pp 5 6 I A II p 15

71 *Skanda P Kaumarika khaṇḍa Adh*. 14

72 Crooke *op cit* II p 58.

## SOME SOURCES OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

B<sub>3</sub>

Dr ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D SC

The five notes following are intended to collate a number of texts which can be regarded as the original prescriptions or sanctions that underlie and serve to elucidate the corresponding narratives and representations in Buddhist literature and art

### 1 THE BUDDHA AS A PILLAR OF FIRE<sup>1</sup>

In the *Mahā Ummaga Jātaka* (J VI 330) a certain King Vedeha (the "Disembodied") has four great Pandits who are his teachers of Dhamma. He dreams a dream foretelling the birth of the Bodhisatta Mahosadha<sup>2</sup> ("Great Herb", or "Big Medicine"), who will be his fifth and greatest Counsellor. He sees in this dream four fires burning in the four corners of his courtyard, and then in its centre a flame like a firefly, which little flame forthwith over steps (*atīkamitvā*) the others, and extends through all the world-circles to the Brahmaloка. The king's four Pandits who interpret the dream explain that this fifth Branstock (*aggi khando*),<sup>3</sup> that sprang up as "an incomparable chariot pole" (*asama dhuro*)<sup>4</sup> and is "without its like" (*asadisso*) in the world of men and Gods betokens the coming of the fifth Teacher

This vision is closely related to the description of Brahma as the Burning Bush, Branstock or Tree of Life in *Maitri Up* VI 30 and VII 11 where he is manifested within you as the Single Fig (*eka aśvattha*) that embodies the Fiery Energy (*tejas*) of Fire, Sun and Spirit, and is called the One Awakener (*eka sambodhayati*) and everlasting support of the vision

1 See my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 1935, pls. II and III fig 10. It is possible that these types are representations in particular of the Bodhisatta Mahosadha, in any case they are entirely appropriate to the Buddha nature of all Bodhisattas.

2. Skr *oṣadhi* ("herb", "medicine") is literally 'support of light' (*oṣa*, from *uṣ* to burn or shine), the word itself thus imports the notion of a 'Burning Bush'. Cf Vedic *rukṣa* and Pali *rukṣha* (tree especially a sacred tree), from *Vruc*, to shine (see Gray in *JAOS* 60 367), and in the same connection *lux* (light) and *lucus* (grove), and the two senses of the one English word "beam".

3 *Khandha* = *skandha* "stem", "stock", "trunk", etc. rather than "mass", cf AV X. 7 38 *īkṣasya skandhaḥ*. Vedeha" is the embodied King of the world, his courtyard the four-cornered world, and the five fires are the four pillars of the Universe and its central axis, they correspond at the same time to the four elements and their quintessence

emblem, carved in ivory, gold or crystal are often worn as ornaments about the neck. The pious use them in prayers and often have them buried with them. Devotees of Śiva have it written on their foreheads in the form of a perpendicular mark. The maternal emblem is likewise a religious type, and the worshippers of Viṣṇu represent it on their forehead by a horizontal mark, with three short perpendicular lines<sup>78</sup>

"born in the lotus" (*jātaḥ... puṣkare*), told of in RV VII 33. 9-14,—he who *ā vo gacchāti* being, in fact, the Tathā āgata

## 2 THE KINDLING OF THE DRY WOOD

The prototype for the Buddha's victory in his dispute with the Jāṭila Kassapa whose sacrificial firewood would not burn, while the Buddha's pile takes fire immediately (*Mahavagga* I 20 13), is to be found in *Taittiriya Samhitā* II 5 8 "Nṛmedha and Paruchepa engaged in a theological discussion, 'Let us generate fire in the dry wood', they said, 'to see which of us the more of a Brahman' (*brahmīyān*) Nṛmedha spoke, he generated (only) smoke. Paruchepa spoke, he generated fire" If this had been embodied in a Jātaka, we should have found the Buddha saying "I, Bhikkhus, was then Paruchepa, and Nṛmedha was Kassapa"

## 3 THE FLAME ON A BUDDHA'S HEAD

Of the flame on a Buddha's head, so often represented in Sinhalese and Siamese images, the question is asked in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* (text p 467), "By reason of what gnosis (*jñāna*) is it that the Tathāgata's cranial protuberance (*mūrdhny uṣṇīṣa*) shines (*vibhati*)?" The answer to this is to be found in the *Lalitā Vistara* (Lefmann, p 3) where we are told that when the Buddha is in *saṃādhi*, "A ray, called the 'Ornament of the Light of Gnosis' (*jñānālokalankaram nāma rasmi*), proceeding from the opening in the cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa vivantarāt*), moves above his head" (*upariṣṭān mūrdnāh cacāra*) A more general explanation can be found in *Bhagavad Gītā* XIV 11, Where there is gnosis, light springs forth (*prakāśa upajāyate jñānam yada*) from the orifices of the body"

## 4 THE MĀRA DHARṢANA

The Bodhisatta's conflict with Māra,<sup>8</sup> immediately antecedent to the Great Awakening, of which the defect of Ahi nāga in the Jāṭila fire-temple is only another version, is a reflection of Indra's Vṛtra hatya One may observe first in connection with the episode of the 'temptation by the daughters of Māra' that the connection is already suggested by the fact that in the Vedic tradition the Dasa (Vṛtra, Namuci, etc.) is said to have used "women as weapons" (RV V 30 9) and again that Indra's foe is said to have "warred against the Bull with women" (RV X 27 10) It is, however, in connection with the fact that the Bodhisatta is deserted by

8. For other parallels see my *Lilā* in *JAOS* 61, 1911 p 100 As remarked by St. Thomas Aquinas, bodily refulgence is natural in a glorified body, but miraculous in a natural body (*Sum Theol* III 45 2)

<sup>9</sup> Māra, i.e. Mṛtyu Death, is sometimes also referred to by the Vedic name of Namuci (S. I 67), and is also described as "footless" (*apada*, A IV 434, M I 160), i.e., as a Serpent, an Ahi, cf SB I 6 3 9 Māra also appears as a hunting Nāgarāja (S. I 106)

(*dhiyalamba*) of Brahma, and this Fiery Energy awakens from its ground ascends and suspire, proceeding (*utkrāmya*) like smoke in a draught, branching forth in space, stem after stem (*skandhāt skandham*) This, again, reflects RV IV 6 where Agni, "the new born, self sprung (*svaruh*),<sup>4</sup> the early wake, uplifts his pillar of smoke, as it were a builder, and supports the sky", or as in X 45 7 "with his bright flame attains the sky Analogous to Vedeha's dream foretelling the birth of Mahosadha is Tisala's dream of a great Fire, of which "the tips of the quivering flames touched as it were, the very sky" (*ambaram va paśantam*, *Kalpa Sutra* 46)<sup>5</sup>

To return to Buddhist sources Dabba the Mallian, who had become an Arhat at the age of seven, and having thus already 'fulfilled his task' served as the major domo of a monastery, in charge of guests whenever any guests arrived late—and it often happened that guests arrived late on purpose, so as to be able to witness his 'marvellous exercise of power' (*iddhi paṭiharīyam*)—he used to 'become a flame (*tejo dhatum samapaṇṇivā*),<sup>6</sup> and by that light show them to their lodgings, sometimes he would make his finger flame, and walk in front, followed by the guests (*Vin* II 76) In the same way the Buddha himself is described as an 'expert in the element of fire (*tejo dhatum kusalo*) and we are told that in his conflict with Ahi nāga (the Vedic Ahi Vṛtra Namuci etc.) he becomes a flame' (*tejo dhatum samapaṇṇivapaṇṇali*) and so 'masters fire with fire' (*tejasa tejam paṇiyādiyeyyan Mahāvagga* I 15 6 7) An even more explicit prescription for the representations of the Buddha at Amaravati as a Pillar of Fire will be found in *Dīgha Nikāya* III 27 where the Buddha says that after the delivery of a discourse I became a flame (*tejo dhatum samapaṇṇivā*) and rose into the air to the height of seven palm trees, and produced and made a flame to burn and smoke to the height of another seven palms In this transfiguration the Buddha was surely assuming his own most 'authentic form' (*svarūpa*), and one cannot doubt but that the representations as a Pillar or Tree of Fire supported by a lotus are ultimately based on the unique and archetypal birth of Agni Vanaspati the thousand branched

4 *Dhur* has several pertinent senses as support pole of a chariot and that which is pertinent In Vedic ritual the chariot pole is very closely connected with Agni Identification of the Buddha with Agni (*uṣar budh* etc) and Indragṇi is discussed in my *Hinduism and Buddhism* 1943 The identification of both with the Axis Mundi has its equivalents in the Islamic *qulb* and Christian *caurois* doctrines.

5 *Svaruh* self sprung qualifies here the sacrificial post (*yupa*) made from a tree growing on its own roots, and planted as if in the same way growing naturally it is in the same way that Vedeha's newborn fire springs up of itself

6 See the reproduction in colour, from a Western Indian MS JISO 4 IV, 1935 plate facing p 130

7 Literally, 'becomes or enters into or coincides with the element of Fire' in other words, is "transfigured"



(*ekadhā bhavanti*, Kauṣ Up III 3, JUB IV 22 10, etc) It is already clear in what sense the Bodhisatta is "alone", and at the same time supported by a bodyguard - he has "collected his forces"

Indra, too, in his battle with Vṛtra was left all alone "All the Gods who were thy friends deserted (*ajahuh*) these, flying in terror from Vṛtra's snorting, so Indra, be thy friendship with the Maruts, in all these battles thou shalt be the victor" (RV VIII 96 7) It was "only when, shouting they had joined with Indra in the arduous battle they (the Maruts) won their sacrificial names" (RV I 97) The story is retold in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III 16 and 20, where it is further explained that "the Maruts are the Breaths (*prāṇaḥ*), the Maruts are his 'own men' (*svāpayah*), it was the Breaths that did not desert him (*tam nājahuh*)"

In us, that is to say, the Maruts are the Breaths, the sensitive powers of the soul In *divinus*, they are the commons (*viśaḥ*) in relation to Indra as Regnum (*kṣatra*) Indra, as remarked by Sayana on RV V 2 3 being "Agnī as Supreme Overlord" (*indrah paramaisvāryō gñiḥ*), cf RV V 3 1 and AB III 4 and IV 22 They are Indra's "own" and take their name from him who is the Breath (*prāṇa*), just as the *mdriyān*, as these powers are also called, take their name from him whose powers they are "He (the solar and immanent Indra) is just the Breath (*prana*), for it is he who leads forth (*pranayati*) all these children (*prajā*) These Breaths (*pranaḥ*) are his 'own' (*svāḥ*),<sup>12</sup> and when he 'sleeps' (*svapiti*), then these Breaths that are his 'own' unite with him (*apīyanti*), and that is why 'sleep' (*svapna*) is called metaphysically 'union with one's own' (*svāpyaya*) for they are then 'imbibed' (*tad āpitā bhavanti*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X 5 3 14 15)<sup>14</sup> So again in *Chāndogya Up* VI 8 1 "sleep is a 'coming into one's own' (*svapiti = svam āpīto bhavati*)"

12 In this connection it should be noted that *agga dvāra* (*Jataka* V 132 and 263-4), the doorway through which the Bodhisatta escapes, is by no means as some translators have suggested a side door, but the top-door i.e. roof plate of the domed house through which those depart who, like the Bodhisattas in these contexts, have the power of levitation and flight See further my "Symbolism of the Dome", *IHQ* XIV, 1938, Pālī *kammikā* *JAOS* 50 1930, "Eckstein", *Speculum* XIV, 1939 This *agga dvāra* is the architectural equivalent of the Sundoor through which one "escapes altogether"

13 A regiment of the Kings Own

14 The unification of the Breaths in the Breath is termed the 'all-obtaining in the Breath' (*prane sarvāpti* *Kauṣ Up* III 4) It is highly significant that this absorption of the faculties or powers of the soul is called a "potation." It is, in fact, Indra's "stimulating draught of Soma" (*apanta manyus somaḥ*, RV X. 89 5) the ritual imitations (*pratimanāni*) of the reality do not deceive him who must have, not what men drink here, but "what the Brahmans mean by Soma" (ib and X.85 4), i.e. the Breaths (*soma prāṇā iva*, *Maitrī Up* VI 35), in which one sacrifices metaphysically (*Āṅgī parokṣam juhōti* TS I 6 4 5 etc) See further my "Ātmavāna" in *HJAS* VI 1942.

the terrified Gods and fights his battle "alone" that a profounder parallel can be drawn

In the Māra dharṣaṇa (*Jātaka* I 72 f), as Māra's army is approaching we are told that the Great Person "sat there alone (*ekako*)" He considered, "This assembled host is putting forth its mighty effort and force against me who am all alone But these ten cardinal-virtues (*pāramīyo*) have long been unto me as a retinue whom I support (*puṭṭha paṇiṇasadiṣa*), and so, making them my shield, let me smite this host with the sword of cardinal virtue and shatter it by my own strength' The Great Person is "alone," and yet protected by a 'bodyguard' (*paṇiṇa*)<sup>1</sup> This is our clue, and we shall infer that this retinue really consists of the regenerate powers of the soul, assembled in *samādhi*<sup>10</sup>

Then ten *pāramīyo* correspond to the "skilful habits," or "functional virtuosities" (*kusalā dhamma*) of Mil 33 8, where they are five, but with their subdivisions many more than five we are told that "none of these will desert" (*na parthāyanti*) him who makes the first of them, right conduct (*sīlam*) the basis of all and that "composure" or "synthesis" (*samā dhi*) is their 'culmination' (*pamukha*) to which they all incline and tend, just as the rafters of a domed roof "rest together in" (*sam o saṭana*)<sup>11</sup> the roofplate (*kūḷa*) which is called their "top" (*aggam*),<sup>12</sup> or, again just as when a king goes into battle the divisions of his army "surround" (*anu paṇyāyeyyum*) him. This analogy, in turn derives from *Aitareya Aranyaka* III 21 (= ŚA VIII) where "the Breath (immanent solar Self) is a pillar and just as (in a domed building) all the other beams are composed (*samāhataḥ* = 'are in *samādhi*') in the king post (*śāla vanśa*), so in this Breath the powers (*indriyaṇi*) of eye ear, mind and voice, body and whole self are composed, in other words the Breath is the "agreement" or "conjunction" (*samyoga* AA II 1 5) of the powers and they are unified in it

10 The Adversary is sometimes described as *Abhūmatī* e.g. in RV III 51 3 where Indra is *abhiṃmatī han* The conflict is thus from the beginning, with Self will or egotism *abhiṃmāna ahamkāra*, Philo's *ostesis* or self affirmation

11 In the same way the Buddhist takes refuge (*saranam*) "in the Buddha as his resort The root is *sri*, and it is noteworthy that in the Brahmana contexts the powers of the soul (*prāṇaḥ indriyaṇi*) are said to resort (*sriyanti*) to the Breath and are described as its 'glories' (*śrīyah*) and that as the *indriyaṇi* are collectively *Indraṇi* so these glories are collectively *Śrī* the kingdom, the power and the glory of the true king in command of all his resources This is also the basis of the symbolism of divine and royal crowns and glories (*nimbus*), *Vāṇi* and its intensive *Vāṇi* implying both to lean against, converge towards and unite in and a being radiant Beams radiate from their common centre and one could express the whole idea in English by saying that the King is surrounded and supported by the beams of his glory just as the roofplate of a dome is surrounded and supported by a circle of ribs" which are also 'beams' The root plate is their 'pendant'."

(*ekadhā bhavanti*, Kauṣ Up III 3, JUB IV 22 10, etc) It is already clear in what sense the Bodhisatta is "alone", and at the same time supported by a bodyguard he has "collected his forces"

Indra, too, in his battle with Vṛtra was left all alone "All the Gods who were thy friends deserted (*ajāhuh*) these, flying in terror from Vṛtra's snorting, so Indra, be thy friendship with the Maruts, in all these battles thou shalt be the victor' (RV VIII 96 7) It was "only when, shouting, they had joined with Indra in the arduous battle they (the Maruts) won their sacrificial names" (RV I 97) The story is retold in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III 16 and 20 where it is further explained that "the Maruts are the Breaths (*prāṇāḥ*), the Maruts are his 'own men' (*svāpayah*), it was the Breaths that did not desert him (*tam nājahuh*)"

In us, that is to say, the Maruts are the Breaths the sensitive powers of the soul In *divinus*, they are the commons (*visaṃ*) in relation to Indra as Regnum (*kṣatra*) Indra as remarked by Sayana on RV V 2 3 being "Agni as Supreme Overlord" (*indrah paramaisvarya' gñih*), cf RV V 31 and AB III 4 and IV 22 They are Indra's "own" and take their name from him who is the Breath (*prāna*), just as the *indriyam*, as these powers are also called take their name from him whose powers they are. 'He (the solar and immanent Indra) is just the Breath (*prāna*), for it is he who leads forth (*pranayati*) all these children (*praja*) These Breaths (*prāṇāḥ*) are his 'own' (*svāḥ*),<sup>12</sup> and when he 'sleeps' (*svapiti*), then these Breaths that are his 'own' unite with him (*apīyanti*), and that is why 'sleep' (*svapna*) is called metaphysically 'union with one's own' (*svāpyaya*) for they are then 'imbibed' (*tad apita bhavanti Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X.5 3 14 15)<sup>13</sup> So again in *Chāndogya Up* VI 8 1 "sleep is a 'coming into one's own' (*svapiti = svam apito bhavati*)"

12 In this connection it should be noted that *agga dāra* (*Jataka* V 132 and 263-4), the doorway through which the Bodhisatta escapes, is by no means as some translators have suggested a side door but the 'top-door' i.e. roof plate of the domed house through which those depart who, like the Bodhisattas in these contexts, have the power of levitation and flight See further my 'Symbolism of the Dome', *IHQ* XIV, 1938 Pali *kāṇṭika* *JAOS* 50 1930, 'Eckstein, *Speculum* XIV, 1939 This *agga dāra* is the architectural equivalent of the Sundoor through which one 'escapes altogether

13 A regiment of the King's Own

14 The unification of the Breaths in the Breath is termed the 'all-obtaining in the Breath' (*prane sarvāpti* Kauṣ Up III 4) It is highly significant that this absorption of the faculties or powers of the soul is called a "potation" It is, in fact Indra's stimulating draught of Soma (*apanta manyus somaḥ*, RV X. 89 5) the ritual imitations (*pratimanāni*) of the reality do not deceive him who must have, not what men drink here but what the Brahmins mean by Soma' (*ib* and X.85 4), i.e. the Breaths (*soma prana iai Manu Up* VI 35), in which one sacrifices metaphysically (*tēsu parokṣam juhoti* TS I 6 4 5 etc) See further my 'Ātmavaśa in *HJAS* VI 1942.

This elaborate hermeneia (*nirukta*)<sup>15</sup> develops the connotations of "good al lies" (*svāpayaḥ*, *su* √ *āp*) in terms of *sva*, "own" combined (1) with *apī* √ *i*, to enter or merge into and (2) with *ā pā*, to drink in. What is, then asserted is that Indra, the solar and real Self that sees, hears, thinks, etc., in us (JUB I 28, 29, etc.) is only in full possession and command of his own militant powers when these are withdrawn from their objects and concentrated in himself.

This state of *continence*, self possession and composure (*svadhā*, *svasthātā*, *svatantram*, *svārā*, etc.) is often termed a "sleep" (*svapna*)<sup>16</sup>. The immanent person is said to be "asleep" when, reclaiming the functions of the Breaths, he is at rest in the heart and restrains (*grhnāti*) them, and he is then, as it were, a great King in full possession of all his powers (*Bṛhadāranyaka Up* II 1 17), this is a state of "self illumination", and being thus "asleep, he over steps (*atīkrāmati*) these worlds and the shapes (*rūpaṃ*) of Death" (*ib* IV 3 7, 14).

It is, then, just because he is "collected" and "composed," "asleep" or "in *samādhi*," or to express the same in other words is exhilarated by the draught of Soma, the sacrificial life blood of the outer self, that Indra, now undistracted by any aesthetic experience, can count upon the Maruts, the Breaths, as his own loyal subjects, and though otherwise "alone" is able to overcome *Vṛtra*, the Evil (*paṇman*), Death (*mṛtyu*). He is the Conqueror who has overcome himself. These conceptions of Royal Power and of Victory survive in the *Arthasāstra*, where "the whole of this science (of Kingly Rule) pertains to the victory over the powers of perception and action" (*Arthasāstra* I 6).

Let us repeat that it is in "sleep" that one overcomes the forms of Death, and that this deep "sleep" is not the irrational slumber of this world's waking consciousness, but the sleeplike and deathlike composure (*samādhi*) of the contemplative that is really a being wide awake, with the ever-open eyes of the Immortals who never sleep. These inverted values are well known, that our presently active life is a "dream" from which we shall some day awaken, and being awake shall seem to be asleep is a conception that occurs

15 Not to be confused either with an *etymology* in the narrow sense of the word or with a *punning* for the sake of punning explanations of this kind based on the hypothesis of intrinsic connections of sounds with meanings, are of great value in the exegesis of the connotations of a given term, see further my *Nirukta = Hermeneia* in *Vistabharati*, NS II, 1936.

16 This is by no means only an Indian conception. Cf. Hermes Trismegistus *Lib* I 1: "Once when in contemplation of the realities while my bodily powers of perception had been restrained (*kataschethen* implying also 'possession') by sleep,—yet not such sleep as that of men weighed down by repletion or by bodily weakness," and see also Plato *Republic* 476, 520, 521, *Timaeus* 52, 71, *Theaetetus* 158.

again and again throughout the metaphysical literature of the world<sup>17</sup> So in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (II 69 and III 41, 43) we find "When it is night for all beings then is the Controller (*samyamī*, i.e. of the sensitive powers) awake and when other beings are 'awake', then it is night for the silent sage who verily sees

Controlling the sensitive powers in their source (*indriyāni ādau nyamya*), do thou repulse the Evil One (*apamanam prajahi*) the Adversary in the shape of Desire (*kāmarūpam*) This last exhortation, which would be altogether in place in a Pālī Buddhist context, where Mara, Pāpimant is identified with Kamadeva, is addressed in fact by Krishna to Arjuna, i.e. Indra<sup>1</sup> The inverted senses of sleep and waking are also found in Buddhist contexts, the exhortation is generally to awaken from the sleep of this world's dreams (S I 4, *Itivuttaka* p 41, etc.), but we are also told that 'the Wake is asleep (*buddho soppati*), with him O Māra what hast thou to do?' (S I 107 The Bodhisatta's impassibility is his invulnerability)<sup>18</sup>

It has now, perhaps been sufficiently shown that Indra's and the Bodhisatta's conquests of Death are versions of one and the same Mythos that the Māra Dharṣaṇa is not in its Buddhist context a fanciful enhancement of the historical legend but a restatement of the essential and long known truth that he only can say Get these behind me Satan who having recollected himself in "sleep" or "contemplation" (or however we may ex

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17 This whole bad dream whatever it be whether of garlands or gold (RV VIII 47 5) The dream state, whether a man be asleep or awake consists in just this, the mistaking of appearance for the reality (Plato *Republic* 476)

Would that you too my son had passed out of yourself so that you might have seen not as men see dream figures in their sleep, but as one who is awake (Hermet Trismegistus, *Lib XIII* 4) So long as thou art engaged in the conversation of wakefulness, how wilt thou catch any scent of the conversation of sleep? God sent a drowsiness upon Omar he dreamed that a voice came to him from God his spirit heard that voice which is the origin of every cry and sound that, indeed is the Voice and the rest are echoes (Rumi, *Mathnawī* I 569, 2104 f)

Thy will be done' the primary meaning is, that we should be asleep to all things, unaware of time and shapes and creatures. The doctors say that being 'right asleep' [= Skr *susupta*] a man might sleep a hundred years, unaware of creatures, time or shapes, and yet aware of God at work within him So saith the soul in the Book of Love 'I sleep but my heart waketh. So when all creatures [= Skr *bhūtāni*] are asleep in thee, then mayest thou know what God is working in thee" (Meister Eckhart Pfeiffer pp 207, 208) The Indian deep sleep doctrine is nothing uniquely or peculiarly Indian<sup>1</sup>

See also P. Arunachalam "Luminous Sleep" in *Studies and Translations*, Colombo, 1937 and my "Recollected Indian and Platonic," *JAOS* Supplement 1944

18 The Buddha is to Māra's worldly eye asleep in his cell, but actually recollected mindful considering his rising up again or resurrection. The lion rest (*sīhasēyyam*), viz. lying on the right side with one foot above the other is actually the pose assumed in the Parinibbāna, and the context throws light on the distinction between this "death" and an "annihilation."

press it) is from the very fact of his emancipation from all predilections and disgusts, immune to every shape or weapon that Death can assume or wield

### 5 MĀRA'S HEADLESS TROOPS

M Hackin has reproduced a stucco sculpture from Haḍḍa, representing a demon, a member of Māra's army, in the act of raising his hands and removing his own head<sup>19</sup> Such a representation reflects the statements of the *Mahāvastu* (Senart, 2 410) that of Māra's troops 'some were headless trunks' (*anye aśīrṣakā kabandhāḥ*) and the *Lalita Vistara* (ch 21, Lefmann p 306) that "some were headless" (*kecid aśīrṣāḥ*) As shown above, the Mara Dharṣaṇa is itself a recension of Indra's older fight against Vṛtra-Namuci Mṛtyu, and that there are headless warriors in the host of the Gandharva Soma Rakṣasas who oppose him appears already in *Atharva Veda* IV 18 4 where unnamed Gods are invoked to lay low the "crestless and headless (*visikhān vigrivān*) sorcerers", and *Rgveda* VII 104 7 where Indra is invoked to "let the headless (*vigrivasah*) followers-of inert gods perish"<sup>20</sup>

19 J Hackin *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet* Paris 1931, p 9 and pl XIV

20 I have dealt with the subject of the other worldly magicians who can play fast and loose with their own heads more fully in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Indra and Namuci' in *Speculum* XIX, 1944 pp 104 25 and in "Headless Magicians, and an Act of Truth" to appear immediately in *JIOS* (1944)

# THE AGE OF THE ARTHASASTRA

By

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The age of the Arthaśāstra depends essentially on the relation of the work of Megasthenes to the Arthaśāstra. It is necessary therefore to examine this question in some detail with a view to ascertain how far the facts recorded by Megasthenes accord<sup>1</sup> with those reported in the Arthaśāstra.

There is no doubt that in many respects Megasthenes is adequately informed with regard to events in India, but there are undoubtedly numerous matters in which he shows himself not to be master of the situation. It is apparent from the combined evidence of Arrian, Diodorus, and Strabo that he did not appreciate the full importance of the village and of its officers. Nor does he show any appreciation that the essential ground of the desire for children lay in the honour paid to the dead through sacrifice. Further, in giving the philosophers the first place, the agriculturists the second, the warriors the fifth, and the counsellors of the king the seventh place, he expresses himself, not from the point of view of an Indian, but from the standpoint of a Hellene educated in philosophy. No Hindu would ever have placed the Kṣatriyas fifth, nor the royal counsellors seventh. Elsewhere he seems to generalise the habits which were practised in Brahmanical circles, as when he mentions the failure to drink wine.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps too his essential declaration that no Indian could be a slave is due to the same cause.<sup>3</sup>

In some cases he appears to introduce into India facts and customs which were familiar to him in other lands. This is one way to account for his assertion with regard to milestones, for which in India no word can be found; the idea may have been derived by him from Egypt or Persia.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand the matter would be one of personal observation; the statement that milestones existed would be very strange if made without justification; and it is more probable that the practice was known under Candragupta as a device introduced from Persia. At the same time it seems more probable that he borrowed the measurement of the land ascribed to India from the actual measurement made in Egypt to determine the boundaries of property which were obscured by the rising of the Nile.<sup>4</sup> There is no contemporary reference to any such measurement made in India, and the process was not one which was necessarily seen by a stranger. It is also possible that he borrowed from Egypt certain terminology with regard to officers charged with the

1. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 90-2.  
3. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 18-21.

2. Stein, *Megasthenes*, pp. 109 ff.  
4. Stein, *Megasthenes*, p. 22.

division of land. On the other hand his account of the board which dealt with the care of foreigners watching their mode of life escorting them out of the country, and sending their property to their relatives in case of their death was presumably a matter in which he was concerned officially.

In other respects we may ascribe misunderstanding to Megasthenes. He asserts that the horse and the elephant were reserved for the king clearly exaggerating the position. In other places he idealises.

In many respects the accounts of Megasthenes agree with the facts recorded in the Arthaśāstra. Megasthenes tells us of the royal way which is the merchant high road of Kautilya, the watering of the fields by canals but sluice doors are mentioned by neither<sup>5</sup> and the fruitfulness of India. Kautilya lays down the confluence of two streams as a good place for a fortification and authorises its formation as four sided. Megasthenes ascribes both these characteristics to Palimbothra. In other particulars they perhaps agree. They agree also in extolling the merits of the elephants of the Praçyas. They concur also in the height of the elephants and both record the use of foot fetters, pillars and female elephants to win over and tame the elephants. The means of healing these animals mentioned by Megasthenes are probably correctly given. The praise of polygamy and the anxiety to have children are fully attested by the Arthaśāstra. The many notices of the king are in part paralleled in Kautilya especially with regard to massage. There are some other details in which the accounts agree, but these are not numerous and they lack particularity. In certain matters there is a similarity between the account given by Megasthenes regarding the people of the land and the spies but the similarity is only general and lacks all precision. For the warriors on the other hand Megasthenes' account appears to be creditable. With regard to the Amatyas there is only a general similarity and in the account given of the self governing cities one can only work out a certain parallelism.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand there are great differences in many details. There is nothing in the Arthaśāstra regarding milestones but it is uncertain whether any value lies in this contrast. The measurement of water is not recorded in the Arthaśāstra which recognises the existence of private water streams. The Arthaśāstra forbids the use of wood for a fort and requires stone work, while the discoveries in 1899 revealed portions of the old wooden walls of the city described by Megasthenes<sup>7</sup>. Moreover Kautilya requires the formation of three moats round a fort while in the account of Megasthenes there is mention only of one, and there are differences in the measurements that are given. Building in stone is established in the Arthaśāstra, building in wood is hardly known.

5 Stein *Megasthenes* pp. 25-26

6 Stein, *Megasthenes* pp. 224-32 Cf. Timmer *Megasthenes* pp. 231-232.

7 Stein *Megasthenes* pp. 28-47



The Arthaśāstra has a longer list of masters and servants with regard to the elephants, and gives a longer list of the food which is suitable for them in comparison with the grass referred to by Megasthenes. Megasthenes alleges a monopoly of horses and of elephants in the king. The Arthaśāstra knows nothing of this, and we may legitimately ascribe the assertion to an error of Megasthenes.<sup>8</sup> Megasthenes again is far behind the Arthaśāstra in his account of the wealth of India in metals. The technical and chemical knowledge for working the metals partly for ornament, partly for use is distinctly greater in the Arthaśāstra. The management of the mines is reserved entirely to the state which gives concessions to private persons only at a rent or for a share in the produce. The many officers who were appointed to look after these questions mine controllers, controllers of useful metals, controllers of money, controllers of salt, controllers of gold, goldsmiths and the conditions legally developed of private use, justify the conclusion that a higher state of culture existed in the time of the Arthaśāstra than in the notices of Megasthenes.

In his account of the king Megasthenes omits all notice of such matters as the women carrying bows in the palace which reminds us of the practices of the classical drama. He is equally ignorant of the presence of eunuchs and of Kiratas.<sup>9</sup> They appear to have been appointed in later times to those tasks. The picture given in the Arthaśāstra is of a fuller and more imposing ceremony than is envisaged in Megasthenes. It is noteworthy also that the term Yavana or Yavani is not mentioned by Kauṭilya who if minister of Candragupta must have come into political connection with the Greeks.

Megasthenes records a shutting off of the king's road by means of cords. The Arthaśāstra on the other hand knows of other occasions and of other means of clearing the way for the king. Megasthenes also ascribes to the king the practice of going out to perform a sacrifice which is unknown to the Arthaśāstra and also to the law books. Megasthenes also in his account of the exit of the king gives a description of music being played and describes his escort of women and the punishment of death which is prescribed for those people who press forward towards them.<sup>10</sup>

Megasthenes recognises the devotion of the king to the decision of legal cases which are brought before him.<sup>11</sup> In this respect there is a marked distinction between him and Kauṭilya who gives no direct prescription for the activity of the king in deciding cases brought before him. Moreover he has left little time to engage in such occupations by reason of the programme of his daily toil. In any case Kauṭilya differs entirely from Megasthenes with regard to the manner in which he performs his duty. We may admit that the attention given to legal questions by the king according to Megasthenes

8. Frag XXXVI I

10. Stein *Megasthenes* pp 78-87

9. Stein *Megasthenes* pp 74-7

exceeds his usual *pradāna* but there is no doubt that the king in the Arthaśāstra makes a good deal less of his legal work

The Arthaśāstra treats of the king as practically doing little judicial work and it also draws a distinction between civil suits and police business. The Arthaśāstra distinguishes between three Dharmasthas and three Pradēśtr̥s while Megasthenes in his account of the matter follows rather the account given in the Dharmaśāstras and like them allows the king the duty of deciding causes himself. His position is much more simple and natural than the division of functions envisaged by the Arthaśāstra which implies a later date.<sup>12</sup>

The sources of income of the king are given by the Arthaśāstra in much greater detail than by Megasthenes. Megasthenes knows nothing of other taxes than a quarter which he asserts was paid by the owners of the whole land to the king and he maintains that the whole land belonged to the king.<sup>13</sup> The Arthaśāstra<sup>14</sup> shows a distinction between the lands assigned to the king and the land in general and suggests that there is no question of a consistent amount of taxation levied on the royal land though the usual sum was obviously a sixth.

The financial business of the state is differently conceived by Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra. Megasthenes contemplates a collegial management by guardians of the treasury; the Arthaśāstra has no proper treasurer though in a certain sense the Sannidhat̥r̥ serves for this purpose. Equally there are no Tamīai to be masters of the treasury in the Arthaśāstra. The Kośadhyakṣa is only subordinate to the Sannidhat̥r̥ and has only the rank of an inferior. The Samahat̥r̥ has no place as responsible for the handing out of treasure. The treatment of finance therefore differs essentially between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya; the system is fundamentally differently organised.

Megasthenes assigns liturgies of the hand workers to the king in accordance with the views of the Dharmaśāstras representing the practice of an older date than the system of taxes which is prescribed in the Arthaśāstra. Similarly Megasthenes shows little knowledge of the organisation of the army of the higher officers and of the administration which according to the Arthaśāstra was distinct from the leading of the troops. What is far more important however there is little sign in the Arthaśāstra of any organisation which would correspond to the control of the great forces necessarily to be assumed as required by Candragupta. It is interesting that we have no full account of the forces by Megasthenes but the account given by the Arthaśāstra is obviously incompatible with the magnitude of an empire.

12. Stein, *Megasthenes* pp. 79-80

13. Frag. I 44-6.

14. Stein *Megasthenes* pp. 127-9

There is a considerable distinction between the account of the higher officials given by Megasthenes and by the Arthaśāstra. Megasthenes appears to pass over the Mantrin of the king in personal concerns, or to reckon him with the other Mantrins. The whole system in the Arthaśāstra is more elaborate, there is a greater division of functions, as we have seen in the case of police officers and of those who decide civil causes. The functions in the Arthaśāstra are far more numerous and of varied character. What is remarkable is that Megasthenes contemplates the existence of boards of five in charge of various concerns in contrast to the single overseer who is assigned functions by Kauṭilya. The Agoranomoi<sup>15</sup> are rather controllers of land than market functionaries and possibly Megasthenes' account may have been influenced by Plato's Laws. The distinction between Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra on the collegiate principle is decidedly remarkable. Smith<sup>16</sup> considers that the Pentads are an official development of the unofficial Pañcāyat, but that is not probable, for a Pañcāyat is essentially a private institution which has specially the function of deciding disputed cases. It is important to note that in the Arthaśāstra there is no provision for the working together of any officials as a Synarchy. Any connection between officials does not exist.

The account of Megasthenes is noteworthy for the absence of a head of the six Pentads and the division into six groups of five<sup>17</sup>. Whereas the Arthaśāstra knows of a head of the town, the Nagaraka, with four subordinate Sthānikas, and a number of Gopas whose occupations were partly of a fiscal and partly of a political character. The distinction between the thirty magistrates of Megasthenes without any presiding body is remarkable. The functions of certain Pentads are not even recorded in the Arthaśāstra as in the assignment of places of stay, the burial of the dead of strangers and the imposition of tithes. There is no connection between the Nāgaraka and the overseer of weights, according to Megasthenes the fourth Pentad functioned within the body of officials of the state and the shrines were the common business of the Synarchy. It is clear that there is a complete difference in the structure of the magistracies between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, and the question does arise whether Megasthenes is trustworthy in reporting what he has seen. It is difficult to see the source from which he has taken his facts. There were five Astynomoi for the state and the Piraeus in Athens, but the parallelism is very far from close. There is a further consideration that there are six Pentads assigned to the military officials. He gives a Nauarch and five officials, an overseer over the cattle, and five officials, five officials over the foot over the horse over the chariots and over the elephants. His notice of a Nauarch is a remarkable fact, for there is not the

15 Stein *Megasthenes* pp 233 234 suggests agronomoi

16 *Ind Ant* XXXIV, (1905) 200

17 Stein *Megasthenes* pp 264 6

slightest hint in the Arthaśāstra of a fleet serving military purposes, nor a fleet commandant. He knows of course a Navadhyakṣa but he assigns to him fiscal and business activities only, he raises harbour duties charges for voyages, and ships, he watches the trade done in journeys and collects the monies due, his duty is to drive away pirate ships and ships passing enemy boundaries and those which disturb the peace in the harbours<sup>18</sup>. There is no question in the fourth century B.C. of shipping being known to India and the very restricted functions of the Navadhyakṣa are quite incompatible with sea fighting. Kauṭilya shows no affection for shipping though he knows of the use of ships as helping to bridge over a river.

The overseer in charge of cattle and the five officials assigned to him in Megasthenes' account are not known to the Arthaśāstra and the use of cattle for the purpose of carrying goods is apparently rare in war time. The occupations assigned to the officer in charge of cattle include oversight of musters which is a curious prescription. He had also charge of the men employed with regard to the horses a function assigned in the Arthaśāstra to the charge of the master of the cavalry. Similarly the care of the machines is put down by Kauṭilya to the Āyudhagaradhyakṣa and the bringing up of the machines was in the Arthaśāstra assigned to the charge of labourers who were under the command of the Prasastṛ. The practice of foraging was in the view of Megasthenes accompanied by music, which was obviously unsuited to a warlike undertaking. The collegiate command of the foot the horse the chariots and the elephants is quite unknown to Kauṭilya who has an overseer chiefly devoted to administrative duties for each section of the army. Megasthenes also appears to assign administrative functions to his Pentads but the numbers are somewhat suspicious and suggest that there may be some confusion in his mind. The same remark applies to his assertion that they made use of horses and elephants without bits<sup>19</sup>.

His account of the land workers, the herdsmen and the hunters differs in Megasthenes to a considerable extent from the descriptions given in the Arthaśāstra but there is nothing of essential importance. In the account of traders the Arthaśāstra proves the existence of an extensive handwork industry to some extent a great industry as is shown by the existence of merchants of established and considerable positions in comparison with the descriptions in Megasthenes. The spies are developed elaborately in the Arthaśāstra some groups are also found in Megasthenes but there are many more mentioned. According to Kauṭilya they come from all castes and occupations while Megasthenes treats the whole body as a single element of the state.

The description given by Megasthenes of religious practices is too meagre to allow of any real comparison with the Arthaśāstra. It is possible that the

18. Stein *Megasthenes* p. 267

19. Stein *Megasthenes* pp. 266-77

beginning of the rainy season when the new year of the Mauryas fell there were festivals at which prophecies were derived from signs or from the mouth of spiritual persons of which the Arthaśāstra tells us nothing. Megasthenes bears testimony also to a great meeting<sup>20</sup> but of this we have no information at all in the Arthaśāstra nor in other sources. Megasthenes also records nothing of the work of the three spiritual authorities Rtvij, Ācarya and Purohita the Purohita evidently played a political part and he had servants under him. It is suggested that Megasthenes tells us nothing of these three because he knew the king rather in the camp than in the palace, but the Purohita must have been present also in the camp<sup>21</sup>.

From these points of difference Stein concludes against the contemporaneity of the Arthaśāstra and of Megasthenes and he doubts the genuineness of the ascription of the Arthaśāstra to Candragupta's minister. The similarities which are visible between the two authorities depend on matters of a general character which are equally valid today. This can be said safely of the watering of the land of the double crops which it bears the position of the forts which depends on the condition of the surrounding ground the embrasures the carrying away of the water or the training of elephants or again polygamy or the eagerness for children the life of the king and the spies which is common form in oriental kingship. On the other hand the differences between Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra often touch on essential facts and point essentially to a distinction in date between the two authorities.

The arguments for asserting the similarity of the Arthaśāstra and of Megasthenes given by Mr N N Ghosh Lecturer in Ancient Indian History Allahabad University presented in the University of Allahabad Studies History Section 1942 do not seriously meet the points urged by Dr Stein. He cites the statements made by Megasthenes about the king leaving his palace to judge cases, and compares a passage of Kautilya<sup>22</sup> without noting that the passage refers only to the attitude of the king towards petitioners and not specifically to seekers after justice. Similarly Megasthenes' reference to the king having no time to sleep during the day doubtless agrees with the assertion of the Arthaśāstra according to which the whole of the day and the greater part of the night are fully occupied in various kinds of work but there is no similarity in the two passages. Again Megasthenes records the necessity of the king's changing his couch from time to time with a view to defeat plots against his life but Kautilya speaks of the mechanical contrivances of the royal house. He says that the king's residential palace<sup>23</sup> should have an elusive chamber provided with secret passages an underground chamber connected with many secret passages for exits and an upper story provided with a staircase hidden

20 Stein, *Megasthenes* pp 283-284

21 Stein, *Megasthenes* pp 286-90

Volume p 34

22 I 19

Cf Winternutz *Sir Asutosh Memorial*

in a wall. There is common to this account with that of Megasthenes only the desire to escape dangers to one's life. The details of the Arthaśāstra are lacking in Megasthenes. The king according to Megasthenes has women to care for his person but nothing is said of their being armed with bows as is duly recorded in the Arthaśāstra<sup>24</sup> a practice which appears to belong to a definitely later date.

Similarly Megasthenes devotes attention to elephants as kept by the king. He asserts that a private person may not keep either a horse or an elephant which is not repeated by Kauṭilya<sup>25</sup>. The Arthaśāstra has much information regarding elephants which agrees closely enough with Megasthenes but the facts are all commonplace and present no ground for believing in contemporaneity.

Megasthenes' account states also the existence of superintendents who enquire into births and deaths with a view not only to levy a tax but in order that births and deaths among high and low may not escape the cognisance of the government. Kauṭilya refers to the enquiries made by the Gopas and Sthanikas but he refers only to the fact of the number of tax payers a distinction of considerable importance.

Megasthenes' reference to superintendents of trade and commerce, and persons having charge of weights and measures and those who supervised the manufactured articles is said to have a corresponding picture in fuller detail in the Arthaśāstra (II 16 IV 2). Unfortunately the distinction between the account given by Megasthenes and that of the Arthaśāstra is very great and the fuller detail marks a definite distinction between the two accounts.

There is a like distinction between the account given by Megasthenes of a class of officers who collect taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as those of wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths and miners and the detailed account given by Kauṭilya of the arrangement of revenue collections under the Samahatṛ under whom a large number of superintendents worked to collect taxes from different sources. Megasthenes mentions mines, wood-cutters and the construction of roads but Kauṭilya gives a much fuller picture with details of mining operations and metallurgical manufactures under the superintendent of metals, called Lohadhyaṁkṣa. Here again the distinction in detail marks the differences between the two accounts<sup>26</sup>.

In like measure Kauṭilya adds details on the subject of irrigation not found in the records of Megasthenes. In connection with the water rates paid by the cultivators he speaks of four methods of irrigation and in other places adds another two. Similarly he describes a fine levied on those who let out the water or hinder its flow. The point here of course is that the details given

24 I 21

26 Stein *Megasthenes* pp. 260 ff

25 Stein *Megasthenes* pp. 58-60.

are foreign to Megasthenes and therefore are valueless for establishing the simultaneity of the accounts given by Megasthenes and in the Arthaśāstra.

It is suggested that book two of the Arthaśāstra, giving information about details of the administration gives a full picture of which a partial one is obtained in Megasthenes' account, presenting interesting points of similarity. But as a matter of fact that the points of similarity are few and far between. The Arthaśāstra names the Senāpati as capable of leading the four arms of the force—infantry, cavalry, elephants, and chariots. This corresponds to the division of Candragupta's forces given by Megasthenes. But the comparison is confined to the members of the army, which are common form in India, and Megasthenes expressly mentions that each section of the forces was in charge of a distinct Pentad of officers. The difference is essential. Megasthenes again mentions the admiralty, but the admiral has no real resemblance to Kauṭilya's Navadhyakṣa as we have already seen.

Megasthenes speaks of counsellors and assessors to deliberate on public affairs, and who form the smallest class but are most highly respected. This no doubt corresponds to the account given by Kauṭilya of the Mantrins and the Mantripariśad, but this is common to all accounts, and the fact that Kauṭilya knows a Mantrin specially attached to the person of the king, who is ignored by Megasthenes is passed over.

Megasthenes' failure to recognise the character of the Indian castes and his division of the people into seven classes (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) herdsmen and hunters (4) traders (5) warriors (6) overseers, (7) counsellors and assessors, are accepted by Mr Ghosh and it is suggested that it may be inspired by his knowledge of Egyptian conditions.

The security of life and property in the time of Candragupta is attested by Megasthenes' reference to theft as a very rare occurrence, and to houses and property being generally left unguarded. Kauṭilya's reference to the custom of some parts of the house being left open excluding the parts used by the women folk, has clearly nothing to do with the times of Candragupta. The familiarity of Megasthenes with the marriage dowry of a yoke of oxen<sup>27</sup> corresponds no doubt to the Arśa form of marriage mentioned by Kauṭilya, but there is no real parallelism between the two passages. Megasthenes treats the matter as a clear case of purchase and knows no other.

It is contended that Kauṭilya was a mere paṇḍit, as endless hair splitting discussions in the book show, and could not be a statesman as the traditional Kauṭilya was supposed to have been. Dr Winternitz<sup>28</sup> in special stresses the point that the book gives proof of the pedantry of a paṇḍit and he denies the hall mark of an experienced administrator or the stamp of a statesman. He does not believe that an Indian minister could have found time or inclination

27 Timmer *Megasthenes*, pp 270 271

28 Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1924

to write a formal treatise of this type. It is admitted that Kauṭilya was undoubtedly a paṇḍit, and that the style of the book is scholastic, conforming to the recognised literary form, and to the conventions determining this kind of composition. It is objected, however, that, as argued by Professor Jacobi, the book displays uncommon administrative experience such as one would expect in the work of a versatile and learned man. The point, however, is that there is no trace of a commanding intellect in the actual work before us. It is an interesting and valuable production, throwing light on many subjects, but there is no proof that it is the production of a man who has lived the active life which is assigned by tradition to Kauṭilya. There is no objection to an administrator having inclination or being able to find the time, to expound political theories in the light of administrative experience. Harṣa, Bhoja, and Kṛṣṇadevaraya are decidedly doubtful examples, but more value attaches to Frederick the Great, Mādhavacarya, Todarmal, Richelieu, Warren Hastings, Woodrow Wilson, Lenin and Churchill but the point is that the Arthaśāstra does not exhibit any qualities of the type indicated.

Professor Winternitz's argument that the Arthaśāstra contemplates merely a small state, and not the affairs of a great empire cannot be removed. Mr Ghosh argues that there are a number of passages in the text, which easily lend themselves to the interpretation that the author had in mind the policy of a big empire when he built up his theories. Unfortunately this is hardly borne out in the passages cited. In I 5 there is merely a reference to undisputed sovereignty in the world, and the same thing applies to a citation in I 6 and the reference in IX 1, to the extent of the territory of the Raja Cakravartin from the Himalayas in the north to the sea, does not contradict in the slightest the essential characteristics of the work, which deals with states of small size. That he had the conception of a large state is by no means proved by his recommendation of the number of members for the Mantripariṣad. He assigns the number to be as many as is required for the circumstances in opposition to Manu, Bṛhaspati and Ūśanas who recommend the number to be only 12, 16, and 20 respectively. That he contemplated a bigger state than that which Manu, Bṛhaspati and Ūśanas had in view may be clear, but it does not mean that he contemplated a large state and the view receives no additional support from the reference in I 15 to the assembly of Indra consisting of a thousand sages. We are certainly not carried beyond the magnitude of a comparatively small state. The suggestions in V 3 regarding the amounts payable to government servants are decidedly moderate. Dr Ghosh's view that the salaries are meant to be monthly depends on the interpretation of a passage which yields no satisfactory sense.<sup>29</sup>

Further, it is a matter of importance that there is no reference to Kauṭilya in the record of Megasthenes. It is of course true that Megasthenes is not

29 Mevū, *Das Arthaśāstra* p. 384, n. 5



preserved intact, but it is decidedly remarkable that he should be totally silent with regard to Kauṭilya, if he played the part which is ascribed to him by later Indian tradition. The silence of later Greek writers is a strong support for the view that nothing was said of Kauṭilya by Megasthenes and that he was not credited with an important part in the achievements of Candragupta. It is argued that Megasthenes did not write a history, but merely recorded certain conditions which specially interested him. He was not interested in individuals but in institutions, and apart from Candragupta, to whose court he was an accredited ambassador, he hardly spoke of any other prominent individual of the court or country. A parallel is cited in the failure of Yuan Chwang to mention in his records the name of Harṣa's court poet, Bānabhaṭṭa. But the parallelism is completely lacking. Yuan Chwang had no occasion whatever to mention Bānabhaṭṭa, who formed no part of the essential characteristics of Harṣa's work, and was not even a Buddhist.

Professor Hillebrandt<sup>30</sup> held the view that the work arose in the school of Kauṭilya in whose name the views of the alleged author are cited in opposition to other teachers. The expressions *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, and *neti Kauṭilyaḥ*, which are found about eighty times in the work suggest strongly that the Arthaśāstra could not have been a work of Kauṭilya himself, but must have arisen from a school of his. To this contention it is objected that the usage was a literary etiquette observed by ancient Indian writers, especially when they had to criticise the views of well known previous writers and to assert their own views. This is illustrated by a citation from Viśvarūpa, the great commentator on Yājñavalkya, but obviously his authority is of no value for the time of Kauṭilya. The same remark applies to a like assertion made by the commentator, Medhātithi, on the Manusmṛiti, I 4. A more relevant example is the fact that *iti Vātsyāyanaḥ* is used in the Kāmasūtra, and it is suggested that this remark is inserted by Vātsyāyana himself. It must be admitted that Vātsyāyana's actual authorship of the Kāmasūtra is open to grave doubt, nor is the date at all convincing.<sup>31</sup>

It is objected that reference to early authorities, which are made in the Arthaśāstra, would not have been inserted by a follower of the Kauṭilya school, long after the death of the founder, reproducing his doctrines which by that time had evidently gained general recognition. Who would have taken interest in exploded theories after Kauṭilya's theories had gained recognition for centuries? A follower of Kauṭilya who accepted him as his guru would not have referred to his opponents as *ācāryas*, for his only *ācārya* was his guru, while it was quite reasonable for Kauṭilya himself to refer to previous writers, whose theories he had to meet and explode, with the deference that he did and to call them *ācāryas*. It is to be feared that this is not a satisfactory conclusion.

30 *Das Kautiliyasāstra* p 10

31 *Keith Sanskrit Literature* pp 467 9

and we can set off against his view the opinion of Professor Jolly that the whole work is likely to have been composed by a single person, probably a paṇḍit belonging to a school of polity and law, who, to render a dry subject interesting, introduced debates in which the Pūrvapakṣa is put in the mouth of eminent sages, or of deities whose names he got from the Mahābhārata or from tradition, while the Uttarapakṣa or Siddhānta is reserved for Kauṭilya. It is of course possible that there were works called Arthaśāstra ascribed to sages of the past such as Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa, extracts from which have been found in the commentary on Yājñavalkya by Viśvarūpācārya.<sup>32</sup> But it must be regarded as frankly doubtful whether all the authors cited by the Arthaśāstra were actually writers of works and still more whether any of them were as old as the alleged date of Kauṭilya. The fact that the order of precedence to which he assigns the authors is probably not the chronological order, but was the order of merit determined by the convenience to the Arthaśāstra of discussion, is probably true enough, but there is not the slightest proof that the order was not possible to anyone except a great master. Nor is it at all convincing to claim that the remark that the contents of all previous masters have been compressed in the Arthaśāstra is proof that the Arthaśāstra was not the product of a school, because if it were the product of a school, it would in that case have appealed to the traditions of the school itself, and not to older teachers who would have been looked upon as the leaders of rival schools. All that the Arthaśāstra really says is that the doctrines set forth by previous authorities have been made into the Arthaśāstra by condensation.

That the opinions of Kauṭilya are only given at second hand is suggested by their discussion ascribed to Bhāradvaja in V. 6, the idea that Kauṭilya, writing at first hand, should have contrasted his view with that of Bhāradvaja is frankly improbable, not to say unconvincing. The fact appears to agree with the consideration that under the explanation of Apadeśa in the last book is cited one of Kauṭilya's sentences from which the *prima facie* conclusion is that Kauṭilya is quoted as an authority, not as an author.<sup>33</sup>

It is argued further in support of the theory of Kauṭilya's authorship that there is evidence of the anxiety of the author to strengthen the position of the king in the time of confusion and turmoil, and to make his king an accomplished, efficient, and virtuous ruler of men. Though he has followed the traditions of the Dharmaśāstras his book is free from their metaphysical speculations and is solely concerned with the science of polity and administration. In his anxiety to establish the undisputed authority of Candragupta he could not tolerate the existence of any other ruler but his king, resembling Richelieu in his anxiety to secure Louis XIV absolute sovereignty over France. Referring to the existence of republican states e.g., Kāmboja, Su

32. The passages are modern in type.

33. Meyer, *Das Arthaśāstra* p. 665 admits the fact.

rāṣṭra, Licchavika, Vṛjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kurupañcālas, he goes on to prescribe the means of destroying them by sowing seeds of dissension among them. The Arthaśāstra, however, does not contemplate the complete destruction of these tribes, and it is perfectly obvious that the author did not believe in the establishment of an undisputed sovereignty for his royal master.

The identity of Kauṭilya is maintained from the combined testimony of the Vāyu, Matsya, and Brahmanḍa Purāṇas, the date of which is suggested to be as early as 250 A.D. That date however is purely conjectural, and is probably a century at least too old. His name as Cāṇakya is attested about the middle of the fifth century A.D. in the Ceylonese Chronicle, the Mahāvamsa. The Ceylon tradition gives further particulars of Cāṇakya, that he was a learned Brahmin, a native of Takṣaśilā, devoted to his mother and implacable to his enemies, that he had a grudge against the last Nanda who had publicly insulted him, that he was the prime mover of the revolution against the Nandas and that he continued to be a minister of Candragupta long after his accession. It is suggested that Kauṭilya was the name he assumed as the best suited to the theme of his book, such assumed names were not new in Indian literature. What were the names like Vātavyādhi, Kauṇṇapa danta, or Piśuna of the previous writers mentioned in the Arthaśāstra but assumed names? It must however be admitted that this doctrine of assumed names accords much better with the theory of a school than with the actual writing of the text of the Arthaśāstra by Kauṭilya himself.

Another name of Kauṭilya as the servant of Candragupta is Viṣṇugupta, which was altered to Kauṭilya after his destruction of the line of Nanda according to the Mudrārākṣasa. The date of the Mudrārākṣasa is doubtful. It has been assigned to the time of Candragupta Vikramāditya, but that seems to be extremely improbable. It is, however, probably later than the Raghuvamśa of Kalidāsa, and has been variously ascribed to the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.<sup>24</sup> The value of the mention in the Purāṇas is far from great, for the contents thereof are very far from being verified day by day in the light of epigraphic evidence. The Pañcatantra is of course of no value as evidence. The same condition applies to the remarks of Kāmaṇḍaka, who really writes at second hand. It is important, however, to note that Daṇḍin in the Daśakumāracarita seems to use language, which recognises the existence of the Arthaśāstra but hardly its antiquity.

In opposition to these facts we have the statement in XV 1, that the Śāstra has been made by one, who from intolerance quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth ruled by the Nandas. A reference has also been seen in II 10, dealing with the mode of royal writs, which says that the rules have been made by Kauṭilya *narendrārtham*, the term Narendra has been used in the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa for Maurya and there

Narendra is another name for Candragupta<sup>35</sup> It must be admitted to be curious that Narendra should be found here in the Arthaśāstra for Candragupta, and that throughout the rest of the work he should be treated with absolute silence It is, to tell the truth, very difficult to accept this interpretation of Narendra Still less likely is it that in I 4, Gupta should stand for Candragupta

The name Kauṭilya which is doubtless chosen from the suitability of the meaning, has been read as Kauṭilya by T Gaṇapati Śāstrī, but it may be feared that this correction is of no great value The omission of all references to Pāṭaliputra, stressed by Professor Jolly, is decidedly singular, for it was the capital held by Candragupta, and it is at least remarkable that there was no context for it in the Arthaśāstra It is further to be considered that the Arthaśāstra has largely borrowed from the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and as the date of the latter is later than the third century A.D., the Arthaśāstra must have come after it This argument has no weight in the eyes of T Gaṇapati Śāstrī The date of Kauṭilya having been fixed as the fourth century B.C., it naturally follows that Yājñavalkya, from whom Kauṭilya has borrowed should be anterior to the latter Besides the word Yājñavalkya is mentioned in the Gargāḍigana from the sūtra of Pāṇini From this it is clear that Pāṇini knew of a Yājñavalkya born of the Yājñavalkya Gotra Probably the same Yājñavalkya was the author of the Smṛti and therefore earlier than Pāṇini It is to be feared that this evidence is inadequate Pāṇini clearly cannot be asserted to have known of a Yājñavalkya, and there is no probability that the Yājñavalkya Smṛti is earlier than the third century A.D.

The suggestion that the Arthasastra covering as it does several branches of human knowledge could not possibly be the production of a single author, but a composition by several authors is certainly not disproved by the assertion of Kāmaṇḍaka in the preface to his Nīṭisāra It is unnecessary to suppose that Kāmaṇḍaka whose date is certainly later than the first century B.C., is to be credited with more accurate and reliable knowledge about Kauṭilya than we of the present day Professor Jacobi suggests the similarity between the text and Jainism with special reference to the fact that the Nandīsūtra and the Anuyogadvārasūtra of the Jain canon mention the Kauṭilyas His view is that redaction of the Jain canon and of the Kauṭilya fell together Jainism declined after the period of the Nandas so that the canon must be dated about this period It is however, to be noted that the language of the Jain canon is far later than the time of the Nandas and, if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure We know the Jain tradition reveals early losses and we have no right to hold that in substance or in detail our present canon goes back to the fourth century B.C. Professor Jacobi further contends that there existed only three sys

tems of philosophy at the time of the Arthaśāstra. This is quite unfounded. The *Anvikṣikī* of the Arthaśāstra merely denotes logic and dialectics as methods of investigation, and not any metaphysical teaching like the *Adhyātma-vidyā*,<sup>36</sup> there is no assertion that it constituted the whole of philosophy. He is wrong also in denying that Jayanta is a Brahmanical god, for he is found in the *Sūtras* and the view that in the third century A.D. the worship of the *Aśvins* was antiquated totally lacks all evidence.

The evidence of the *Kāmaśāstra* does not tell in favour of the antiquity of the Arthaśāstra. But *Vātsyāyana* certainly knew the Arthaśāstra, and it is very probable that he took its form for the model of his work, which, like the Arthaśāstra, consists of prose discussions, with occasional verses, each chapter terminating with one or more śloka. In both the definitions and discussions are relieved by references to ancient tales and the device of quasi-debate between ancient sages. It has been suggested by Dr. Radhakumud Mookherji<sup>37</sup> that the author of the *Kāmaśāstra* may have been the same as that of the Arthaśāstra and of the *Nyayabhaṣya*, but this view has no probability whatever. That the *Kāmaśāstra* is much later than the Arthaśāstra which is claimed by Professor Jacoby,<sup>38</sup> is equally improbable. Professor Jolly has disposed of all his arguments in this regard, the knowledge of the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy, which is found in the *Kāmaśāstra*, is irrelevant, because the Arthaśāstra had no reason to mention the *Vaiśeṣika* if it considered it to be of no value. Again, if the *Kāmaśāstra* knows Greek astrology, the Arthaśāstra mentions (II. 24) two of the planets and disapproves (IX. 4) of the belief in the stars as influencing human destiny.

It must be noted also that in the Arthaśāstra (X. 2) are to be found two verses cited which apparently are taken from *Bhāsa*.<sup>39</sup> If the borrowing is genuine this would accord fully with a date not before three hundred A.D. for the Arthaśāstra. This would agree well enough with the absence of any early evidence of the existence of Caṇakya as a writer. The *Mahābhārata*, though it is elaborate in its account of kingly duties, does not mention him, and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, though it knows well Candragupta and the Mauryas, is equally silent with regard to him. On the other hand there is plenty of evidence from about four hundred A.D. of the existence of the Arthaśāstra, which was clearly made use of by the *Tantrakhyāyika*.<sup>40</sup> which perhaps falls about four hundred A.D.

There are other evidences of comparatively recent date of the Arthaśāstra. The geographical outlook is wide. It is very doubtful whether the

36 *Sri Asutosh Memorial Volume* p. 28

37 *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* pp. XIII, XIV

38 *Sitz. Ber. Akad.* 1911, pp. 961 f. 1912 pp. 841 ff. Vatsyayana's actual authorship is speculative.

39 Jolly, *Intr.* p. 10

40 Keith, *Sanskrit Literature* pp. 247 f.

term Cīna could have been used before the advent to power of the T'sin dynasty in China, and, if Vānāyū denotes Arabia as a source of horses,<sup>41</sup> it is unlikely that the term occurred in a work written under Candragupta; similarly the word Suvāṇakuḍya is unlikely in a period of that date. Moreover the Arthaśāstra presumes the existence of a considerable technical literature on such topics as agriculture, architecture, chemistry, mining, numerology, veterinary science, the treatment of trees, and the Sulbadhātuśāstra. In a case of alchemy we are told of the conversion of base metals into gold, and we find the use of the term *rasa* of mercury, which has hitherto not been traced further back than the Bower manuscript of the fourth century A.D., and in the works of Caraka and Suśruta, the text of which is of very dubious date. The impression of a late date, which is thus given, gains confirmation from the fact that alchemy appears clearly to have been imported into India and not to be of independent origin there. If we assume a Graeco-Syriac origin, we must tend to place derivation in the early centuries of the Christian era. With this accords well the use of the term *surangā* or *surungā* in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of "mine", if its source is, as is most probable, the Hellenistic Greek *syrinx*. The number of chemical substances mentioned in the Arthaśāstra is longer than that of Suśruta and other works, and it points to a later stage of the development of chemistry in the period of Kauṭīlya than at the time of Suśruta. This is an unquestioned fact, and the argument is that Suśruta dealt with only a small number of chemicals because his was a purely medical work, while the Arthaśāstra was not limited in scope, but concerned itself with a variety of subjects such as the manufacture of gold and other precious metals, the preparation of poison etc., and consequently refers to a good number of chemical substances. The fact however points rather to the posteriority of the Arthaśāstra.

There is also evidence of considerable literary knowledge. The chapter on Tantrayuktis presumes a long refinement in methods of exposition and of argument. *Ānvikṣikā* is defined to include Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata, which reflects the period when Sāṃkhya and Yoga had established themselves as distinct schools and when Lokāyata had won a place for itself. It is also certain that the use of technical grammatical terms in II 10, probably suggests knowledge of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The Arthaśāstra knows also other Arthaśāstras and Dharmasāstras as well as treaties on Vārtā and Daṇḍanīti. He shows full knowledge of writing attested by his rules regarding registration, the wording of documents including royal edicts and letters, and the use of written contracts, a point in which he differs distinctly from Megasthenes. He knows the main story of the Mahābhārata and the accounts of Rāvana and Daṇḍakya can be traced to the Rāmāyaṇa. Many of the authorities on Arthaśāstra which are cited are also recorded in the great epic.

41 Persia is suggested by Meyer, *Das Arthaśāstra*, p. XLVII, 212

where Kaṇika for instance appears as the counsellor of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and is given sayings for which parallels can be found in the Arthaśāstra. It is also recorded (III 7) that the Sūta and Māgadha of the Purāṇas are not to be confused with the ordinary Sūta and Māgadha, the product of mixed marriages, which is precisely the Purāṇic doctrine. The form of the work, which is asserted to include a Sūtra and a Bhāṣya according to a verse appended to the work, is not clearly defined and does not give any impression of early composition. The language has been alleged to be early. We must of course distinguish two different things, in the first place the presence in the text of a large number of unusual words and meanings in the second place the existence of forms which can really claim to be archaic. The former words are of course undeniable, but they have nothing to do with the antiquity of the text, they are merely the outcome of its unique character. The archaic nature of the forms in the second category is extremely doubtful. T. Gāṇapati Śastry<sup>42</sup> gives a list which includes the following forms, irregular genders, *rajjunā*, *arālā*, *amutram* *sarpanirmokam*, irregular formations as in *khādīrābhuh*, *anyatamasmin*, *pāraṇīkam* *mārgāyuka*, irregular compounds such as *jaradguḥ*, *daśaturakṣā* *ubhayatorātra*, *varṣārātra*, *paścāhna*, irregularity of mood as in *ādeyāt*, *ākāṅkṣeta*, *rdhyatām*, of form, as in *prasvāpayitvā* *nistārayitvā*, *apakrāntavyam*, *anuvāsita*, of usage as in *pratipatsyāmi*, *apavyayate*, and of syntax, as in *dapayet* with two accusatives. It is not necessary to examine the correctness of reading, or the possibility of finding defences, for example *dapayati* with two accusatives is found in the epic, *apavyayate* in *Manu* *pratipatsyāmi* has parallels *paścāhna* is analogical, there are other post Pāṇinian parallels for the other passages, while the form *ādeyāt* is probably like *pāraṇīka* a mere error of the text. In any case none of the passages can be said to be in any genuine sense of the word archaic.

With this position as regards language, the metrical condition of the work corresponds entirely. In the first place the śloka is handled with great care to make it conform to the developed rules of the metre, it is far more accurate than the śloka of the Mahābhārata, or of that of the Bṛhaddevatā, and this suggests that the śloka belongs to a later date than the time of Candragupta. In the second place we find seven triṣṭubh stanzas which are either of the Indravajra or the Upajāti type. This is extremely significant, for whether the verses are original or are merely quoted they establish this form of metre as existing at the time of the composition of the work. It is significant that the practice of assimilating the four verses of a triṣṭubh stanza is decidedly late. The Vedic texts and the early epic show clearly that the practice had not yet come into force, and, when it is found, it must be recognised that artistic canons had come to affect the metre. In accordance with this are the elaborate rules given in II 10 regarding the preparation of

edicts, which betray acquaintance with the principles of the *Ālankāraśāstra*. It should also be noted that we find an example (II 12) of the *Aupachanda-saka* metre, which though not an early form is found in the later epic.

It is impossible to find any support for an early date for the *Arthaśāstra* in the *Hindu Polity* of K P Jayaswal. In his opinion Megasthenes and the *Arthaśāstra* are contemporary. He accepts further the posteriority of Yājñavalkya to the *Arthaśāstra*, holding that his code is based for law proper mainly on the *Arthaśāstra*. The date of Yājñavalkya<sup>43</sup> is determined by the punishment provided for the forgery of coins, styled *Naṇaka*. The period would therefore be about 150 to 200 A.D. It must be remembered of course that the date of Yājñavalkya is uncertain, as the *Smṛti* is made up of various parts and a definite date is hard to assign.<sup>44</sup> But it is perfectly clear that Yājñavalkya is a late author, and the fact that he was used by the *Arthaśāstra* has been definitely proved by Professor Jolly. Professor Jolly's<sup>45</sup> evidence that the *Arthashastra* borrows from the *Smṛti* text and not vice versa, is conclusive evidence that the *Arthaśāstra* belongs to a comparatively late date.

Equally unavailing are the arguments urged by J Meyer.<sup>46</sup> The attraction to him of the supposition of the writing of the work by the Chancellor of Candragupta has blinded him to the facts of the case. He ignores the argument of Kalidas Nag<sup>47</sup> that the diplomacy of Kautilya is not that of a centralised empire, and does not show any trace of the centralisation of Candragupta's imperialism. Yet the fact was obvious to Mr Monahan<sup>48</sup> and drove him to the conclusion that the work must have been composed before the imperial system of Candragupta was started.

Nothing also is to be gained from the contentions of Dr Radhakumud Mookerji, who seeks veiled references to Candragupta in several passages of the *Arthaśāstra*, and argues that the verse added to the end of the book, asserting the conquest of the Nandas was due to the author, and is an essential part of the *Arthaśāstra*. It is the only passage which refers clearly to the defeat of the Nandas, and there is no reason to believe that it belongs to the original work. There is already a metrical conclusion.

B C J Timmer<sup>49</sup> has given a valuable comparison of the work of Megasthenes with the information which can be obtained from Indian texts. In her opinion the *Arthaśāstra* is not to be ascribed to the minister of Candragupta but is a compilation the theoretical production of a school. Owing

43 *Manu and Yajñavalkya*, pp 58-61

44 Losch, *Die Yajñavalkyasmṛti* pp XIV-XVII, LVII, LVIII

45 Z. D. M. G. LXVII 49 ff. Intr pp 12 ff

46 *Das Arthaśāstra* (1926).

47 *Les theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra* p 115

48 *Early History of Bengal*, p 31

49 *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* (1930)



to Megasthenes habit of mixing theory and fact his failure to grasp the essential facts and his lacking a general view, his work cannot be decisive in questions of history, though he often gives to us a realistic description of matters of which we have no accurate information from Indian sources. The reference in Diodorus to the terms on which the ground is cultivated by the people is due to a mistaken reading of Megasthenes text. He has confused the contract—workers on the domain and the agriculturalists who are in hereditary possession of the land. She rejects the view of Breloer that agriculture was socialised. As a matter of fact the views of Breloer,<sup>50</sup> who is in favour of the traditional ascription of the Arthaśāstra to Candragupta's chancellor lack any serious justification.

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50 *Kauṭalya Studien* I III (1927-34)

# HARṢA, THE AUTHOR OF THE AṆKA-YANTRA-CINTĀMAṆI & HIS RELATIVES

By

Prof G V DEVASTHALI, Nasik

No work of the name of the Anka yantra-cintāmaṇi (AYC) has been noticed by Aufrecht in his monumental work, though he has mentioned the Anka mantra-cintāmaṇi<sup>1</sup> whose author, however, is not noted, and the Anka grantha,<sup>2</sup> the Anka yantra vidhī<sup>3</sup> and the Mantroddhāra kośa<sup>4</sup> or simply Uddhāra kosa composed by Harṣa Dīkṣita or by Harṣa. It is not however, clear whether any one of these works is identical with our AYC or even whether Harṣa the author of these works is to be identified with our Harṣa. As little seems as yet to have been said about Harṣa, the author of the AYC, I propose in the following lines to record detailed information regarding this author and also try to arrive at a tolerably approximate date for him.

In the introductory verses of his AYC Harṣa has given some valuable information about himself which helps us a great deal in not only identifying him, but also in fixing his date with tolerable certainty. Though from the colophon<sup>5</sup> and also the chronogram<sup>6</sup> at the beginning of the only available<sup>7</sup> MS of this work, the name of the work seems to be AYC, yet from the third verse<sup>8</sup> in the introduction one may say that the name of the work could also be Anka yantra vyākṛti or Anka śloka yantra vyākṛti, while from the word uddhṛtya occurring in the same verse one may even be tempted to declare the name of the work as Anka yantroddhāra or simply the Yantroddhāra. Coming to the name of the author himself we find that according to the colophon<sup>9</sup> it is simply Harṣa while in one of the introductory verses

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1 Aufrecht, C. C. I p 4b

2 Loc. cit. Also cf. Op. cit., p 763b

3 Op. cit. III, p 2b and p 157b

4 Op. cit., III, p 93a and p 157b

5 The colophon is 'इति अङ्कयन्त्रचिन्तामणि. समाप्तः ।'

6 The chronogram is 'अथ अङ्कयन्त्रचिन्तामणि प्रारम्भः ।'

7 This is MS. No 2516 of The Bhadkamkar Collection of MSS presented by Prof H D Velankar—my Guru—to the Bombay University Library. In my Descriptive Catalogue this MS is described under No 1719.

8. The verse reads 'मूलागमेभ्य उद्धृत्य श्रीहर्षेण विभज्यते ।  
अङ्कात्मश्लोकयन्त्राणां व्याकृतिलक्षणमयम् ॥'

9 The colophon is 'इति हर्षकृत श्लोक व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।'

it is Śrī-Harṣa. But in view of the fact that our author prefixes the letter Śrī to the name of his great-grand father, Śrīdhara and calls him Śrī-Śrīdhara, it would not be wrong to conclude that the real name of our author is Harṣa rather than Śrī harṣa.

The introductory verses<sup>10</sup> of the AYC are important for our purpose since they give us the names of all the relatives of our author and thus help us to fix up his identity. From these verses we know that Śrīdhara, a resident of Mālava, was the great grand father of our author, and that the names of his grand father and father are Śivadāsa and Sūryadāsa respectively. We also learn that our author had two elder brothers whose names were Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa respectively. Little as this information would seem to be in itself it is yet of great importance to us, for it is this information that helps us to establish our author's identity as a younger brother of a great writer known as Rāma Vājapeyī who also in several of his works has stated his pedigree which is exactly identical with the one stated by our author<sup>11</sup>. It is, therefore, possible to reconstruct the genealogy and set forth full information about these relatives of Harṣa on the strength of the material supplied not only by himself but also by his brothers Rāmacandra and Bharata.

And we begin with the oldest ancestor that is mentioned by them. Harṣa tells us that in the land of Mālava there lived a very learned man named Śrīdhara. Rāmacandra, however, not satisfied with such a plain statement, has described his great grand father in rather glowing terms<sup>12</sup> in his Yantra prakāśa (YP), from where we learn that Śrīdhara was an adept in Vedic lore and that he belonged to the Vatsa Gotra. Next comes Śiva

10 The verses are —

देशे मालवसङ्गके समभवच्छ्रीधराख्य सुधी  
तत्सुतु शिवदास इत्युदभवत् सर्वत्र ( र. ङ ) चूडामणि ।  
तस्यापीह तनूज आभविदभूत् सम्राट् स सूर्योभिधौ-  
ष्येते शैवशिवेन चैव लयता यातोभिर्वत्सोपम ॥ १ ॥  
तस्य सूनव इहाखिलपूज्या रामलक्ष्मणमुखा कृतयागा ।  
बुद्धिमानजनि तेषु कनीयान् हर्षसङ्गम् ( र. उ ) दयत्सु सुविद्या ( र. घ ) ॥ २ ॥  
मूलगमेभ्य उद्धृत्य etc See note 8 above.

11 This will be clear from the various quotations from रामचन्द्र's works given below.

12. Read आसीन्मालवदेशमण्डनमणिः, श्रीधरीधराचार्य इ-  
त्युद्गीतोभुवने समाधिमयये साक्षात्कृतोमापति ।  
श्रीवत्सान्वयसागरामृतकर श्रुत्यन्धिकुम्भोद्भव  
कैवल्यावगतेरवासमनुजालम्बास्त्रिप्रत्यय ॥

—Peterson, Report IV, p. 55

dāsa who has been described by Harṣa as Sarvajña-cūḍāmaṇi ; and Rāmacandra also satisfies himself by declaring that he was a man of wide fame.

Sūryadāsa is the son of this Śivadāsa and the father of our author, who describes him as ātmavid and samrāt : Rāmacandra in his YP does not apply any epithet to his father, but in his Samarasāra adds one more viz. agnicit.<sup>13</sup> The significance of these epithets is very well explained by the author's younger brother, Bharata who states that Sūryadāsa was called Samrāt because he had performed the Vājapeya sacrifice including the Bṛhaspati sava : and agnicit, because he performed the Suvamaciti.<sup>14</sup>

Harṣa does not give us any clue to the name of his mother. But Rāmacandra very clearly states it to be Viśālākṣī.<sup>15</sup> He also calls himself Viśālākṣī-tanaya,<sup>16</sup> and even where he has called himself Vaiśālākṣeya we find the colophon calling him Viśālākṣī-sūnu.<sup>17</sup> There can, therefore, be no doubt that the name of Sūryadāsa's wife was Viśālākṣī and not Viśālākṣā.

Though we can't be sure as to the exact number of sons that Sūryadāsa had, we can trace at least four of them. Harṣa speaks of two elder brothers viz. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa : and we know of one more younger brother of Rāmacandra. This is Bharata who not only declares himself to be a younger of Rāmacandra, but also owns him as his Guru.<sup>18</sup> Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa,

13. Read : वंशे वत्समुनीश्वरस्य शिवदासाख्यादुरुह्यतितः

सम्राटमिचिदाप यस्य जनकः श्रीसूर्यदासो जनिम् ।

Eggeling, I. O. Cat., No. 3117

14. Read : ' यस्य जनकः सम्राट् बृहस्पतिसर्व ( र. व ) गर्भवाजपेययाजित्वात् ,  
अभिचित् सुवर्णचितिकारित्वात् श्रीसूर्यदासनाम् '

Eggeling, I. O. Cat., No. 3117

[The original बृहस्पतिसर्व given by Eggeling is for obvious reasons emended to बृहस्पतिसर्व ].

15. Read : यन्मातुर्यदासा दिशो दश विशालाक्ष्या बलक्ष्या व्यधात् I. O., No. 3117 ; 3154.

16. Read : कुर्वेय विशालाक्षीतनयो यन्त्रप्रकाशमहम् ॥ Peterson, Report IV, p. 55.

17. Read : तत्सूनु ( र. नू ) रामचन्द्रः स्वमतिविलसितेनादधात्रैमियस्यो  
विशालाक्षेय एतां सरणिमृजुतमामङ्गिरः सुनुयान् ॥ I. O., No. 427.

Here the colophon is : इति सम्राट्पत्यमिचित्सूर्यदासात्मजस्य विशालाक्षीसूनो रामचन्द्र-  
वाजपेयिनः कृतौ कर्मप्रदीपिकायां पद्धतौ वाजपेयकतुः समाप्तिमगन्तु । I. O., No. 427.

18. अभिवन्द्य रामचन्द्रं गुरुं तदुक्तस्वरग्रन्थम् ।

विगृणोमि यथाग्रजं तदपि ( र. मि ) हितार्थानुसारेण ॥

[The emendation of तदपि into तदमि is mine.]

ग्रन्थकृतो रामस्य भ्राता भरतो लघुर्विद्वान् ।

टीकापेनामकरोत् तद्ग्रन्थार्थप्रकाशिकां सरलाम् ॥

The introductory and the concluding verses of भरत's सरल on  
सरलसार. [I. O., No. 3117.]

Harṣa, and Bharata would therefore, appear to be the four sons of Sūryadāsa. Of these Rāma is certainly the eldest as it is implied in the statement of Harṣa. Presumably Bharata is the youngest not only because he is not taken note of by Harṣa, but also because he owns Rāmacandra as his Guru which shows that there is a great difference between the ages of these two brothers. Of the two that remain Lakṣmaṇa is admittedly the elder. The names of these brothers as given above are, therefore, also in the right order from the point of view of their ages.

Of these four sons only the eldest seems to have acquired a great name for himself by composing several works. Here again Harṣa simply tells us that all the sons of Sūryadāsa commanded great respect from all and had performed several sacrifices. But we can get a good deal more about Rāmacandra from his own works. Thus at the end of his YP he tells that he was an adept in both the mīmāṃsā, Pāṇini's grammar together with the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, Sāhitya, Sāmkhya, Nyāya, Purāṇa and the Vedāṅgas.<sup>19</sup> He has also several works to his credit Karma pradīpikā (KP),<sup>20</sup> Kuṇḍa nirmāṇa or Kuṇḍākr̥ti,<sup>21</sup> together with a big commentary, Samara sūtra<sup>22</sup> YP with a commentary,<sup>23</sup> Nāḍī prabhodha or Nāḍī prakāśa<sup>24</sup> and Kaṇḍa-cintamani<sup>25</sup> are the works which Ramacandra is known to have composed.

There is some variety about the name of Ramacandra. In YP he styles himself Kavi Ramacandra<sup>26</sup>. But commenting on the 8th verse of

- 19 Read मीमासाद्वयमूलया फणिवतिप्रोदीतभाष्यामृता-  
साराभ्युक्षितपाणिनीयधरणी साहित्यबीजोत्पत्त्या ।  
साख्यन्यायपुराणपञ्चवितया श्रीरामधीवीवुधा [ धीविषया ] \*  
वेदाङ्गादिफलैः सदुक्तिकुसुमैः को वा न सतोष्यते ॥

Peterson, Report IV p 57

श्रीरामधीवीवुधा seems to be the correct reading in view of the metaphor running through the whole verse.

20 This work consists of several sections, two of which have been noticed by Dr Eggeling in his India Office Catalogue under No 427 (the Vājaṇeya section) and No 446 (the Prāyaścitta section).

21 This is also otherwise called the Kuṇḍa maṇḍapa lakṣaṇa. Cf Prof Velankar BBRAS Cat of Sk and Pk Mss, p 140a. For another Ms see I O, No 3154.

22 See I O No 3117 where this work is accompanied by सरल, भरत's commentary on the same.

23 See Peterson, Report IV, pp 54-57 where are given copious extracts from the text as well as the commentary.

24 See Haraprasada Śāstri Cat of Nepal Mss p 198.

25 This work is mentioned by Dixit in his भारतीय ज्योति शास्त्र in a foot note on page 476.

26 Read यन्त्रप्रकाशस्य निजाहितस्य करोति टीका कविरामचन्द्र ।

Peterson, Report IV p 54

the same work he gives his name as Rāma only. Harṣa as we have already seen gives the name as mere Rama. But in the Prayaścitta section of his KP Rāmacandra styles himself agnicit,<sup>27</sup> while though in his Samarasara he calls himself mere Rāma,<sup>28</sup> his younger brother, Bharata, commenting on the work refers to him by the name Rāmacandra and also calls him Rāma Vājapeyī.<sup>29</sup> Thus the real name of the eldest son of Suryadasa would seem to be Rāmacandra shortened afterwards into Rāma, and again afterwards enlarged into the popular name Rāma Vājapeyī.

There are two more things worth noticing about this Rāma Vājapeyī. The first is that he was a resident of the Naimiṣa Aranya. This fact he has repeatedly stated in his works.<sup>30</sup> In this connection it must be noted that it was not he who was honoured at the court of king Rāmacandra of Ratnapura. A protégé of this king had once gone to the Naimiṣa aranya to celebrate the marriage ceremony of some relative of his. This protégé, named Jaṭāma and belonging to the Bhāradvaja gotra was a Rg Vedīn. It was he who requested Rāma Vājapeyī to compose a work on Kuṇḍa pad dhatu, in response to which was composed the Kuṇḍa nirmāna.<sup>31</sup> The next

27 Read कृत्वीमेताममिचिद्रामचन्द्र सूत्रैकार्षी नैमिषारण्यवास  
सम्राज श्रीसूर्यदासस्य सूनु प्रायश्चित्ते पद्धतिं सव्यधत्त ॥  
इत्यमिचिद्रामचन्द्रविरचिता प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति समाप्ता ॥ I O., No. 446.

28 स प्राज्यस्वरशास्त्रसारविचितिं रामो वसन्तैमिषे । I O No 3117

29 Read तत्र श्रीरामचन्द्रनामा ग्रन्थकृत् प्रारोपितग्रन्थ etc । अह रामवाजपेयी धार्मिकाणां  
etc. I O., No. 3117

30 e.g Read (i) कृत्वीमेताममिचिद्रामचन्द्र सूत्रैकार्षी नैमिषारण्यवास । The con-  
cluding verse of the प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका [I O., No 446]

(ii) स प्राज्यस्वरशास्त्रसारविचितिं रामो वसन्तैमिषे । The concluding  
verse of the समस्तार [I O., No 3117]

(iii) तेन प्रेरितो रामचन्द्रो नैमिषस्य कुण्डानामिमामाहिति निर्माणं व्यरचयत् ।  
Comm on one of the concluding verses of the कुण्डाकृति ।  
[I O., No 3154]

31 Read श्रीमदल्लपुराधिपेन महित श्रीरामचन्द्रेण यो  
भारद्वाजकुलाम्बुधेर्विधुरिव श्रीमञ्जटामद्विज ।  
बन्धूना परिणीतयेऽभ्युगतोऽसौ मालवो नैमिष  
तेनर्ग्वेदविदिरितेन रचिता रामेण कुण्डाहिति ॥

योऽयमहादानादिदात्रा रत्नपुराधीश्वरेण रामचन्द्रभूभुजा पूजितचरणो भारद्वाजमुनिकुलसमुद्रचन्द्रमा  
ऋग्वेदपारदृष्ट्वा मालवीयद्विजकुलमलबन्धुरक्षमदेव चतुर्वेदिपुनः श्रीमञ्जटानां दासचतुर्वेदी रत्नपुरानै-  
मिषारण्य निजबान्धवानामुद्गाहेन सहायासीत् तेन प्रेरितो रामचन्द्रो नैमिषस्य कुण्डानामिमामाहिति  
निर्माणं व्यरचयत् । [One of the concluding verses of the कुण्डाकृति and the author's  
commentary on the same I O., No 3154]

thing that we have to observe is that Śrī-Bhāratī is not the Guru but may perhaps be the Dikṣā-Guru of Rāma ; while his Guru's name is Hira-svāmin. Introducing the sixth verse of his YP Rāma tells us that in that verse he is paying obeisance to his Guru and stating the name of his mother ; and in the verse itself we find him paying obeisance not to Śrī-Bhāratī but to Hira-svāmin.<sup>32</sup> In the concluding verse of the YP., however, we find Rāma referring to Śrī-Bhāratī not as his Guru but in connection with the Dikṣā, so that one may be justified perhaps in concluding that Śrī-Bhāratī was his Dikṣa Guru only.<sup>33</sup>

The 8th verse in the YP. and the commentary<sup>34</sup> thereon have a peculiar interest attaching to them. There Rama tells us that the verse contains covertly the name of the author and gives us a clue to it. Following the clue as given in the commentary we find that the viśiṣṭa name thus obtained is अप्सरः प्रियराम ; and one is naturally inclined to ask as to what the exact significance of the epithet अप्सरः प्रिय might be. Does it mean that Apsaras was the name of his wife ? But we must leave this surmise here only for want of any further corroborative evidence.

Having thus put together all available information about Rāma Vājapeyin we now pass on to his younger brothers. Next in order to Rāma is Lakṣmaṇa about whom, however, our knowledge does not go beyond the mere name ; and that too we get from the solitary reference made to him by Harṣa in his AYC. There can, however, be no doubt that he is younger than Rāma and elder than Harṣa. About Bharata again we do not know much beyond the fact that he was very probably the youngest brother of Rāmacandra and that he was also his disciple.<sup>35</sup> This Bharata commented on the Samarasāra of his eldest brother, Rāma Vājapeyin. Harṣa, as we have seen above, stands between Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata so far age is concerned. So far he seems to have remained in complete oblivion, for though Harṣa is the name owned by several authors, yet none of these had been till now known as a descendant

32. Read : अयं गुहं प्रणमन् भक्त्या जनन्याय नाम प्रकाशयन् विकीर्षितं प्रतिजानीते ।

नत्वा हीरस्वामिनमनुग्रहात्तस्य लब्धविशदमतिः ।

कुर्वेऽयं विशालक्षीतनयो यन्त्रप्रकाशमहम् ॥ [Peterson, Reports IV, p. 55].

33. Read : शैवाजोऽपि च पर्यचाययदलं यदीक्षया श्रीगुरुस्

तत्तद्वैभवतो ममामलमती श्रीभारती भासते ॥ [Peterson, Report IV, p. 57].

34. Read : अङ्गैर्ज्ञातुं सद्रहस्यमप्सकाच्छीततां मनाक् ।

ज्ञात्वोरःसु चिरात् सद्भिः संसृज्यं प्रियमिच्छुभिः ॥

\* तेनात्र श्लोकस्य प्रथमपादायाक्षरेण द्वितीयापादद्वितीयाक्षरेण तृतीयपादतृतीयाक्षरेण चतुर्थपादस्य चतुर्थाक्षरेण पुनः पञ्चमाक्षरेण पुनस्तृतीयपादाक्षरेण पुनर्द्वितीयपादसप्तमाक्षरेण पुनराष्टमपादाष्टमाक्षरेण आत्मनो विशिष्टं नामोक्तम् । [Peterson, Report IV, p. 56].

35. See Note 18 above.

of the famous man of Mālava, Śrīdhara ; nor has any one bearing the name of Harṣa been as yet noticed as a brother of the famous Rāma Vājapeyīn. The same is true of the AYC of our Harṣa, for that also does not as yet seem to have been brought to light,

Having thus recorded a detailed account of Harṣa, the author of the AYC, his brothers and also his ancestors up to the great grand father let us now try to fix his date as far as possible. In this connection the statements of Rāma Vājapeyīn are highly useful to us. In two of his works Rāma has given us the date of their composition. Thus we know that he composed the Nāḍī prabodha in 1446 A.D.<sup>36</sup> while his Kuṇḍākṛtī, we are told was composed in 1450 A.D.<sup>37</sup> This work, as we have seen above, was composed by Rāma at the request of a protégé of King Rāmacandra of Ratnapura. Supposing therefore that he was only middle aged at the time we may assume that he must have been born some time about 1410 A.D., and if this assumption be accepted there would be little difficulty in concluding that our Harṣa, who is the third of the sons of Suryadasa in order of seniority, must have been born about 1415 A.D. At any rate since Rāma composed some of his works about the middle of the fifteenth century his younger also may safely be said to have flourished about the same period. We may, therefore, without much hesitation say that Harṣa must have lived and composed between 1415 and 1500 A.D.

We may now put together in the form of a genealogical tree all the information that we have got about Harṣa, the author of the AYC and his relatives as follows —

36 Read एकोनशतितियमिते.....विक्रमांकनृपात् ।

विहित प्रकरणमेतत् कविना रामेण नैमिषारण्ये ॥

[Prof Velankar, *BBRAS Catalogue of Sk and Pk Mss* p 132 where is also found some discussion regarding the date of the composition of the नाडीप्रबोध of रामचन्द्र ].

37 Read रसगगनतिथिप्रमाणवर्षे गतवति विक्रमभूमिपस्य कालात् ।

अनुविधिफलदायके मध्येन्यवृत्तिरियमस्तु मयार्पिता सुरेशे ॥

[Prof Velankar, *BBRAS Cat of Sk & Pk Mss*, p 140]



धीधर [ of वत्सगोत्र, a resident of मालवा ].

शिवदास

सूर्यदास [ आत्मविद्, सम्राट्, अमित्रिन् ].

( wife विशालाक्षी ).

- |   |         |                                  |                                   |
|---|---------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| रामचन्द्र [ कवि, वाजपेयिन् ].<br>( wife अप्सरस ? ); author of   | लक्ष्मण | हर्ष                             | भरत [ pupil of राम<br>वाजपेयिन् ] |
| 1 कर्मप्रदीपिका   |         | [ between<br>1415 & 1500 ]       | author of सरल,                    |
| 2 कुण्डनिर्माण (=कुण्डाकृति)<br>with टीका. composed in 1450 A. D.<br>at the request of a protege<br>of king रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर. |         | author of<br>अष्टयन्त्रचिन्तामणि | a commentary on<br>राम's समरसार.  |
| 3 समरसार  |         |                                  |                                   |
| 4 यन्त्रप्रकाश with टीका  |         |                                  |                                   |
| 5 नाडीप्रबोध (=नाडीप्रकाश)<br>composed in 1446.   |         |                                  |                                   |
| 6 करणचिन्तामणि;<br>pupil of हीरस्वामिन्.  |         |                                  |                                   |

## GUPTA SCULPTURES OF BENARES—A STUDY

By

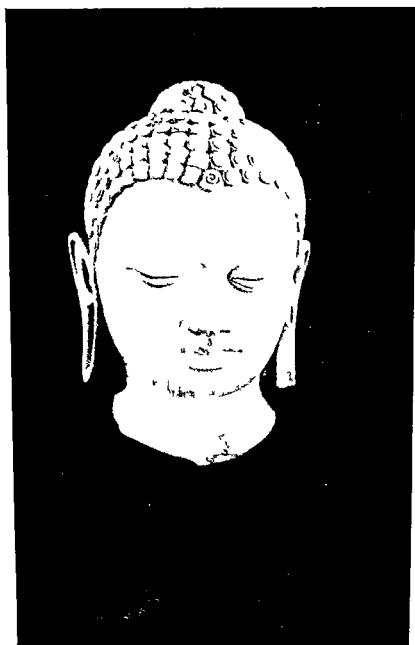
Mr ADRIS BANERJI, M.A

It was in the Gupta age that a separate school seems to have originated at Benares that city which lay so close to Chunar, where Aśoka had established his quarries. The germ was already there, but it required that factor—time to play its part. Why did Benares succeed so magnificently with the heritage of the Guptas when it failed to grasp what the Mauryas had offered? The answer is probably to be found in the fact that being devout Hindus the Guptas were probably able to attract more the cultured and the intelligentsia than the convert Aśoka whose immortal attempt for the propagation of the newly established Buddhist Church left the population cold except the masses with whom the social organization of Brahmanism had not taken such a deep rooted habit as is the case today. Secondly by the third century A.D. Benares had become a greater stronghold of Hindu faith a position it has been able to maintain through the succeeding ages in spite of sack, loot and plunder.

The first quarter of the 4th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> has left for us three images which enable us to appreciate the development of the school. Exactly when the Gupta school started in its immense career is a question which will remain a moot point for considerable time yet. As already stated it could not have commenced before the early Gupta emperors had been able to consolidate their gains in Oudh. Yet, exactly which emperor first annexed this territory to Gupta kingdom is another undecided point. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudragupta is more concerned with the northern and western princes. Therefore we may pardonably conclude that this may be the work of Chandragupta I. Nevertheless it would be natural to assume that it was not till the glorious conquests by the Indian Napoleon that arts and crafts came to receive *systematic patronage*. This is clear from the two earliest specimens of the Gupta school at Benares.<sup>2</sup> The earliest of these are B(b)1 in which we find a mixture of Kushana and new Gupta idioms. The next stage is reached in B(b)3 where the treatment of the body and what is more important the drapery is totally different from B(b)1 though the attempt at giving a three dimensional effect shows that Benares Sculptor had yet to free himself from the trammels of the great Kushana studios of Mathura. Next we come to the specimens which belong to the latter part of

1 Cf Sahní Catalogue p B(b) 1 A.R. ASI 1906-7, p XXVIII fig 2

2. B(b)1 and B(b)3



HEAD OF A BUDDHA IMAGE  
Sarnath Museum (c 500 A.D.)



DOOR JAMB OF THE GUPTA PERIOD SARNATH  
 Example of decorative sculpture in c. 500 AD at Benares

the 4th century A.D., and beginnings of the fifth century of the Christian era. These are B(b)4 to B(b)9 of the Sarnath Museum.

The definite contributions made by the images of the 4th century A.D. seem to be the gradual development of those iconographic and plastic peculiarities which herald the dawn of a new thought epoch in representation and portraiture. The gradual transition from Kushana tradition to new idioms of plastic expressions being more than discerned. Thus B(b)1 of the Sarnath Museum has completely broken itself away from the traditional method of representation of the Mathura school which we will find copied by the hybrid artists of Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan till 8th or 9th century A.D. The image is smaller and has more decided leanings towards uniaxial attitude. The legs are not placed apart a style of representation that we find as far as Kyzil.<sup>3</sup> The halo is typically Kushana. With the exception of the scallop design on the border, the whole surface is left plain. Yet, the mass, modelling, the flowing hems of the *sanghati* in depicting which the Scythian school of Mathura took the keenest delight are totally and significantly absent. On the other hand the edges of the *sanghati*, have been raised in no negligible fashion like the headless Bodhisattva figure of Lucknow Museum (O 71). Many people, due to its damaged condition forget to take this intruding factor in their consideration, but in fact here we have an opportunity of noticing the beginnings of the eggshell formation of the drapery, which becomes later on the most significant contribution of the Benares School in Gupta age, and enable us to determine the influences of the school. It is this factor which being present in the Lucknow Museum image of the Bodhisattva takes it to the period between the Kushanas and the Guptas.<sup>4</sup> Possibly the period in which the Benares school had commenced to influence the Mathura school.

The second most noteworthy contribution of these images is the total absence of the indications of the folds of the drapery either below the shoulder or on the whole body which were such favourite methods of Mathura artists in early Kushana times and even upto the Gupta period.<sup>5</sup> Here too, the Benares artists were able to free themselves from tradition and contributed new methods of depiction. The conception of a design is totally different from giving practical effect to it. In the heyday of its glory the style created new idiom, new plastic expressions original to itself, and extant

3 A von Le coq—*Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* London, 1928 sketch facing p 117

4 Elsewhere I had stated that O 71 belongs to the late Kushana period. I am glad to find that Dr J Ph Vogel has also ascribed it to the transition period. It may justly be regarded as a primitive of Jamalpur Buddha. *Sculpture de Mathura* Ars. Asiatica vol XV, pl XXIX p. 108. "Cette de dimensions colossales montre une transitions du style Kusana celin de l'epoque Gupta" Cf also p 37.

5 A feature shared in common with Patāliputra School.

evidences go to show that this diaphanous drapery without folds was transplanted in distant places like Ajanta (Cave No XIX) and Siam. The folds of the drapery was a Hellenistic heritage, and when Hellenistic art came in contact with Indian Buddhist it was already decadent. Therefore the Gupta artists did very well by doing away with it.

The third new factor in this image is the head which is totally different from the shaven-headed monkheads<sup>6</sup> of the Scythian art of Mathura or the silken wavy curls of the Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhara. Here also a new innovation was introduced but where this change took place at Muttra or Sarnath we are at a loss to explain. The primitives have yet to be found. Conventionalisation always dogs the footsteps of a mature art. The same was the case with the Scythian art of Mathura or shall we call it Indo-Scythian art to distinguish it from the Scythian art of Mongolia, South Russia etc. The innovation introduced here happens to have taken the form of screw-like curls turning to the right (*dakshinavaritta*) covering the whole head and the *ushnisha* (the protuberance of the skull). This particular feature no longer has the snail-like appearance found on Kushana images or the slight conical protuberance of the Mankuwar image. Inscribed specimens like B(b)3 of the Sarnath Museum play a great factor in determination of stylistic peculiarities which are so engrossing and vivid.

The beginnings of the fifth century of the Christian era heralded a new dawn. With gains consolidated and recognition of the military prowess of Pataliputra by neighbouring Scythian and Indian princelings, the subjugation of the former at a later date by the Sassanides and appearance of that formidable power which shook the Roman empire to its very foundations and took one Caesar prisoner gave that respite to Gupta monarchs which enabled them to make their time the classical age of Indian antiquity. Herein lies the difference between the Guptas and the Mauryas. The Mauryas rose over the charred remains of Persepolis and prostrate Iran while Guptas enjoyed their sovereignty while ancient Iran had again found its soul to take the lead in challenging a halt to the victorious Roman legions with various vicissitudes. The little Scythian princelings of Kabul, the Punjab, Sind, Mak

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6 Three varieties of depicting the head of Buddha or Bodhisattva have been found in the Indo-Scythian School of Muttra: (1) Completely shaven-headed as in Bala image and the Katra Bodhisattva. (2) In which the hair is not indicated at all but the area immediately above the forehead is left little elevated whose latest example is probably Mankuwar image. (3) In schematic waves not in curls but in several waves of incised crescent-shaped waves of lines. In Gupta period schematic curls probably came into vogue as logical development of this mode of representation. *A.R.A.S.* 1930-34 pt II pp 252 pls CXXI (a and b) CXXIII (a, b and c).

7 It is Coomaraswamy who coined the term Indo-Hellenistic. Cf *Catalogue of Ind. Collections Boston Museum of Fine Arts* Boston 1923 p 6 Pt I and III.

rān Turān, and Siestān (that is the ancient Śakastān) acting as buffer states between the Gupta and the Sassanide empires Paikuli and Allahabad were their charters of existence.<sup>8</sup>

B(b) 2, 4, 9, 10, and 21 of Sarnath Museum belong to early 5th century B(b) 4<sup>9</sup> and 9 are probably the best specimens to study the further development of the Gupta art at Benares For suave modelling gathering in strength with experience, and swagger in style they are remarkable, just as their lithe grace and calm and serene beauty The Gupta art has justly been praised for its vivid appreciation of form and pattern their poise and balance in repose But what has not been grasped is the development in the style of representation and simplification of design It was an abstract art Realism by illusion and faithful representation of nature as is found in occidental art cannot be expected here. Joined to a forcible plastic expression and under the magic of new forms they created of which any art in the world could have been proud of This is not high praise for the masters whose contribution in plastic production is in deed amazing Probably in an aeon such inspiration comes to a generation and when that inspiration is lost and men set themselves to copy when cannon throttles the life out of art then we realise that baroque has set in Yet it must not be forgotten that baroque and classic are indistinguishable Before we conclude, we would draw attention to certain other images which not being noticed in Sahnī's Catalogue are lost sight of in discussions

1 (63 E) A standing image of Buddha (Ht 6'3½") with a circular halo behind the head, completely lost Nose, lips forehead damaged, *ushmsha* missing Right and left forearms lost with edges of *sanghati* A tendency towards slimming is noticeable. Dowel and clamp marks suggestive of ancient repairs are found on the proper left side of the image This side seems to have been neatly cut with flat chisels for repair of the damaged parts, a feature it shares in common with certain images of the 6th century A.D Pedestal and major portion of fee missing

2 (150 E) Standing statue of Buddha in the *abhaya mudrā* (Ht. 3'11½') A circular halo at the back of which approximately one fourth is missing Halo decorations consist of —scallop at the extreme edge, followed by circular beads within groove (16 small beads to one spacer) Next foliage. Nose seems to have been damaged in ancient times and was repaired with iron dowel, which is still in position Eyes half shut (nas = āgra baddha dṛishṭi) Portions below ankle lost. Traces of red paint on both palms Found in the area to the east of the Main Shrine at Sarnath 5.8 below the surface in 1914 15

8 Banerji—Side-Lights on Later Kushanas. *I H Q* Vol. XIII pp 106-116 For Sassanian influence on art of N W India Cf Sir A Stein—*Archaeological Reconnaissances* London. 1937 p 61, pl. 1

9 Sahnī—*Catalogue* p 42 Cf also *A.R. A.S.I.* 1904 5 pl. XXIX fig d, for B(b) 4

3 (178 E) Fragment of a Buddha image consisting of head and torso. Legs arms lost. Drapery covers both the shoulders. An interesting feature of this image is the indication of the folds of the drapery with almost fading lines on the left shoulder blade and indication of the right end of the *sanghati* which was placed on the left shoulder. A feature which it shares with B(b) 10 and 81. Lower lips full and protruding upper lip triangular with an almost imperceptible bow like curve. Large eyes directed towards the tip of the nose and shaped like lotus petals. Eyebrows almost tangential but has a curve near the temples. Tip of nose damaged but repaired in ancient times. A small almost pointed projecting chin found in the area to the north of the Main Shrine at Sarnath 5' 2" below the surface<sup>10</sup>

All the heads have schematised curls covering even the *ushnisha* turning to the right, but no *urna*.

The images of the 5th century A.D. are distinguished by certain qualities a charming feature of the Benares school of Gupta art. Yet this school is not without its faults if they are judged as realistic art instead of abstract. Representation of the human figure is not always perfect. The first of these qualities is the pointed representation of the knee bone which show a peculiar appreciation of the principle of optic illusion. O 72 of the Lucknow Museum a Jain tirthankara colossus has stumpy knee joints. In the Benares School however we find the knee almost chiselled to a point which observed from a distance creates an illusion. The other important features are the palm in carving whose various lines and to give it a soft cushion like appearance the artist took considerable pains. The slender fingers with the matrix of the stone left uncut to give them an additional strength by forming a bridge with the back slab which possibly gave birth to the myth of webbed fingers (*galavaddhanguli*) in later times completes the picture. The mongoloid head with slight circular eyes bring out totally different features which were hitherto unknown and which will enable us later on to determine the interaction between different schools as well as to judge the influences of this school. The lips were always full and the lower one always represented as protruding. In one specimen (178 E) the upper lip is definitely triangular which in early 6th century A.D. came to have a bow like appearance.<sup>11</sup> It is generally assumed that the ears were elongated but this erroneous impression seems to have been created by ear rings (*kundalas*). In the Jain colossus at Lucknow Museum (O 72) the same treatment is met with whereas the large Buddha head (No 464) kept in the Buddhist gallery of the Provincial Museum (Lucknow) has all the features of the

10 Progress Report of the A.S.J. North Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments Lahore 1914 15 pp 16 18 and 19

11 This is not true of all cases see 178 E of Sarnath Museum. Banerji—*The Age of the Imperial Guptas* p 164. The eyes of 178 E as well as the eyebrow are similar to Head No 464 of Lucknow Museum which went as far as Siam.





HEAD OF ANOTHER BUDDHA IMAGE  
Sarnath (c 500 AD)

Benares School with the exception of mongoloid face and conventionalisation of ears. The head with large almond shaped eyes are daintily covered with screw like curls with a prominent protuberance of the skull. The large nose below the forehead has almost an aquiline appearance. The ridges of the eyebrows remind us of the sculptures in Siam and so the curved lips.<sup>12</sup>

The reign of Kumaragupta I truly represents the climax of the Gupta period.

Kumārāgupta succeeded to a brilliant heritage. Decline set in from his reign. Already the Sassanide monarchs had suffered decline at the hands of the Huns. Bactria, Kabul and the lower reaches of the Kabul river had been lost to them. In distant Europe the mightiest empire the ancient world had seen was made to totter by them. The same fate overtook the Guptas in India. The whole land was laid waste, the places of worship and the cities were looted and burnt, and the people carried into slavery. With them disappeared the only central authority in northern India like of which the country was never to see. The decline of the ancient world was complete. As in the case of the Roman and the Sassanide empires the Gupta empire did not completely disappear. Mortal blow, no doubt had been struck at its existence, but, the foundations were too well laid to allow it to decay so soon. It survived, disruption and disunity sapped it. Then it decayed and degenerated. Ultimately unnoticed by any it passed away amongst its decomposed etc surroundings. To this period of Kumaragupta belongs B(b)5 8 and 181<sup>13</sup> of the Sarnath Museum noticed by Sahnū. No account of the Gupta School at Benares would be complete without a discussion of B(b)181—the *Dharmma chakra—pravartitana-ratta Buddha bhajjaraka* Kṛṣṇa holding Govardhana found by late Mr V N Mehta I.C.S., at a place called Arah in Bakariya Kund within the municipal limits of Benares originally in the Sarnath Museum and now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan.<sup>14</sup> Particularly the last specimen is all the more important because so little is known of the Hindu sculpture at Benares during the Gupta period. It is doubtful whether we shall ever have the good fortune to find any other images as both Bakariya Kund and Rajghat are being built upon. particularly the Rajghat plateau has proved itself a desert as far as stone sculpture of the period is concerned.<sup>15</sup>

The image of Buddha in the attitude of preaching the first sermon at Sarnath is remarkable not so much for its aesthetic interests as much for certain

12 *Annual Report of the Provincial Museum Lucknow* for the year ending 31st March, 1940 p 1. 1. Compare this with 13 E of Sarnath Mus. This is also of red stone and shows that as late as 5th Century Muttra images continued to be dedicated at Sarnath. Cf also 113 E of Sarnath Museum which is also of red sand stone.

13 Sahnū—*Catalogue*, pp 42, 43 and 70 and pl X.

14 *A.R.A.S.I.* 19 26-27 to p 218 pl XLVI (d).

15 The image of Gaṅgā and Yamunā transferred to the Kala Bhavan belongs to the late Gupta period.

plastic and iconographic expressions found in it. In this we find Gautama-Buddha seated in *dhyanāsana* on lotus seat with the body covered by *sanghaṭṭi*, and hem of his *antaravāsaka* spread in fan ship design below the legs. His hands are held on the chest in the attitude of preaching<sup>16</sup>. The back slab has been converted into a throne but above the shoulders its shape becomes circular and on extreme upper edge we find two *vidyādhara*s flying in the sky. In fact this is a stele depicting a single incident of the Buddha's life and not merely a sculpture. Schematic curls cover his head and the protuberance of the skull, the most remarkable absentee being the *urnā*, a characteristic feature of the Gupta art at Benares. The success of the modelling which is suave lies in the bewitching smile, which has lit up the whole face, requires certain explanations. The broad chest is supposed to be that of lion and the waist slender which apart from creating an impression of youthful charm in the figure, has made possible the fine display of linear rhythm within a prescribed space. The half opened eyes<sup>17</sup> looking towards the tip of the nose suggest concentration which annihilates all consciousness of the moribund world<sup>18</sup>. Yet, that smile that infectious twitching of the facial muscles, a contradictory factor which being present indicates that the master who had found the way for the salvation of the soul<sup>19</sup> and because of his extreme consideration for the suffering beings had condescended to teach his path to the less fortunate even in this semi-conscious stage had not forgotten the frailties of the mankind. This smile would henceforth become the most characteristic feature of all Buddha images in the subsequent ages in undoubtedly a contradictory factor in this trance like stage. But the unknown master by this masterly stroke sums up the whole conception of Buddha, admirably<sup>20</sup>. I have noticed that many feel that the shortening of

16 This *mudra* may be compared with those found in Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhāra to realise how the artists there failed to give a proper representation to the position of the fingers. Cf. Nos. 4837 and 4838 of the Indian Mus. *M.A.S.I.* No 61 pl IV fig 2 and Majumdar's—*Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum* pt II, pl 1 and frontispiece.

17 In a note on a contribution by the late Rai Bahadur R. Chanda, Dr C. L. Fabri suggests that All the images of Buddha show him with eyes open (*A.R.A.S.I.* pt II, 1930-34 p 252 fn 3). This is not at all convincing. Dr Fabri's remarks may hold good about the images of the Indo-Hellenistic, Indo-Scythic and Indo-Afghan schools but in Gupta period all the images show eyes fixed to the tip of the nose. The present image shows that Dr Fabri is wrong in thinking that only sculptures depicting enlightenment and demise possess such eyes. The same tradition we find continued in Siamese sculpture.

18 *Sammā samadhi*.

19 The tathagata brethren he it is who doth cause a way to arise which had not risen before, who is the knower of a way who understands a way, who is skilful in a way. *'Samyutta Nikaya*.

20 He is neither a *deva* nor a *gandharva* nor a *yaksha* nor a man but merely a Buddha. Who was this Buddha? He was 'an unborn unoriginated, uncreated and unformed.' *Udāna VIII 3*.

the pedestal by which the back and the thighs in the seated posture have lost all realism is an intolerable incongruity. The average man forgets that this is a religious art—an art which was more concerned with form, an appreciation of the form that did not take into consideration the materialistic aspect of the object created.<sup>21</sup> It would have cost little to extend the breadth of the pedestal but the master thought and he was right in assuming that by this surrender to mundane realism he would be sacrificing his point of views of art and form.

The Kṛṣṇa holding Govardhana is a high relief, and is a Hindu mythological scene. This image is a fragment, because lower portion with ankles are missing. It is 8' 3" in ht. The palm of the left hand still adheres to the rock. The round head with heavy cheeks is about 1' 4" in height from head to chin, and 11" in breadth. The nose is missing and eyes are damaged but sufficient remains to show that they were shaped like lotus petals. The neck is short and thick and on the left shoulder are found some unruly locks of hair curved almost on sillehoutee (*kākapaksha*). The broad chest bears the wheel (*sudarsana chakra*), the *kaustubha manu* and tiger's nails.<sup>22</sup> Two other images of child Kṛṣṇa holding Mt. Govardhana to shield his friends from the wrath of Indra are known to us. One was found amongst the ruins of ancient Mathura and the other was found by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in the ruins of ancient Somapura Vihāra at Paharpur in Bengal. Certain differences in the iconographic details are noticeable in these three. The Paharpur Kṛṣṇa has four hands, two of which hold the rock, one of which the left upper hand uses merely a finger to indicate the superhuman prowess of the hero of the popular cult. In the Benares example we find the palm employed. In the Muttra example we find the same represent

21. The same was the case in Byzantine Art where forms were significant, a tradition which mediaeval Christian church art followed till the days of Giotto. Giotto was a master but he was capable of sacrificing form for drama to anecdote. In many respects Giotto went higher than Cimabue but often he aimed lower. Compare his Virgin and Child in the Accademia with that of Cimabue in the same gallery, and you will see how low his humanism could bring him. The coarse heaviness of the forms of that woman and her baby is unthinkable in Cimabue, for Cimabue had learnt from the Byzantines that the forms should be significant and not life-like. (Clive Bell Art Phoenix Library edition London 1928 pp. 145-147. Roger Fry however holds exactly opposite view. Cf. his *Vision and Design* London 1923 pp. 131-77. For one coloured reproduction of the painting see Carlo Carrà—*Giotto* London, 1924 pls. CXVI, CXVII. These paintings were kept in the Uffizi gallery before the war.) The aesthetics of Indian as well as all Asiatic art differs from the European. In these arts the forms played the main part and they need not be life-like. This was the attitude of Indian art till 5th century because after that the road declines, no mechanical copying without a soul. Art was throttled in preference to Canon.

22. This object is even now used by credulous mothers of northern India to ward off evil spirits from their children.

ation The finger is mentioned in the *Pauranic* texts In that pose the position of the Benares artists becomes untenable. The best explanation seems to be that the image belongs to the Gupta period and the mediæval iconographical details do not seem to have been so much developed in those days as we had occasions to notice at Bhumra and four avatāra reliefs found on the Rajghat Pillar of 157 G.E. in the reign of Buddhagupta which the writer found in the year 1941 The Gupta genius at Benares perceived, and rightly perceived too that to use the finger in a specimen remarkable for its volume and mass would not only be an incongruity but ludicrous, a plastic absurdity He was a worshipper of forms but unlike the craftsmen of later date he had not learnt to sacrifice plastic uniformity and equilibrium to canonical needs. He divined that to create an equilibrium a different treatment was necessary, and it is in this master stroke lies his greatness.<sup>23</sup> So remembering the mass overhead and below he used the palm and not a finger It is the only stone sculpture, which can be placed in the latter half of 5th Century A.D. found within the confines of ancient Vārmasī (Benares)

What strikes an observer most is the extreme grace and poise of the sculpture. The body is in equilibrium on a single leg. One feels instinctively that the centre of gravity is adequately supported It is not the figure of a grown up man but a child The muscles are therefore just so much in tension as is required in maintaining the perfect poise and balance in repose that the artist wanted to show Throughout it was his aim to preserve the simplicity of planes This method of representation is specially noticeable in the successful modelling of the torsal plane. In holding the heavy mass over the head the strained muscles have come out and these have been admirably carved in their different and several minor planes The soft fleshy belly including the navel has been delicately treated Three deft horizontal strokes were sufficient to delineate the contorted mass above the hip<sup>24</sup> Here we have in larger scale every muscle (which are not

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23 This possible explanation was suggested by my friend Miss Alice Boner

24 Here we may instinctively try to find the principle of contrasted masses amongst simple planes. But the treatment here is totally different from the treatment we find in the figure of Illyssos at Parthenon or Michael Angelos Day' in the tomb of Giuliano de Medici at Florence (Vernon Blake—*Relations in Art* London 1925 plates facing pp. 172 and 176) Not only the material was different but because the Indian artist belonged to a metaphysical and abstract school while the Greek tradition on Michael Angelo made him seek the concrete and faithfulness to nature by illusion What is more both were the products of their age Michael Angelo belonged to an age when A breath of martyrism had swept across the world since the fair days of Greece Self mortification had been preached. The athletic god like joy of life was no longer the ideal (Blake—*Op cit* pp 174 75) But these ideas had already been preached and were then being practised in India as mere traditions, when this unknown artist engaged to wrought this stone with his mallet and chisel Long long ago a prince who had renounced the luxury of



BODHISATTVA PADMAPANI  
Sarnath Museum (Bd) 1



STANDING IMAGE OF BUDDHA (178E)

Long face with shallow cheeks, sanghati covering both the shoulders and incised lines indicating its folds

portrayed according to the consistent oriental tradition<sup>25</sup>) as if bursting forth with superhuman energy, yet the feeling of ease with which the mount is held is abundantly made clear. A piece of cloth curled up like a rope passes just below the navel, and is found tied up in a knot, with one end flowing down over the left thigh. The rock is represented schematically by rectangular pieces in low relief<sup>26</sup>.

"The nimbus," says Coomaraswamy, "might have originated in Persia or India." "The disc of the gold placed behind the fire altar may well be the origin of the later *prabha maṇḍala* or *śīrasa cakra* (nimbus). Radiance is predicated of almost all the *devas* is indeed one of the root meanings of the word and most of them are connected with their origins with the Sun and Fire"<sup>27</sup>. In another place we are told by the same authority: "It is hard to believe that nimbus could have originated outside the classic area of Sun worship." The earliest examples of halo are found on the coins of Hermaios and Maues. Transformation of the idea of this divine radiance into stone played a distinguished role in the different schools of art in India. In the Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhara the halo was merely a circular disc behind the head which confirms Coomaraswamy's sug-

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the palace and had taught that it is not by punishing the body—by mortification of the flesh (practiced by the Jainas)—that one could obtain emancipation from the cycle of re-births the ultimate salvation of the soul (*nirvāṇa*). Since 600 B.C. that message had been reverberating in the Indian atmosphere, crossed all mountain and racial frontiers and had taken in its fold people belonging to differing ethnic social and philosophical elements. In India, it had gathered strength, was respected, declined, rose again to decline. But under the enlightened despotism of the Guptas was to find a catholic support, which was to be denied to it in the centuries that followed. Over and above all new religious revival (R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benares 1933 pp. 102-129) brought in the new philosophy of the Kṛṣṇa cult which taught men universal love, neither passionate nor violent, free from all ego, a more humane and tolerant outlook on life, freed from the grip of ever lasting fear of sin which would make possible a series of rebirths, a philosophy which taught to appreciate and to understand nature with their individual needs and shortcomings. How then shall the sculptors' language try to fit itself with the new mode of thought—the placid equilibrium of sane balanced life? A glance at the figure will convince us that we are in the presence of a new aesthetics in spite of the undoubted influence of the plastic traditions of the age just gone by. The eclecticism of the Kushanas. That this was the spirit pervading the whole Gupta age is clear from the lower portion of a female figure found in Mathura, M. 9 of the Indian Museum.

25 See Sumerian sculpture of Gudea's time, as well as Chinese sculpture of Wei Han period.

26 The same is the case with 29/1917, of Sarnath Museum in which we find the *lajrasana* represented. The bonding is noteworthy.

27 A. K. Coomaraswamy *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, pp. 22, 41, and 57. Cf. also Sir Aurel Stein *Zoroastrian divinities on Indo-Scythic Coins I A*, vol. xvii, pp. 89-98.



gestion regarding its possible origin. In Mathura school we find cusped marks of varying size, proportionate to the image introduced, indicating the rays. How the Scythians succeeded in giving this new orientation to the nimbus is a question which still remains uncertain. In the Sassanian art which is later than the Indo-Scythic, the rays were represented by arrows arranged in a circle around the head. The artists of Mathura never indulged in utilising the intermediate space between the head and the edge of the halo with various naturalistic motifs. This transition as has already been remarked serves a great deal in determining the transitional specimen between the Kushana and the Gupta periods.<sup>28</sup> Thus in B(b) 1 of Sarnath Museum we find a mixture of old Kushana traditions and new plastic idioms. Simplification of the drapery and general design is the keynote of the whole piece. Yet the central tassel which had such elegance in Bala's image together with the futile effort at creating a third dimensional effect by sketchy lines at the back similar to the Bodhisattva image of Bala and its debased copy (B a 2) with the plain halo merely consisting of conventionalised cusped marks show undoubtedly that in spite of the fact that the craftsman had succeeded in introducing many innovations admirably he had not the nerves to throw off obsolete Kushana practices to which he meaninglessly adhered to. It shows that in the fourth century the craftsmen of Benares had yet to find their soul and were leaning heavily on tradition which had already become ancient. It was soon after this, probably after Samudragupta's conquests that they carried further the process of simplification of the Buddha image which is not unique in Indian art but does credit to their original ideas to extreme. Unfortunately no specimen of this period has survived and we are suddenly thrown on B(b) 49 of Sarnath Museum. In the next paragraph we propose to investigate the question of Gupta halos more closely.

B(b) 4 of Sarnath Museum has a large Gupta halo which were found broken into several fragments and have been recently repaired. It consists of almost indistinguishable scallops at the border followed by circle of plain beads<sup>29</sup> (9 small beads to one spacer) on a slightly raised plane hollowed out at the centre. The next band consists of ornamented stalks<sup>30</sup> with square rosettes at regular intervals which is followed by foliage. B(b) 256 of

28. The fragment of a red sandstone halo with larger scallops than Bala image probably indicates the dedication of another image other than the only one we know.

29. This motif continues throughout Gupta period. Many people call it bud and reel border which is a mistake. For reels see Indo-Bactrian issues of Eukratides and Heliodorus for this cf V. A. Smith *cat. of coins in Ind Mus* vol. 1, pt. II Nos 5 & 7 pl. III fig. 1 see also (g) 25 of Sarnath Museum.

30. The stalk is not found on any early halo but occurs on 22E found in 1914-15 which was dedicated in the reign of Kumaragupta II. It first occurs on the umbrella of Bala image of 81 A.D. But rosettes are circular in this instance.

Sarnath Museum is probably the best fragment as far as nimbus or halo is concerned. It belonged as the surviving fragments show to a fairly large sized image of the master, probably bigger than B(b) 4. Its various decorative elements are almost the same as those of 38 E which belongs to late 5th century, if not 6th and has typical smile like B(b) 181 of Sarnath Museum and S 34 of the Indian Museum Calcutta. The bead border had 9 beads to one spacer bead. But the representation of the foliage is delightful. The style of carving is similar to D(1) 123 of Sarnath Museum. It may also be compared with D(g) 10, 12 and an unnumbered capital as survival of this particular style. 38E<sup>31</sup> is an image of standing Buddha with a broad smile on his face. The smile we first meet with in B(b) 181 of Sarnath Museum has broadened here and would be used *ad museum* in the following centuries. If however we consider B(b) 49, 63 E, 150 E, 178 E, 110 E, 151 E we find that they have all grave faces. These are the earliest attempts of representing the perfectly enlightened one. It is therefore deducible that the smile was added at a later date when the iconography of the Buddha image had made sufficient progress. The halo or nimbus of 38 E, has scallops at the border. A circle of beads within raised edges (11 small beads to one spacer) followed by foliage depicting Champaka flowers. The circle of beads are again repeated this time consisting of 11 small beads to one spacer. This is an additional evidence that this image is closer in date to B(b) 181 in which also we find that the circle of bead and spacer repeated twice.

Before however we go to consider image no B(b) 181, we have to discuss B(b) 9 belonging to the earlier part of 5th century A.D., because it shows a new type of treating the back slab or the halo. In this image the halo has been converted into a back slab ellipsoid in shape from which the main figure stands out in high relief. As decorations we have almost indistinguishable scallops at the border within slightly raised edges circle of beads consisting of 13 beads to one spacer<sup>32</sup>. This conversion a new factor in Gupta art opened unlimited possibilities to the craftsmen and ultimately the halo lost almost all its original significance. At first we have two distinct types of back slabs from this conversion. One is ellipsoid as has already been noted and other is a rectangular piece with a circular top with little or no decorations and is generally used with a standing image of Buddha e.g. the images dedicated in G E (expired) 154 and 157 by Abhaya mitra. The beginning of this type is S 34 of Indian Museum Calcutta. The next stage of development is reached in B(b) 181 in which the backslab is converted into a makeshift throne with a semi-circular halo above the

31. The E numberings are excavation numbers of the year 1914-15 and imply that they were found to the east of the Main Shrine at Sarnath.

32. Compare with B(b) 6, 20, 22 and 149E.

throne. This motif became very favourite with the artists of later ages and ultimately the circular halo is completely lost in typical thrones of the baroque period. The halo or nimbus of B(b) 181 of Sarnath Museum contains at first insignificant scallops, then a circle of beads (11 small beads to one spacer,) foliage with blue (?) and red lotuses then again the bead border repeated (11 beads to one spacer). The throne is upto the height of the shoulders. Two crocodile (*makara*) heads emerging from foliage surmount the ends of the horizontal bars which are supported by rampant leopards (*vyalakas*) with long wavy tails<sup>33</sup>

In another direction the type of B(b) 181 was one of the everlasting contributions made by the Gupta school at Benares. This is the beginning of those brilliant series in Benares and in Eastern India which has come to be known as the 'single incident images which partake the character of a bas relief'. "They are images of the Master, but at the same time, they represent particular incidents in the life of the Master. In the older schools we are familiar with such incidents in regular bas-reliefs, while there are also images of the Buddha or of the various Bodhisattvas. So far as our knowledge goes no images have been discovered in India belonging to the earlier schools which represents a particular incident in the life of Buddha. These images are really a transformation of the bas-reliefs. In the Gandhara and Mathura Schools, there is a tendency to represent Buddha as being larger in size comparatively, than other human or divine beings. This tendency is also noticeable in some bas-reliefs of the Benares School. In the latter, this particular tendency, transforms the Main figure into an image and makes the specimen lose the general characteristics of a bas relief. The adjuncts necessary to represent a particular incident of the master's life are then depicted either on the pedestal or on the backslab of the images. The introduction of this new class of images is therefore, one of the peculiar characteristics of the Gupta sculpture."<sup>34</sup> This transformation became a permanent feature of later arts. The larger size of the Buddha image referred to by late Mr R. D. Banerji is an interesting Asiatic custom and is traceable to Iran, Assyria, Babylon and Sumer. In every one of these countries the divine kings were given disproportionate size to defeated foes and subjects. Any Iranian reliefs such as we find at Naksh-e Rostam, Naksh-e Rostam etc may be consulted. The statues and reliefs found by Layard in Ashur will also bear me out. We may also refer to the lime stone slabs of Ur-Nina of the Lagashite period, or the famous stele of Naram-Sin, in which divine kings are of larger proportions<sup>35</sup>. The question of origin, develop-

33 A. R. A. S. I. 1903-04 p. 216. This *makara* and *vyalaka* throne also became very popular with later artists and enable us to determine the source of inspiration of the same type of throne in the art of Java.

34 R. D. Banerji—*The Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture* pp. 14-16.





STANDING IMAGE OF BODHI A

Sarnath Museum Oval face both shoulders draped (150E)

Note the soft cushion like palm with hastarekha

ment migration and survival of this interesting custom require to be dealt with in a separate memoir and does not lie within our present compass. Before we conclude our discussions about early Gupta sculpture one important point requires to be determined: it is the character and content of B(b) 181.

Scholars have vied with one another in heaping encomiums on it. Only Ananda Coomaraswamy has stood aloof from it. He thought that it was less vigorous.<sup>36</sup> It is a weak piece, not a product of the Gupta genius at the best. The concern for the detailed treatment, an inclination towards real naturalism over decoration of the halo and realism of its motifs by which I do not mean that the design is overbalanced, indicate that the artist in spite of the form had lost in facile expression and was conscious of it. They prove at the worst that the height had been reached and the declining slope had begun.<sup>37</sup> Henceforth there is a slow long degradation with its routine like repetitions of dull designs (for example images and architectural fragments of the 7th to 12th centuries of the Christian era) with its occasional reaction simulating revival. Coomaraswamy's fine perception made him appreciate in spite of the magic of form in spite of the spiritualised and superhuman conception of Buddha—the signs of weakness in it. Let us read that in this piece the ominous signs of decay have made its appearance. It is not a decadent piece but it ushers in the dusk as it did with Giotto in mediaeval Italian art.<sup>38</sup>

In conclusion we might be permitted to notice one pleasing fact about Sarnath sculptures just when all free expression in art was throttled by canon factor which has not so far been noticed in any other school in India. A consideration of the Buddha images of Sarnath lead to the inevitable conclusion that the typology of heads and faces differ indicating a freedom enjoyed by the artists. It would be remembered that the figure of Buddha was conspicuous by its absence in early Indian art. It first occurs on the Scythian coins of North West.<sup>39</sup> The Bala image is that of a Bodhisattva proving a disinclination to regard them as the image of the master. It is in the Mankuwar image (?) that we first meet with the term Buddha. It would therefore be not illogical to assume that the full fledged Buddha image came to be dedicated in the Gupta period only. The Katra

<sup>35</sup> Wooley—*The Development of Sumerian Art* London, 1930. Pls 49 (a) 54(a) and 56.

<sup>36</sup> Coomaraswamy—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art* London 1927, p. 74.

<sup>37</sup> Vernon Blake—*Relation in Art* London 1915 p. 168. An intense pre-occupation about detail accompanied by a loss of power in commanding and ordering: it are the signs of impending, if not actual decadence.

<sup>38</sup> And the spirit of that age as every extension lecturer knows moved towards truth and naturalism for naturalism and verisimilitude in the history of art it is known as early decadence. Clive Bell—*Art* p. 143.

<sup>39</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy—*op cit* p. 59.

Maholi and other images of the Kushana period may be taken to be that of Gautama the Bodhisattva. Coomaraswamy has pointed out that the *jāla baddhāṅgulī* is first found in the Mankuwar image.<sup>40</sup> In Benares a definite Buddha type was evolved by the late 5th century after experiments. But the faces of these images are not stereotyped. It became so later, but in the classic Gupta times they show a rare variety. In my studies in the Sarnath Museum, I found five types of faces —

A. B(b) 2, 4, 9 and 63 E—long face with powerful jaws

B. B(b) 10, 21 and 150E.—Oval face

C. 178 E Long face with shallow cheeks, triangular upper lips, tangent eye brows (common in all) and slightly pointed chin

D. B(b) 5

E. B(b) 181, B(b) 8—a round face with heavy cheeks

The images of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas show that Sarnath was a stronghold of Hinayāna school till 5th century of the Christian era. It is in this century that the first intruding element makes its appearance. The sagacity of the emperor Asoka had warned the church of the consequences of schism. In spite of that soon after his death different schools appeared and defaced his monuments by getting their names inscribed on them. Now Mahayāna images appear at Sarnath, thus is B(d) 1, the figure of Bodhisattva Padmapāni dedicated by *Vishayapati* Suyātra. Mahayana school became strong after the Yüe-Chih invasion. But so long its later development does not seem to have made itself felt at the holy Mṛgadāva. For little beauty, and simplicity of design it really happens to be a rare piece. It lacks the embellishments in which the later artists revelled. The main figure stands on a lotus springing from its foliage, which is found in the images dedicated in the reigns of Kumaragupta II and Budhagupta. It wears only a necklace, otherwise the body is devoid of any ornaments, and compares favourably with the later image of Siddhāikavira. The coiled hair on the head is reminiscent of the *Ekamukhalinga* from Khoh in Nagod State, though it lacks some of its finesse. Few locks of unruly hair have been allowed on either neck like that of Kṛṣṇa holding Govardhana and the Bodhisattva image S. 37 of the Indian Museum. The upper garment is shown below the navel and right palm of the god and is tied in a loop while the ends are shown hanging down on the proper right side of the image in a series of superimposed fishtails. While the other end is between the legs and is shown in the same style as the hems of the *saṅghaṭi* of the standing images of Buddha. There is a slight smile hovering between the lips. It wears ear rings and jewelled girdle and a long chain. The Gupta genius was able to impart a youthful freshness and a serenity which is seldom met with in later images.<sup>41</sup>

40 Coomaraswamy—*Ibid* p. 74

41 Sahnī—*Catalogue*, pl. xiii, and B. Majumdar *Guide to Sarnath* pl. B

# ROUTES BETWEEN ĀRYĀVARTA AND DAKSHINĀPATHA

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In the prehistoric days Āryavarta was the name of the Northern and Dakshinapatha of the southern Bharatakhanda. These were the natural divisions due to difficulty in crossing Vindhya mountain and the Narmada river and the hilly and jungle tracts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Crossing of these was made further difficult by the cruelties of barbarous tribes residing there. Routes to go from one side to the other were very few and it is interesting to find them out from old records. Below are given as many I am able to trace. There are three sets of the 29 records given below. In the first set, the routes are stated directly as in Nos 7, 10, 11, 13 to 21 and 24, 25 and 29. In the second set the routes can be traced out indirectly but probably indications are there such as in Nos 1 to 6, 8, 9, 12, 22, 23. The persons in the third set have crossed Vindhya but the routes are not given as in the cases of Nos 26, 27 and 28.

Serial No 1	Route 2	Where recorded 3	Who used 4	Date 5
1	From Sind to Sopara	1 Carmichael Lectures (1918) of Dr D R Bhandarkar pp 23 and 24 and Baudhayana Dharma Sutra Chaukhamba Ed of 1934	1 Northerners took to sea voyages and reached Kachha Saurashtra, Bharu Kacha and Sopara	(?)
2	Tapi Valley	2 Vol IX Part I, Bom Gaz (1901 Ed.) and Motala Brahmana katha and personal investigations.  3 Personal investigations.	2 Kanva Brahmans of Khandesh went to Jambusar and Mota, whose descendants as I take them to be are the present Motala Kapil and Jambu Brahmans of Surat and Broach districts.  3 Jambus have gone back to Khandesh and C P and Ahmednagar by this very route	(?)  —



Serial No 1	Route 2	Where recorded 3	Who used 4	Date 5
3	Bharukachha to Aparanta (this joins the fourth) and vice versa	4 Personal investigations.  5 Copper plate of 1113 of Kontapur and personal investigations.  6 Bhargava Brahmanano Itihas (in Gujarati) by Munshi pp 76-79  7 Sarkar's Shivaji and his times, 3rd Ed (1929) pp 94 97 and 174	4 Leva Gujars and Leva Kunabis went to Khandesh and Buldhana Districts from Gujarath.  5. Emigration of Gurjara and Kanhada Brahmins from Karhataka to Lata and back to Lokan  6 Bhargava Brahmanans went to Bharukachha from Rajapur  7 Shivaji had visited Surat twice by this route in 1664 and 1670	C 500 years ago  (?)  (?)
3 or 4	Nasik Nandurbar Songad Gujarat Do	8 Madras Census Report of 1931 and L. S. I Vol IX Part II pp 447-48 and an article by Kaka Kalelkar in Maharashtra Sahitya Patrika Vol 8, pp 663 9 Ihole Inscription V 22	8 Saurashtra Brahmanans of Madura seem to have gone there by this route  9 Pulakeshi II conquers Lata Desha	(?)  6th century
4	Do	10 Travels of Yuan Chawang by Watters Vol II p 241  11 Peshwa Daftar Vol 30 p 290	10 Yuan Chawang goes to Bharukachha from Ajanta  11 Chimmaji Appa goes to Gujarat.	6th century  1729 Dec.
5 or Via No 3	Mahishmati to Ujjain.	12. Ashole Inscription Verse 22.	12 Pulakeshi conquers Malva and Gujarath	6th century
5	Do	13 (a) Sutta Nipata, V 1010-11 12 (b) Dr D R Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures p 21  14 History of Mohammadan Powers, by Fenshta Vol I p 307 (1829 Ed) 15 Peshwa Daftar V 30 pp 268-9	13 Pupils of Bavari go to Ujjain  14 Malva and Khandesh  15 Bajirao I goes to Malva.	5th century B. C.  1294 A.D.  1724

Serial No 1	Route 2	Where recorded 3	Who used 4	Date 5
6	Hande to Bhopal	16 Peshwa Daftar, V 30, pp 283 4 5	16 Chumanaji Appa goes to Bundi and back.	1728 29
		17 Do No 30 p 311	17 Chumnaji Appa returns from Bundelkhand	1733
		18 Do V, 27, p 70	18 Raghunathrao goes to Ujjain	1733
		19 Peshwa Diary VII Madhavrao I Vol II, by Lad and Joshi (1911 AD) p 419	19 Raghoba returns to Khargona from Ujjain	1767
		20 Peshwa Daftar Vol 30 pp 262-3	20 Bajirao I returns from Bhelsa to Hande	1719
6 or Via 5		21 Peshwa Diary VII Madhavrao I Vol II by Vad and Joshi (1911 Ed.) p 409	21 Raghoba Dada goes to Bhopal	1766
		22 Ihole inscriptions V 23 & 24 and Ind Ant Vol VII p 290	22 Pulakesh II goes to defeat Harsha	6th century
7	Via Sohagpur and Narsingpur	23 Travels of Ibn Batuta by Lee p 162	23 Batuta comes down to Daulatabad	13th century
		24 Peshwa Daftar V 30 p 308	24 Chumnaji Appa goes to Bundelkhand	1732
8	Chanda Nagpur Mandla	25 Peshwa Daftar V 30 p 288 and Peshwa Diary part II by Vad & Parasnis (1906 Ed.) pp. 229-30	25 Bajirao I goes to Mahoba via Chanda and Mandla and visits Chhatrasal and his son	1729
Either 5 6 7 or 8	?	26 Valmiki Ramayana	26 Ram reaches Dandakaranya	(?)
		27 Early history of the Deccan by Bhaskar and Valmiki Ramayana	27 Agastya crosses Vindhya and stays at Panchavati	(?)
9	Bihar to Orissa	28 Sutta Nipata V 96-7	28 Bavari reaches Ashmaka from Kosala.	6th century B.C.
		29 Travels of Uyan Chawang by Watters, Vol II pp 194 and 197, 198	28. Uyan Chawang goes to Puri from Tamlika. (Midnapur)	6th century

List of those whose routes can possibly be traced (1) A Jain मुनी मद्राष्ट्र Shrutakevalin went to Shravana Belgola from Kosala in 3rd century B.C. (2) Routes of several Buddhists who came to Maharashtra (3) Routes of expeditions of the Lieutenants of Delhi Court from 13th to 16th centuries and travels of foreigners.

It is necessary to give serially explanatory notes to the Column No 4 "who used" They are —

(1) Baudhayana in his Dharma Sutra (1 2 4) says that the Northerners i.e. the people of Aryavarta take to sea voyages which according to him is irreligious. And if the quotation of Bhallavin according to Dr D R Bhandarkar is 1 2 12 14 (Chau Khamba series) it is a half truth to say that 'Another route by which the Aryans seem to have gone to South India was by sea. They appear to have sailed from the Indus to Kachha Kathe wad Bharu Kachha, Sopara'. I add here a passage to support the learned Dr from footnote 2 to Page 1 of Vol No IX Part I 'Gujarat Population' of the District Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency. It runs as follows

'The explanation to the early Brahmans in Gujarat from Upper India is that they are descendants of those who entered Gujarat either by sea or by land from Sind'

*Buddhists Jatakas* 339 Baveru Jataka and Sussondi Jataka No 360—tell us that they have sailed from Bharu Kachha. 'Linguistically Kachhi is not an intermediate language—between Sindhi and Gujrathi. It is a form of Sindhi with a varying mixture of Gujrathi. (Page 176 Vol I Pt I of L S I)

(2) Explanatory notes about these classes will be found on pp 10 and 12 of the Vol IX part I (Bombay Gaz). These three classes belong to Kanva Shakha of Yajurveda while in the whole of Gujarath if my information is correct, no follower of Kanva Shaka is found at all. That the story given in the footnote of page 12 tracing the original home of the forefathers of the Motala Brahmans at Kolhapur may not be correct. Kolhapur cannot be the abode of Kanvashakha Brahmans whose headquarters are Khandesh Districts adjoining Surat and Bhadoch and therefore I take that the Kanva shakha Brahmans might have migrated to Surat and Bhadoch to perform sacrifices. The Kanva Shakha Brahmans can be traced at Jambusar as far back as 7th century A.D. according to a copper plate (J R A S of Great Britain and Ireland N S Page 247, Vol I). Mr Bhumbhai Kripparam compiler of the aforesaid Gazetteer volumes thus describes the Motala Brahmans 'In addition to their appearance which is more Deccani than Gujarati four points support the tradition that the Motala Brahmans came from the Deccan. At the time of the marriage and for four days after the bride keeps her head uncovered and fastens the end of her robe from left to right.

In all these points except the first the practice of the Motala, Jambu, and Kapil Brahmins is the same and agrees with the practice of the Deccan Brahmins. The Motala Brahmins are intelligent, active and hardworking. The priestly class have a name for learning superior to that of the most other sub divisions of Gujarath Brahmins (pp 12 and 13). The inter-marriages between Jamboos and Motalas took place a century ago (Foot note 3 page 12) "

In the book named "Motala Brahman Katha" (p 2 to p 4 chapters II and III) the aforesaid statements are corroborated. A Motala friend of mine very lately wrote me expressing these very views current amongst his caste.

(3) My investigations have shown that the Jamboo Brahmins who have migrated about three centuries ago to Indore State and Chanda and Nagpur Districts of C P and Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency have completely merged into Maharashtra Brahmin fold, and they are being classed as Maharashtrians. These Jamboos can go to Khandesh only by Tapi Valley route.

(4) Leva Gujars and Leva Kunbies are residents of Khandesh and Buldhana Districts and have completely merged into a Maharashtra Caste so much so that 95% of them are adherents of Bhagwat sect of Pundharpur. They have, I am told, gone there five or six centuries ago. Their way to Khandesh is but by Tapi Valley.

(5) A few families of Maharashtra Karhada Brahmins have completely been absorbed by the Motalas and an interesting story of their absorption is narrated in Schedule 'Z' and 'T' (pp 44 and 78 of Motala Brahman Katha).

The families of the surnames of Gurjars of Karhada Brahmins of Maharashtra have come back to Konkan from Gujarat before the Saka 1113 (History of Athale family p 9). They are described as युष्मदैश्वर्यगोत्रगुर्जर-भुवाभूदेवपूज्यात्मनाम् in a copper plate from Rajapur of the Ratnagiri District. Similarly Pomburlekar Joshi another Karhada Brahman family is said to have come from Gujarat (Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly-Shivacharitra, Vol IV, pp 3 and 8). These and other families of Karhatak who received donations from Gurjar Kings must have gone to and come back from Gujarat via Kolaba and Thana Districts which are short-cuts to both the provinces (Gupte's 'Karhad').

(6) The story of the migration to Gujarat from Rajapur of the Dikshit families of Broach is narrated on pp 76 to 79 of the "Bhargava Brahmanno Itihas". Way to Broach of these Dikshits can only be through Konkan Districts.

(7) Shivaji visited Surat first in 1664 via Nanaghat, Mahuli, Jawhar, Ganadevi (pp 93 to 97) and on second occasion raided it in 1670 via Kalyan (p 174).

(8) Saurashtra Brahmans are weavers from Saurashtra as the name itself indicates Madras Census report writer (1931, p 292) says that the language of the people is a Gujarathi dialect and that they have come by C. P. Belgaum and Dharwar Districts of Bombay Presidency which seems to be doubtful Sri Hakra Kalekar who visited Madura and came across with these people and language remarked in an article in "Maharashtra Sahitya Patrika Vol VIII, p 663 ff" is as a 'Lost Brother of Marathi'. He does not see any connection of it with Gujarat as regards language, custom mode of living etc. He further adds that along with Telegu Tamil and Kannada words it contained many Marathi and Konkani words, phrases and idioms are also found therein The linguistic investigations made by me go to concur with the veteran learned Kakasaheb That is the reason why I think that these Saurashtra people must have gone to Madura via, Lata, Konkan, Vanavasi, Coimbatore having received royal patronage at Madura since long

(9) Pulkeshi II subjugated the kingdom of Lata (V 22) where he might have either gone via Konkan after having conquered Puri (V 21) by the route No 3 or if the conquest was an independent one his route might have No 4

(10) Yuan Chawang went to Bharukachha from Ajanta after crossing Narmada (p 241 Travels of Y. C. by Watters)

(11) Chinnaji Appa Peshwa left Khara Nala on 14 12 1729 crossed Tapi and proceeded to Ankaleshwar, crossed Narmada and reached Broach on 24 12 1729

(12) Though Lata, Malva and Gurjars लट्ठमालगुर्जरा are described to have been conquered in one verse 22, geographically the expeditions must have been two, the first for Lata and the second for Malva and Gurjar and therefore two different routes should be assigned to these No 3 for Lata and No 4 or 5 for Malva and Gurjar Rajputana was in those days in the possession of Gurjars and hence their name to it (p 415 of J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol XXI)

(13) Pupils of Bavari left Pratishtana and went upto Mahismati and reached Ujjain

(14) Ramdeo King of Devagiri writes to Alla ud din Khilji (1294) in a letter —

'Supposing that you should be able to retreat from hence undisturbed are not the princes of Malva Khandesh and Gondavana in your route ? Can you hope they will permit you to escape unmolested ? (about 1290 A.D.)

—Page 307 of the History of the rise of the Mohamedan Power 1829 Ed by Ferishta Vol I Here the route of Alla ud din is shown via मालवा to Khandesh and back

(15) Bajirao I went to Malwa via Rajapura Maheshwar Mandavgad Nalse and Khargon in April and May of 1724

(16) Chimnaji Appa leaves Rajapura on 23-11 1728 via Nalchha and Ujjain goes to Bundi by February 1729 and returns via Bundelkhand Dahod on 1-4 1728 Jambhol Bore Gajarati Rajapura to Sendhava on 16-4-1729

(17) Chimnaji Appa while returning from Bundelkhand via Malwa Ghat (9 5 1733) halted on his way back at Navi Sarai Fazilpur Zirpa and reached Makadai on 13 5 1733

(18) Raghoba Dada left Sendhava (1753) and visiting Khargon and Indore reached Ujjain

(19) Raghoba Dada returned from North Indian Expedition of 1766 67 via Devas (1 5 67 Ujjain) Dharampuri to Khargon on 5 6 1767

(20) Bajirao I on his way back from Sarai of Moghala (14 4 1719) halted at Nanakpur Sarai Satarana Bhelsa Shihore Ichhawar Hande and Ratanpur and reached on 7 5 1719 to Bahrampur

(21) Raghunath Rao left Raver on 5-2 1766 and after halting at Bahrampur Makdai Harde, Hande and Nemavar reached Bhopal on 6 3 1766

(22) Pulkeshi II defeated Harsha (V 22) after crossing Vindhya and Narmada but the route not having been mentioned I assign either No 5 or 6

(23) The same is the case with Ibn Batuta who left Delhi and reached Daulatabad but the intermediate places mentioned on p 162 are not traceable to me and therefore it may be that he might have crossed the mountain by either route No 5 or 6

(24) Chimnaji Appa left Khandva on 30 11 1732 reached Shivani (Malva) and from where he went to Sohagpur to cross Narmada and reached Narsingpur and thence proceeded to Bundelkhand in the beginning of January 1733

(25) Bajirao I reached Washim on 28 12 1728 and proceeded to Mahur Girad (Chanda) Makade Dhokade (Nagpur) Mandale and entered Bundelkhand and reached Mahoba on 13 3 1729

(26 27 28) Ram and Agastya of Valmiki Ramayan came down to Dandakaranya and Bavari a Buddhist Bhikshu came to Ashmaka from Kosala which they could only do by crossing Vindhya and not otherwise but there is no mention of their route and therefore it could be said that they have crossed Vindhya by either of the 5th 6th 7th or 8th route.

(29) Yuan Chwang after reaching Singbhuma in Bihar went southward to Tamlika in Midnapur District and visited Chilka Lake near Katak and Rajmahendri in Orissa

To sum up the subject I have to point out that the route No 1 i.e. voyages in the western sea were common till at least Sixth century before the Saka Era Regarding route No 4 and 3 I have to say that till sixth century of the Saka Era people from Sind and Malva used to come to Anarta and Lata

and Aparanta Routes No 5 and 6 were of frequent use to cross Vindhya Nos 7 and 8 were used rarely and No 9 was not only used by Yuan Chwang but I may say that the colonisation of Utkala might have taken place by this route

Another interesting feature is that most of the railway lines are constructed by these old routes The Tapi Valley line of B B C I, runs by No 2 Bombay Ahmedabad line of the same Railway goes by No 3 and onwards The Malva branch i.e., Khandwa to Ratlam Section passes by our route No 5

Khandwa to Bhopal line of G I P Ry is our route No 6 and Nagpur Itarsi branch is our route No 8

Midnapur to Kharagpur and further upto Puri are branches of B N Ry which is our route No 9

# BĀHMANISM AND JAINISM

By

Dr PHANI BHUSAN ROY, M A , PH D

Jainism and Buddhism are the two great Pauruṣeya religions of India ; and by common consent it is held that Jainism was the earlier of the two . It will not be improper then to look upon Jainism as the typical Pauruṣeya religion of India . If so regarded, Jainism offers naturally a strong contrast to Brāhmanism which is traditionally regarded as Apauruṣeya religion par excellence . We may tentatively define a Pauruṣeya religion as one which grows round a central Figure who both intuits and preaches the truth whereas an Apauruṣeya religion has not this Central Figure . A Pauruṣeya religion is therefore historical in its origin and growth while an Apauruṣeya religion is Sanātana or timeless . But the question is - Can any religion be called a Pauruṣeya religion ?

(A) Mahāvīra, the Jina, after attaining to Kevalajñāna, preached the holy message to all and sundry . If, instead of preaching the path of Kaivalya, he pointed out to his hearers the primrose path of dalliance, he could have still gathered round him a band of followers (like any successful robber chief Angulīmāla for example) but he could never have commanded the deep esteem and veneration of pious and earnest men and women . This fact establishes an indisputable truth . Some men may be bad and immoral but most men are not, so the vogue of a robber-chief can never be equal (never in quality and also not in quantity) to that of a religious teacher . That is, the appeal of religion and morality evokes a strong and lasting response in the hearts of men and women which effect can never be produced by an appeal to the baser side of human nature . But what prevents a religious preacher from pointing out the primrose path of dalliance ? Truth and its realisation . Only because Truth has captured his soul that a Truth realiser cannot but deliver the message of Truth (as the sun cannot but give light and heat) , and until and unless this message of Truth is delivered, nobody can evoke an undying and widespread enthusiasm among earnest men and women . Truth operates then in a creative or dynamic way . Firstly, Truth by revealing itself to the soul of the Fortunate one (Mahāvīra for example) moulds him as its vehicle or standard bearer and then using him as an instrument broadcasts itself all the world over . This fact also establishes an indisputable truth . Truth creates a super man, not a super man . Truth that is to say, Truth is higher than, nobler than, greater than its standard bearer or realiser .



(B) The process of Truth realisation has been lucidly explained in Buddhism (Saṃ Nikāya Vol II, p 25) But I shall cite here a more historical example Newton the mathematician was once sitting under an apple-tree when a ripe apple fell to the ground In a flash of lightning Truth i.e. the Universal Law of Gravitation revealed itself to the consciousness of Newton Nobody would suggest that the Universal Law of Gravitation began to operate the moment It was intuited by Newton (in that case Baby Newton could never have dropped from his mother's womb) Madhucchanda sings Agniṃ Tīde (Rv I I I) and at once the Fire god (Agni) breathes into being<sup>1</sup> This account will be very absurd, for the truth is very emphatically the other way about. The correct interpretation is Fire god was, is and will be for ever, only because He in His benignity, has revealed Himself to the consciousness of Madhucchanda that Madhucchanda has been able to sing forth in such full throated ease The word Madhucchandā (so far as R K Singing i.e. inspired singing is concerned) should not be put in casus Rectus (Nominative case) but in casus Ablativus (Instrumental case) for Madhucchanda does not and cannot possess Kartṛtva (agency), he possesses merely Karanata (instrumentality) Therefore the Vedic seers called Vedic Religion Vedic Religion but never Vāsiṣṭha religion or Kāṇva religion or Bhāradvāja religion (so on and so on), for they knew in their infinite wisdom, that Truth is greater than its standard bearer, Truth is greater than its fortunate realiser

(C) The R K songs have been sung by a number of inspired singers and no one among them has arrogated to himself the position of supremacy over others. If Vāsiṣṭha looked upon himself as Truth's sole realiser and looked down upon Ṛṣisamada Bharadvāja etc. as so many petty foggers than he would have committed a blunder that was committed by the founders of Pauruṣeya religions Instead of religious toleration and concord we would have then religious tyranny and discord in Vedic times Moreover the whole thing would have rested upon a grievous untruth the exaltation of the Truth realiser far above Truth or his equation with it (Yo mām passati so dhammam passati) A Buddhist might say Dhammam Saraṇaṃ gacchāmi but what sense is there in his saying Buddhāṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi? The opponent may argue Jainism etc are ascetic religions and therefore they should not be confounded with Vedic Karmakāṇḍa Our reply would be Yaṇīavalkya (Br Āra Upa) is as much a Vedic seer as Ṛṣisamada or Vāsiṣṭha is. Only a head strong man would opine that the Upaniṣads are more Vedic than the Saṃhitās which fact propounds a noble truth the wind bloweth where it listeth and truth reveals itself in many ways not ordinarily known to man

(D) The opponent may still argue that Jainism etc are not merely so many systems of philosophy but they are so many ways of life (Marga) and as such they should be separately named as the streets are named in a city We shall request our opponent to peruse carefully the Introduction to Jaina

Sutras (S B E), by Jacobi, where the great Savant has proved up to the hilt the fact of Jain Buddhist indebtedness to Brāhmanism in the matter of ascetic practices and regulations. Neither the Buddha nor Mahāvīra was a Padavī (Path finder) in a startlingly original sense of the term. So the Maggadesakattva of Mahāvīra need not be taken into account in naming the religion after him. It clearly follows then that no religion should be called a pauruṣeya religion simply because of the fact that it stupefies truth for whose sake religions are preached and practised. Secondly, a pauruṣeya religion always and invariably gives an unholy encouragement to separatist and factional tendencies which create lamentable discord and strife among men professing different religions.

We shall now attack the problem from a different standpoint. All the pauruṣeya religions are proselytizing cults, i.e., the Pauruṣeya religions make great use of upāya kausalya or religious propaganda. The Vedic religion is singularly free from this proselytizing zeal. Why? For the sake of religious earnestness and steadfastness (adhikāra). A Yajamāna does not go to a meeting to hear a sermon from some great religious teacher, he, in a mood of deep veneration, goes to the uncreated Veda for getting his religious inspiration (Śābdi bhāvanā). Now, take for example the holy injunction Darśapūṇamāsābhyāṃ svargakāmo yajeta. This holy injunction occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which is not after all a juvenile text meant for children which fact compels the Yajamāna to devote a considerable time to Vedic studies (Brahmacarya). So the Vedic religion did always remain a Kāṭhī nayāna and never deteriorated into Sahajayāna. Now, dilly dallying and shilly shallying in matters religious begets a corresponding habit of dilly dallying and shilly shallying in life. In my humble opinion our national decline is mainly due to these personal cults which breeding a sort of latitudinarianism in religion have slackened our grip on life. We fear to tread the uphill path in any department of life always hankering after soft jobs and cushioned chairs. 'Religion Made Easy' has made us take life also much too easy.

For the sake of truth than which nothing is higher, for the sake of religious concord than which nothing is more noble and for the sake of accepting life as a struggle than which nothing is more courageous the Pauruṣeya religions should be renamed, and the new nomen that I propose for Jainism is Vedic Religion, i.e. the religion of Veda (truth) as revealed to the consciousness of Mahāvīra, the Jina.

# THE PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR INDIA AND THE WORLD

By

Dr. BENOY SARKAR, M.A., DR H.C.

## ECONOMIC INDIA TOMORROW

*A Plan for Economic Revolution in Post-War India* has been issued by some industrialists of Bombay (January, 1944). It is always useful to discuss the far-off divine events. But as in every other country, belligerent or neutral, in India also post war reconstruction will have to attend to the problems of famine, epidemics, business failure, and unemployment. The immediate economic requirements of India to-morrow will have to be met, no matter what be the ultimate goal. Post war economy is essentially the economy of demobilization. The fundamental problem is to decide as to how much of the wartime state controls in industry, trade, currency, and agriculture, as well as employment, prices and wages ought to be maintained in order that demobilization may be prevented from producing its worst effects. Reconstruction problems before India are bound to be in the main of the same order as those before other countries.

In the present conditions of under development the temptation to indulge in comprehensive schemes and fundamental principles of planned industrialization is bound to be great. For the time being, let us combat that temptation in a deliberate manner. Since 1907 the present author has been issuing schemes, plans or creeds for theorists and public workers. Some of the most pressing needs of India in the immediate future which have been discussed in one or other of those creeds are being enumerated below. The object is to suggest a few channels along which the demobilized resources in finance and *personnel* may be utilized.

The plan, designed as it is for all the provinces of India, comprises the following items

### A. TECHNO INDUSTRIAL

1 Electrification of every municipal area, in order that, among other things, cheap power may be conveniently rendered available to small and medium industries. (The municipalities of India are approximately 1,000 in number.)

2 Construction of roads, inter-district and intra district, with a view, among other things, to facilitating the marketing of agricultural goods. The poverty of Bengal, especially of East Bengal and Assam, in roads, is noto-

nous Motor roads between Dibrugarh on the one hand and Sadiya and Chittagong on the other have long been overdue. Perhaps some of them are already under construction as military necessities.

3. Erection of shipyards and equipment of harbours at diverse maritime centres and river mouths. Narayanganj (Dacca) and Chandpur (Comilla), for instance, may be singled out as first-class sites for seaports in East Bengal no less worthwhile than Calcutta.

#### B THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF PEASANTS WORKMEN AND CLERKS

1. Allocation of special funds (of large size) such as may be rendered available to individual cultivators through co-operative societies at convenient rates of interest.

2. Introduction of compulsory social insurance among working men and other employees with adequate state grants. (A Bill is in preparation.)

The standard of living and efficiency of the masses in villages and towns is likely to be raised in a special manner by the above two measures.

#### C SOCIO ECONOMIC

1. Training and employment of women in health and other social services at the rate of one per each union board. (The number of union boards is about 5000 in Bengal.)

2. Intensified campaign (large scale pumping land reclamation training of rivers irrigation etc.) for the eradication of malaria district by district.

3. Enactment of consolidated Public Health Act. (A Public Health Act has already been passed in Madras in 1939.)

This may be regarded as the irreducible minimum of techno-industrial and socio-economic planning during the period of reconstruction in the narrow sense say five years from the end of the war. A large part of the *personnel* technocratically educated and disciplined during World War II is likely to be absorbed through road making electrification port construction river engineering and allied industrial projects. An avenue may then be found for taking charge of large numbers that are bound to be thrown on the unemployed list as soon as demobilization commences.

For an outsider who is not in the know as to the exact kinds of industries that the war economy has brought into life or expansion it is not possible to say how many of them ought to be maintained and under what patterns. The redistribution of working men and clerks also among new workshops and business concerns can likewise be suggested only by persons acquainted with the activities of the war supply and other offices.

#### IDEALISM OF THE BOMBAY PLAN

Of course this prescription modest as it is cannot be expected to bring the Indian infant mortality down to the Anglo-American level or raise the

expectation of life up to the German level in seven or ten years, as reconstruction planners would wish. Nor can the national income *per capita* be possibly augmented hundred per cent within a quinquennium or so as a result of the carrying out of the simple scheme of the eight items formulated here. It would be but crying for the moon if on the strength of these recommendations India were to emulate within a decade or so the figures exhibited in *Japanese Trade and Industry* by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau (London, 1936) or *National Income in Japan* (Japanese Economic Federation, Tokyo, 1939). No economic millennium is in contemplation. And as for the federated world state of human brotherhood and inter racial amity, this humble plan is the furthest removed from that consummation.

It is superfluous to observe that the plan put forward in this modest fashion would appear too elementary and primitive by the side of the programme suggested for England in *The Condition of Britain* (London, 1937), by G. D. H. and M. I. Cole. That work, of course, deals with pre-war conditions and formulates fundamental policies. Nor is it possible to encounter here the planifications attempted in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk since 1923 and especially since 1933, the year of her first five year plan. It is from a hated condition of *semi colonie* prevailing during the previous half century that Turkey has been emancipated by comprehensive state intervention in the domain of agriculture as well as by state aids to industry, as one understands from Conker and Witmeur's *Redressement économique et industrialisation de la nouvelle Turquie* (Paris 1937).

The 10 000 crore-finance envisaged by the Bombay Plan is certainly very heartening. But the Plan is vitiated by the fallacy of which the plan makers are not unconscious. First, it assumes the emergence of a 'National Government.' Secondly, it assumes the emancipation of India's economic policy—"full freedom in economic matters"—from the British empire economy. No plan could be more superbly idealistic and wide of the mark in regard to the realities.

#### PLANIFICATION AS AN IDEOLOGY

In contemporary economic discussions the category, economic planning, planned economy, or planified economy, is being loosely employed in season and out of season. Another category is being no less loosely employed. This has become current coin during the atmosphere of World War II as reconstruction or post war re-construction. It is extremely difficult to avoid these conventional and much too popular categories while dealing with current economic questions. No less difficult is it to avoid employing these categories in the loose manner of common parlance.

Everybody who has some idea in regard to the economic welfare of his people considers himself to be the author of an economic planning or planned economy. Any and every scheme or plan is said to belong to

"planning" or "planification" And since we all happen to be living in what is perhaps the second phase of World-War II, each one of these economic plans is treated as being equivalent to a scheme of post war reconstruction In India, especially, planning and reconstruction have grown to be almost synonymous or identical categories.

In a living science or art looseness in the use of expressions can hardly be prevented or avoided Virtually every category has to be taken in an elastic sense

And yet to prevent misunderstandings care should be taken to pin these categories down to specified contents of thought. Literally speaking, be it observed, reconstruction ought to imply nothing more than the transfer or transition of economic morphology from war to peace We ought to visualize the withdrawal of finance and employment from war industries to normal occupations This is an aspect of "demobilization" which automatically involves unemployment. Re-employment in certain industries is another item of importance The re-establishment of trade, tariff, currency, prices, wages and what not on pre-war (?) or rather non war foundations belong to this phase of economy The entire complex may be called stabilization or rehabilitation and is generally given over to a five-year period Be it noted that a literal restoration of or reversion to pre-war condition is neither assumed nor possible.

During the first year or two (1939-40) of the present war, Indian economists, businessmen and politicians managed invariably to identify the war effort with all round "economic planning" Everybody wanted the Government to utilize the situation in such a manner as might equip India with every conceivable industry and business It was hardly possible for them to comprehend that war effort could not aim at anything more than specific and temporary economic development for a well delimited period Now that the war has been presumably looking forward to its close Indian economic statesmanship is as a general rule bent upon advising the Government to envisage "post war reconstruction" as identical with India's technological development of a comprehensive character It is invariably difficult for Indian publicists comprising the authors of the "Bombay Plan", to realize that post war construction cannot possibly have more than a short period and very limited scope In scientific analysis both 'war-effort' and 'post war reconstruction' are to be taken in the narrow sense of occasional and temporary or transitional measures.

#### COMMUNISM *vs* CAPITALISM IN PLANNING

Planning or planification in its simplest and most naive form implies the attempt of even the pre-historic caveman to save his first stone implement for use on a future occasion It is as old as conscious man. A goalful futurism is to be found in the soul of a plan In its somewhat mature

form it covers the budgetary activities of all states,—ancient, mediæval or modern,—in regard to the incomes and disbursements of a twelve-month period. Every improvement trust or road scheme is an instance of planning. Finally, in its most hyperdeveloped form, planification means nothing but the communistic economy under state auspices introduced by Soviet Russia in October, 1928. Strictly speaking, planned economy is communism as concretely realized in Soviet Russia since then.

But the success of the first five-year plan of Russia set the world in 1933 thinking of the merits of some of the features, e.g. *étatisme*, centralized control and despotism, etc.,—associated with Sovietic planning. And so virtually every non-Sovietic state—from Germany, Italy, Japan, England, France and the U.S.A. down to the most undeveloped regions in the two hemispheres,—has pounced upon planning or planification as a new panacea, slogan or technique of public life and national welfare. Today we have to visualize two entirely distinct types of planned economy or economic planning. One is the original, Sovietic, Bolshevistic or communistic type. Its fundamental feature is the abolition of private property, private capital, private interest, private rent, and private profit. The other planning is non-communistic, that is capitalistic or bourgeois. It recognizes the private property and private capital of age-long traditional economy. But both are united in state control.

Today socialism is to be taken in two distinct senses or forms. One is the communistic socialism of Soviet Russia. The other is the non-communistic or capitalistic and bourgeois socialism of all non-Soviet territories. Thus considered socialism is the prevailing economico-political system throughout the world.

Whether capitalistic or communistic, planification is state control, *étatisme*, or, what is virtually the same thing, socialism. In B. E. Lippincott's compilation entitled *Government Control of the Economic Order* (Minnesota, 1935) pro-control ideas are expressed by Colm Feiler, Lederer, Means and Nathan. This symposium may be placed by the side of the anti-control symposium edited by F. von Hayek as *Collectivist Economic Planning* (London 1936).

#### VANSITTARTISM IN WORLD-PLANNING

No reconstruction can possibly realize the ideals or principles, should there be any, of world wide economic salvation. The coming post-war world economy or economic reconstruction bids fair to be but a continuation, in the main, of the world-economy at 1939.

*Arthik Unnatī* (economic progress) is a social phenomena of doses and decrees. It is essentially gradualistic and can never claim finality or all round comprehensiveness.

It is the equations of comparative industrialism and technocracy such as were in evidence in pre-war years that would set the general lines along which the new transformations within the reconstruction complex are likely to proceed. The disturbances or modifications of pre 1939 equations generated by World War II—in and through war, industries, inflated employments, inflated currencies, inflated wages and inflated prices—are to be treated in the main as aberrations of not much permanent value. They are fundamentally short period emergencies. The post-war equations may be taken chiefly as not very great deviations from the pre war. Reconstruction as such is considerably limited by these positive considerations,—pious wishes or idealistic planifications notwithstanding.

Let us be clear about two terms, post war economy and world economy. It is not necessary to indulge in speculation in order to explain the two categories. The economic evolution between World War I and World-War II, i.e. from 1919 to 1939 furnishes the objective data about these phenomena.

First, then, post war economy is, realistically considered, the economy of preparation for the next war. Secondly, world economy is not equivalent to the economic organization of the entire world. It is to be understood pragmatically as the economy of that much of the two hemispheres which it is possible for a people to utilize. This utilization is not, however, to be taken in a similar sense. The spirit of "mutuality" with the other peoples of the same region is not to be excluded.

The present war (since September, 1939) is, generally, being expected to come to an end by 1945. Sweeping proposals for dealing with defeated Germany are set out in a memorandum published (on May 1943) by the Post War Policy Group of members of the House of Commons and Lords of which Wardlaw Milne is the Chairman. The memorandum signed by 34 members of the Group, urges effective occupation of Germany and setting up of an Inter Allied Council of Control. The first duties of such a Council should be, it is said, preservation of all order and complete demobilization of all German armed forces within six months, dismantling of the aeroplane industry and control, and where necessary, closing down of German war potential including heavy and chemical industries to the extent of which they are the basis for production of munitions, arrests and bringing to trial of persons alleged to be guilty of war crime, disbanding of officers' *corps* and training *corps*. The essential points of the subsequent peace treaty in this plan should be that Allied army and air forces will occupy Germany until the Allies agree that this may with safety be terminated or relaxed, independent states in East Prussia and Rhineland, restoration of the sovereignty of all countries invaded by the Axis, Allied control of radio, printing and education in Germany, no German army, navy and air force, civil aviation or aircraft industries until allied nations decide otherwise, return of all loot



or compensation in kind, all costs arising out of Allied occupation to be paid by the German States

The paper on "A Plan for Germany's Economic Disarmament" by Einzig in the *Economic Journal* (London June-September, 1942) throws likewise a flood of light on post-war world reconstruction. It may be said that the world-economy is expecting a Super-Versailles by 1946. World War II cannot therefore be the last war of history. Humanly speaking, a war of revenge may be expected by 1965-70 in spite of the efforts of the victors to prevent that consummation. Some idea of such efforts to be directed by Anglo-American "peace force" may be seen in King Hall's *Total Victory* (New York 1942) and Gelber's *Peace by Power* (London, 1942). In June, 1943, the British Labour Party also at their conference declared for the totalitarian disarmament of the German people. They proceeded on Van Sittart's hypothesis that there were no "good Germans" in Germany. Post war world economy, then is tantamount to the economic structure and dynamics of the world during these two decades or so (1946-70) of universal war preparedness or continuation and maintenance of war organization. Some of the items may be seen in Condliffe's *Agenda for a Post war World* (New York, 1942), a work, *en passant*, that fights shy of idealistic and millennial world recipes.\*

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\* B. K. Sarkar *The Equations of World Economy* (Calcutta 1943), *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta 1941) and *The Political Philosophies Since 1905* Vol II, Part II (Lahore, 1942)

# BACITRA NĀṬAK

By

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The main historical interest of the *Bacitra Nāṭak*, which may be regarded as an autobiography of Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru of the Sikhs, is concentrated in seven sections viz, the seventh to the thirteenth. In his epoch making work on Sikh Religion, Macauliffe gives us an English translation of the first seven chapters of the work<sup>1</sup> as well as of the last, but these important sections are omitted, the author giving it as his reason that as all the details narrated here had been incorporated in the general biography of the Guru, no separate translation seemed necessary. Unfortunately, from Macauliffe's account of the life of the Guru it is not possible to do so which portions of it are based on the *Bacitra Nāṭak* and where the other Sikh records are laid under contribution. But in spite of its limitations, the *Bacitra Nāṭak* is undoubtedly the most important of all the records about Guru Gobind Singh and it is essential that we should know what it has got to tell us independently. An English version of these sections of the *Bacitra Nāṭak* is, therefore, a desideratum. The Guru's descriptions, however, are animated and sometimes full of repetitions. We have, therefore, omitted some of these but, on the whole we believe that nothing has been left out, which can be of any use to the student of political history.

## I SECTION VIII

### *The Battle of Bhangani*

When I obtained sovereignty I conducted religious affairs to the best of my ability. I hunted various sorts of game in the forest and killed bears, mungas and elks.

Afterwards I left that place and went to the city of Paunta. I enjoyed myself on the banks of the Kalindri and saw amusements of various kinds.

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1 The third section is, however, skipped over but on the other hand we are given an English translation of the first three verses of the eighth section another extract from which is incorporated in Macauliffe's work a general account of the battle of Bhangani. Malcolm also incorporates another extract from this section in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*. These we have used freely and we take this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to their authors. We may add here that for the purposes of this article we have used the printed list published by Gulab Singh and Sons and the annotated edition of Bhai Bishan Singh Gyani.

There I selected and killed many lions, milgaus and bears. Fatha Shah, the king, became angry and came to blows with me without any reason.

There Sri Shah raged and the five stately heroes took their position firmly on the field of battle—the tenacious Jit Mal and the skilful Gulab, whose graceful figures on the battlefield were wondrous to behold—the determined Maheru Chand and Gungaram, who defeated and shattered the enemy's forces. Lalchand raged, becoming red with anger and his bravery cast into shade even the pride of the peerless lion.

Maheru raged with a fearful expression and killed the brave Khans in battle. The Brahmin Dayaram rushed into the fray with great anger and fought bravely and skilfully like Drona of old.

Kripal advanced with a mace in his hand and smashed the head of the fierce Hayat Khan.

\* \* \*

Then Nand Chand rushed into the fray with dreadful ire, wielding his spear and brandishing his sword. His keen sword broke but he drew out his dagger and with great determination saved the honour of the Sodhi race.

Then uncle Kripal advanced in his rage and exhibited the war feats of a true Kshatriya. The mighty hero was himself struck by an arrow but nevertheless made a valiant Khan fall from his saddle.

The brave Saheb Chand entered into the fray and slew a bloody Khan. The stately hero wrought havoc in the enemy's ranks and those that survived fled with their lives.

There in the arena Sri Shah fought and brought many Khans to the ground. (On the other side) Raja Gopal stood erect on the field and looked like a lion amidst a herd of deer.

There raged the great hero Hari Chand who skilfully took his position in the field. In great anger he discharged sharp arrows and those whom he struck he sent to the other world.

\* \* \*

Then Jit Mal aimed with his spear and struck Hari Chand down to the ground.

\* \* \*

The bloody Khans drew out their Khorasan swords, the keen edges of which flashed like fire. Arrows crowded upon one another, the bows cracked, the young horses fell and struck the more experienced and firm.

\* \* \*

How far shall I describe the mighty battle! Those who fought (in the front) were killed and thousands fled.

The Hill chiefs spurred their horses and fled, the soldiers retired with

their arrows undischarged The Rajas of Jaswal and Dadhwal, who had been fighting with zeal, now left the field with all their forces

The Raja of Chandel became exhausted and perplexed, when the tenacious Hari Chand rose with a spear in hands He became immediately alive to the duties of a leader and raged furiously Those who opposed him were cut to pieces and fell

Then Najabet Khan entered and directed his weapons against Sangu Shah Several well equipped Khans joined in the attack and sent Sangu Shah to the other world

After having killed Najabet Khan Sangu Shah fell fighting There were lamentations in this world but rejoicings in heaven

When this insignificant creature saw Sanghu Shah fall in battle he took up his bow and arrows With the first arrow I struck a Khan who fell to the ground I then drew out another and aimed it at the face of Bhukhan Khan The bloody Khan fled leaving his horse whom the third arrow struck and killed

After waking up from his swoon Hari Chand directed his shots with unerring aim and then those whom he struck fell senseless and died

\* \* \*

In his anger Hari Chand drew out his arrows His first arrow struck my horse He aimed another at me but God saved me, the arrow only grazing my ear in its flight

His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist belt and reached my body, but wounded me not It is only God who protected me, knowing me his servant

When I felt the touch of the arrow, my wrath was kindled I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows in abundance

\* \* \*

I killed Hari Chand and the enemies were trampled under foot (Even) the millionaire chief was seized by death

The hillmen fled in consternation and I, through the favour of the eternal God gained the victory

Having thus held the battle-field we raised aloud the song of triumph I showered wealth on my warriors and they all rejoiced

When I returned after the victory I did not remain in the city of Paunta I went to Kahlur and there established the village of Anandpur

Those who had kept themselves away from the battle, I drove out of the place, and I patronised those who had distinguished themselves there

Many days passed in this way and I fostered the faithful and rooted out all the wicked

\* \* \*

## II SECTION IX

*The battle of Nadaun*

Many days passed in this way till Miyan Khan of Jammu came and sent Alif Khan to Nadaun. Immediately quarrel broke out with Bhim Chand.

The Raja called me to assist him in the war and I joined his side. They had erected a wooden fort there on a mound and brought the chiefs under control by means of guns and arrows.

There came Raj Singh and the powerful Bhim Chand, the vigorous and manly Ram Singh and the brave Sukhdev of Jassrot and they managed everything with zeal and enthusiasm.

There came also the determined Prithu Chand of Dadhwar, fully prepared and after having made arrangements for the government of his realm Kripal Chand arrived with ammunitions and drove back and killed many of the enemy's forces.

Troops from the other side arrived, approaching the other side they attacked and killed many and felled him to the ground and the Raja began to gnash his teeth in great anger. On the other side, the soldiers beat their drums and blew their bugles, the Raja (looked on) from a distance and his mortification knew no bounds.

Then Bhim Chand himself raged, uttering the *mantra* of Hanuman in his mouth. He called all the heroes and myself too. All assembled and advanced in order.

All the great heroes entered into the fray in great anger and advanced, just as a flame advances over a fence of dry weeds, (burning it in its train). On the other side, the valiant Raja Dayal of Bijharwal advanced with Raja Kripal together with all his forces.

\* \* \*

Then Kripal raged standing erect on the field of battle with great determination. He discharged arrows in abundance and killed many heroes.

\* \* \*

He made a great fight and the row was heard throughout the nine quarters of the world. His weapons wrought havoc (in the enemy's ranks) and he exhibited the true virtues of a Rajput.

Then the Rajas, in great anger fought with enthusiasm and immediately the troops of Katoch were encircled by the enemy chief.

The people of the tribes of Nanglu and Panglu advanced in order together with the forces of *Jastear and Guler*. The great hero Dayal also joined and saved the honour of the people of Bijharwal.

Then this insignificant creature (the Guru) took up his gun and aimed at one of the Rajas. The Raja reeled and fell upon the ground so unerringly was the shot directed, but even then the angry chief thundered

I then threw off the gun and took up arrows in my hand I drew out four and discharged all of them. Then again I took three others and discharged them with my left hand, (though) whether they struck anybody or not I do not know

Then the Almighty God hastened the end of the fight and the enemy were driven out into the river

\* \* \*

Alaf Khan fled and all the other heroes retreated precipitately I remained there on the bank of the river for eight days and visited the palaces of the various Rajas

Then I took leave of the Rajas and returned home and they proceeded in the other direction to negotiate reconciliation The two parties came to terms and therefore the story ends

I came back here after having plundered Alsun (on my way) and having reached Anandpur, enjoyed myself in various ways

### III SECTION X

#### *The expedition of the Khanzada*

Many years passed in this way and all the thieves (apostates) were hunted out and killed Some left the city but came back in utter destitution

Then Dilwar Khan sent his son against me At midnight the Khans assembled and prepared for attack

When the party reached the bank of the river Alam came and woke me up There was a great row, everybody stirred up and took up their weapons with fiery zeal

Immediately volleys of shots were discharged The heroes shouted in various ways and the noise was heard even from the other side of the river

Drums beat bugles blew the soldiers thundered horses danced the guns roared and all mingled in one huge uproar

The river wore a dreadful appearance and the soldiers suffered terribly from cold From this side my heroes thundered and the bloody Khans fled with their weapons unused

\* \* \*

On their way they plundered the village of Barwa and established themselves at Bhallan Through the favour of God the wretched fools could not even touch me and fled

### IV SECTION XI

#### *The expedition of Hussain Khan*

The Khanzada fled to his father but being ashamed of his own cowardly conduct he could not utter a single word There Hussain thundered strik

ing his mailed fist (against something) and, with all his troops prepared for attack

Emboldened by the strength of his army Hussain advanced First he plundered the houses (of the hillmen) Then he defeated the Raja of Dadhwal, brought him completely under control and made slaves of the princes.

Next, Hussain thoroughly looted the Dun, nobody being able to withstand the wretched fool He took away food grains by force and distributed them among his own followers. The big fool thus committed a very dirty act.

Some days passed and Hussain went on with his depredations. Now the turn of meeting the Raja of Guler came

If they had not met for two days more the enemy chief would have come (upon me but) destiny had thrown the apple of discord amidst them

The Raja of Guler came to meet (Hussain) and with him came Ram Singh too When four quarters of the day had passed they arrived and met Hussain, who felt extremely flattered and became blind in his vanity

Just as sand becomes heated by the heat of the sun but the wretched thing does not know the sun and becomes proud of itself

Similarly, the slave (Hussain), in his vanity, did not even condescend to notice them With the Rajas of Katoch and Kahlur at his side, he thought that he was peerless in this world

They (Gopal and Ram Singh) offered Hussain the money they had brought with them In this matter of giving and taking some differences arose and they returned to their own place with the money

At this the slave became very angry and lost all sense of good or bad He did not pause to consider the ways and means but at once ordered the beating of the drum for advance

He threw all tactical considerations to the wind A party of hares surrounded a lion for the purpose of overawing him He kept them invested for 15 *pahars* (about 45 hours) and did not allow either food or drink to pass

The soldiers became indignant at the want of food and drink and sent a messenger for the purpose of making peace Beholding his valiant Pathan soldiers around him, the slave lost his balance and did not agree to the proposal

‘ Either give me ten thousand rupees immediately or take death upon your head,’ (he said) I (the Guru) had sent Sangatia there and he brought Gopal (to the enemy’s camp), giving him assurance (for his safety)

The two sides could not agree and then Kripal thus thought within himself—“such an opportunity will never come again, time, in its circle, deceives every body”

"Gopāl must immediately be done away with—either he must be made a prisoner or be killed" When Gopāl got scent of these intrigues, he, the king of heroes, escaped to his own men

When Gopāl was gone, Kṛpāl raged in his fury Himmat and Hussain (joined) and rushed into the fray

\* \* \*

Then raged the Rajas of Kangra and Katoch, their faces and eyes red in anger, and their minds free from all other considerations From another quarter the Khans entered arrows in hand, and it seemed that leopards were roaming in quest of flesh

\* \* \*

There had been fighting a hero named Hari Singh, who received, in his body, many arrows from the enemy In great anger he killed many of the soldiers and after exhibiting a great fight, went to the other world

Himmat and Kimmat advanced sword in hand Jalal Khan joined with a mace The determined heroes fought, intoxicated as it were Blows followed blows and weapons crowded upon one another

\* \* \*

Then Hussain himself entered into the thick of the fight, wielding bows and arrows in both hands His face and eyes red with indignation, the fierce Khan commenced a great fight

\* \* \*

Then all the heroes entered arrows in hand and from all the four sides arose the cry, 'kill, kill' They wielded their weapons with great dexterity and at last Hussain Khan fell and went to the other world

\* \* \*

(When they saw Hussain Khan fall) all the soldiers of Katoch advanced in their rage, together with the indignant Himmat and Kimmat Hari Singh also came forward at that time and killed many valiant horsemen, especially selecting them for the purpose

Then the Raja of Katoch raged carefully selecting his position in the field He wielded his weapons with unerring aim, thundering death (upon his opponents)

(From the other side) raged the Raja of Chandel and all attacked in dignity in a body. Those who had entered into the fray were killed and those (who had remained behind) fled with their lives

Sangat Rai died with his seven companions On the death of Kṛpāl in the battle Gopāl rejoiced When the leaders fell the soldiers all fled in disorder

\* \* \*

In this way the enemies were all killed and they began to take care of their own dead There they found the wounded Himmat and Ram Singh spoke thus to Gopāl—



"That Himmat, who has been the root of all these quarrels has now fallen wounded in our hands " When Gopal heard this he killed Himmat and did not allow the latter to get up alive

Victory came and the battle ended The soldiers remembered their homes and proceeded thither The Lord saved me (from unnecessary warfare) by decreeing the din of battle elsewhere.

## V SECTION XII

### *The expedition of Jujhar Singh*

In this manner fight continued *endlessly* and the leader of the Turks was killed Dilwar became very angry and sent another army (in this direction)

From his side came Jujhar Singh, who immediately drove out the enemy from Bhallan On this side Gaj Singh mobilised his troops and fell upon him early in the morning

There Jujhar Singh stood erect like a flag post planted on the field of battle Even the post might waver but the brave Rajput did not flinch

The soldiers of both parties moved in detachments the Raja of Chandel on that side and on this side the Raja of Jaswar They were all fired with indignation and the fight commenced

\* \* \*

The battle continued with great vigour on both sides Chandan Rai was killed when Jujhar Singh alone continued the fight He was soon surrounded from all sides

Without any hesitation he rushed into the enemy's ranks wielded his weapons with great dexterity, killed many of the valiant soldiers and at last himself went to the other world

## VI SECTION XIII

### *The arrival of the Shahzada*

In this manner Jujhar met his death and the soldiers returned to their homes Then Aurangzib became very angry and sent his son to the Punjab

At his approach all were frightened and fled to the hills My own men also were very much frightened as they did not understand the ways of the Almighty

Some left me and took shelter where the big hills stood Then the son of Aurangzib became very angry and sent a subordinate in this direction who pulled down the habitations of those who had left me.

\* \* \*

The name of the man who plundered the apostates was Mirza Beg The Guru himself saved all those who remained true to him

There Aurangzib's sons anger knew no bounds and he sent four other officers. These plundered the houses of all those apostates who had escaped Mirza Beg Khan

## THE KINGDOM OF MAGAN

By

The Rev H HERAS, S J

Magan is a kingdom mentioned in a number of Sumerian documents between 2,630 B C to 2,400 B C. The references to Magan in these documents are of a different nature

1 Magan is one of the countries conquered by King Sargon of Akkad<sup>1</sup>

2 Narâm-Sin the son and successor of Sargon went to Magan and defeated its king<sup>2</sup>

3 Gudea, *patesi* (lord) of Lagash imported large quantities of products from Magan for a temple he was building<sup>3</sup>

4 Sundu, probably a merchant from Ur, sent a messenger named Bur nügga accompanied by one Akalla, to Magan. The purpose of the expedition was most likely commercial<sup>4</sup>

These relations between Sumer and Magan partly peaceful and partly violent, have aroused great interest in all Sumeriologists. Accordingly they have tried to identify this kingdom of Magan, and the number of opinions about this identification shows that the kingdom of Magan has not finally been found as yet

Hommel identifies Magan with Ma'an in the Minaean country of Arabia or Yemen on the south Western coast of the Peninsula<sup>5</sup>. So think also Hitti<sup>6</sup> and Dowson,<sup>7</sup> though the latter, on another occasion puts it on the eastern coast of Arabia<sup>8</sup>

Woolley suggests that Magan must be 'some point on the Persian Gulf',<sup>9</sup> and is finally inclined to localize it "probably on the West coast of the Persian Gulf"<sup>10</sup>. The same eastern coast of Arabia is suggested by King<sup>11</sup>

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1 Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp 86-87, 89

2 King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p 10 4

3 *Cylinder A of Gudea*, Cf King Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries* p 203

4 Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets No 84* Cf Hitti *History of the Arabs*, p 36

5 *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p 377.

6 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p 53

7 Dowson, *The Age of the Gods*, p 116

8 *Ibid.*, p 78

9 Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 46

10 *Ibid.*, p 82

11 King *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p 242

That Magan was in the Sinaitic peninsula was the opinion of Lenormant<sup>12</sup> and later of King and Hall<sup>13</sup>

G Smith says that Magan is "The most ancient cuneiform name of Egypt",<sup>14</sup> an opinion which was brought forward once more in more recent times by Dr W F Allright<sup>15</sup>

S Smith avers that Magan is "far to the south-east of Babylonia",<sup>16</sup> though in the same work he acknowledged that Magan "must lie some considerable distance to the south west"<sup>17</sup>

Langdon believes that Magan is to be found in Jebel Akhdar in Oman,<sup>18</sup> and more recently Peake identifies the place with Jabal al Ma'adan in the corner of Arabian land entering the sea and forming the entrance of the Persian Gulf<sup>19</sup>

Among all these varied opinions there is none pointing out to India as the possible country of identification of Magan<sup>20</sup> Nothing was known about synchronism of civilizations in Sumer and India till recent times The discoveries of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa opened new vistas into the field of oriental research We know now that India was well known in Sumer Between Mohenjo Daro and Sumer "a close trade connection is proved by the fact that seals of exactly the same type as those found in India have also been found in Babylonia"<sup>21</sup> Hall and Haddon have already advanced the opinion that the people of Sumer probably came from India<sup>22</sup> In fact the migration of the Sumerians from India seems to be implied by *Genesis*<sup>23</sup> and

12 *Journal of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* VI, pp 348 and 399

13 King Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p 158

14 Smith, *Early History of Babylonia*, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, I, p 52

15 Allright, "Menes and Narām-Sin", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, pp 89-98, Allright, "Magan, Meluha and the Synchronism between Menes and Narām Sin", *Ibid* VII, pp 80-86

16 Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p 99

17 *Ibid*, p 49

18 *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 416

19 Peake, 'The Copper Mountain of Magan', *Antiquity*, 1928, p 457

20 In order to show how India has been apparently purposely ignored in this respect, it is worth relating that when a committee of inquiry was constituted 'to report on the probable sources of the supply of Copper used by the Sumerians copper specimens were obtained from Asia Minor, Persia, Cyprus, Egypt and Arabia India was discarded *a priori* Cf Peake, *op cit*, pp 452-457

21 *Ibid* Cf Heras, "The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer", *B B & C I Annual*, 1938, Gadd, 'Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII, Langdon "A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins", *Ibid* 1931, pp 593-596, Langdon, "Another Indus Valley Seal", *Ibid*, 1932 pp 47-48

22 Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp 173 174, Haddon, *The Races of Man and their Distribution* p 100

23. XI, 3

confirmed by Berosus<sup>24</sup> A Babylonian chronicle mentions the name of Andubar as of an Indian who taught astronomy to the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia<sup>25</sup> The Indian tradition about trade relations between India and Sumer is recorded in the *Baberu Jataka*<sup>26</sup> We cannot doubt at present about the frequent intercourse existing between both countries from very ancient times

This being firmly settled we may now make a further inquiry Is perhaps Magan situated in India? In order to elucidate this question we shall study it from different points of view

I, *The Name* The country referred to in the Sumerian documents is ordinarily called Magan which probably was pronounced as Makkan by the Semites<sup>27</sup> Both the *Babylonian Chronicle* and the *Assyrian Omens* call this kingdom Maganna<sup>28</sup> On Ptolemy's chart this name is given as Μαγιννα Now comparing these three names

- 1 M A G A N
- 2 M A G A N NA
- 3 M A G I N DA NA

we find that the first two syllables of this name should doubtlessly be Magan consistent in Nos 1 and 2 and only once changed into *Magin* As regards the third syllable there is no doubt that there was a third syllable in the name for Nos 2 and 3 each have 3 syllables Now in No 3 this third syllable is *da* while in No 2 is *na* But *na* happens to be the fourth and last syllable of No 3 Hence we may reasonably state that *na* was the last syllable of the name as given in Mesopotamia (through whose geographers and scholars it came to the ears of Ptolemy) The third syllable *da* of No 3 was very likely lost in No 2 while reduplicating the syllable *na* instead which syllable happened to be the last one a phenomenon which is not infrequent in ancient linguistics Accordingly the full name of the kingdom as known in Sumer seems to have been Magadana<sup>29</sup>

Now in India there existed a country called Magadha from very ancient times. The earliest mention of Magadha is found in the *Atharvaveda* when fever is wished away to the Gandharas and Mujavants to the west and to the Angas and Magadhas to the east<sup>30</sup> This passage already shows that the kingdom of Magadha was inhabited by people that appear throughout Vedic

24 Schnabel *Berosos und die Babylonisch Hellenistische Literatur* pp 253 254

25 Cf Rawlinson, Notes on Captain Durand's Report upon the Islands Bahrein, *J R A S* (1880) XII p 208

26 Cowell *The Jataka* III 83 Cf Heras The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals *loc cit*

27 Unguad in *Orient Lit Zeit* 1908 col 62 No 4

28 King, *Chronicles* II pp 10 and 38

29 Rawlinson *op cit* p 215

30 *Ath V* 22 14

literature as of low reputation<sup>31</sup> In fact later Vedic texts disclose a clear antipathy to the people of Magadha<sup>32</sup> The cause of this dislike on the part of the Āryas was the fact that Magadha was not aryanised.<sup>33</sup> Magadha was persistently pre-Āryan long after the Āryas settled in Madhyadeśa.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly the Brahmins living in Magadha were supposed to be bad Brahmins<sup>35</sup> and looked at with great contempt.<sup>36</sup> In fact it was unusual for a Brahmin to dwell in Magadha<sup>37</sup> Even in the Upaniṣadic period there were very few Brahmins in Magadha<sup>38</sup> The fact that some respectable Brahmins some times were living in Magadha is considered to be an exception<sup>39</sup>

Synonymous of Magadha is the word Kīkaṭa<sup>40</sup> The Kīkaṭas in fact were a tribe of non Āryan people living in Magadha<sup>41</sup> Hence the whole country of the Kīkaṭas is considered to be a non Āryan country<sup>42</sup> Accordingly the Kīkaṭas are classified as low born and hostile to the Rgvedic singer in one of the hymns of the third *maṇḍala*.<sup>42</sup>

Magadha therefore existed in the Rgvedic period, and existed as a kingdom, for in the same passage of the *Rgveda* its king is mentioned, as we shall see presently How are we justified in supposing that the kingdom existed long before? It would be a very strange coincidence, indeed, that the kingdom would have been founded just then, at the time of the arrival of the Āryas It was a Dravidian kingdom, the very name of which discloses its importance, which could not have been acquired in a few years. For *Makadam*, which evidently was the ancient Dravidian name of the kingdom<sup>43</sup> means "the powerful country" Evidently this power and consequent greatness was the natural outcome of hundreds of years of uninterrupted rule Hence it is not improbable, nay it is practically certain, that the kingdom already existed round the middle of the 3rd millennium B C., when the Sumerian documents mentioned the kingdom of Magan

31 Macdonell Keith, *Vedic Index* II, p 116

32 *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XXII 4 22, *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* VIII, 6

22

33 Oldenberg, *Buddha* p 400 n

34 Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, pp 52, 53, 185, 10, 99, Weber, *Indian Literature*, pp. 79 n 1, 111, 112

35 *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* VIII, 6

36 Keith *The Religion and Philosophy in the Veda and Upaniṣad* p 496

37 *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, VII 13 38. *Chāndogya Āraṇyaka* VII, 13

39 Oldenberg *op cit.*, p 400 n, Weber, *Indian Literature*, p 112. Cf Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp 195-198.

40 Macdonell Keith, *op cit.*, I, p 159

41 Zimmer, *Altindische Leben* pp 31, 118.

41a. *Yāskā Nirukta*, VI, 32.

42. *Rg* III, 53 14 Cf Geldner *Rigveda Kommentar* p 58.

43 There is still now a portion of the South Arcot District which is called *Makadam*

II *The King* The king defeated, perhaps killed,<sup>44</sup> by Nāram-Sin was called Mannu dannu<sup>45</sup> In an inscription on the base of a broken statue of Nāram Sin found at Susa the name of the King is partly wanting Fr Schell reads the name Manu [ ] and has suggested that the syllable missing is *um*, the whole name therefore being Manum<sup>46</sup> But Thureau Dangin says that in the *lacuna* following the first part of the name, there are traces of the sign *dan* Therefore the name must be the same as given in the *Babylonian Chronicle*, Mannu dannu<sup>47</sup>

The historian of Sumer draws the attention of their readers to the adjective *dannu*, meaning "powerful", for this king is the only one amongst those defeated by Nāram Sin who receives this honorific title. From this fact they deduce the great power this king enjoyed before his being defeated by the Akkadian King<sup>48</sup>

Now Dr Allright has identified this king Mannu dannu with the first dynastic king of Egypt, the famous Menes<sup>49</sup> His opinion nevertheless has not been accepted by any orientalist.<sup>50</sup>

As a matter of fact if we examine this name carefully we shall easily detect a great resemblance with Dravidian names *Man* may mean 'earth' and also "greatness", "superiority", "excellence" These latter meanings perfectly agree with the dignity of the king As to the title *dannu* meaning "powerful" in Sumerian, it is derived from the Dravidian word *tan* or *dan* that means "to give," "to be generous," etc The name Tanan or Danan "the generous man", "the gift giver" is an ordinary Tamil name in the present and was read phonetically in the Indus Valley inscriptions<sup>51</sup> by the present writer The Sumerian meaning is a derivative meaning, for a person who gives gifts and is generous and is supposed to be powerful<sup>52</sup>

Now considering this meaning that the Sumerians gave this word, it is wonderful how it fits most perfectly to a king of Magadha The Dravidian meaning of this name is 'the powerful country', and the Sumerian meaning of the title of the king of Magadha is the same "powerful" Naturally the king of the powerful country was also "powerful" That perhaps

44 According to the Susa inscription Schell, *Textes Elamites-Semites*, III p 5

45 *King Chronicles* II p 10 46 Schell *op et loc cit*

47 *King A History of Sumer and Akkad* p 241, note 2

48 Allright, Menes and Naram-Sin *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, p 89

49 *Ibid* pp 89-98

50 *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI pp. 295-296

51 Mackay *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, II, pl. LXXXIX No. 363

52 The ending *u* of both the name and the title of this king also smacks of Dravidian phonetics

was the reason why this title was given to this king in the Sumerian documents, and not to the other kings subdued by Narâm Sin.

Now though we do not know of any king of Magadha who could be identified with this early king defeated by the Akkadian ruler, we know of one belonging to a period somewhat later, whom we wish to mention here. In the Rgvedic period the Kikāṣas of Magadha are supposed to be under the leadership of Pramaganda. Pramaganda is said to be the owner of much wealth<sup>53</sup>. He is supposed to be the king of the Kikāṣas of Magadha<sup>54</sup>. He evidently is a non-Āryan<sup>55</sup>. His real name seems to have been *Periyama kandan*, which means "the great powerful gift", a name which is of special interest while comparing it with that of Manu dannu, because both bear a suffix title implying the connotation of generosity.

**III Other neighbouring Kings** An ancient Babylonian map of the world to illustrate the campaigns of Sargon of Akkad, has been found and published in modern times.<sup>56</sup> The explanation of this map is not unfortunately very elucidating on account of its fragmentary condition. Nevertheless we find there a description of the "circular river" i.e. the sea, with the mention of Utnapishtim, who was according to ancient tradition living in an island of the southern sea. Then Sargon is mentioned and finally Nur Dagan, "the king of a country whose name is lost," who appears to be living in the same mythical neighbourhood as Utnapishtim.<sup>57</sup> This shows that Nur Dagan is living in a country bordering on the southern seas, and since we know that one of the countries conquered by Sargon was Magan and that this map was supposed to illustrate his conquests we may rightly assume that Nur Dagan was either a king of Magan, or a king of a neighbouring country<sup>58</sup>. Now this name Nūr Dagan happens to be a purely Dravidian name. Nūr Takan would mean "a hundred serpents", a significance which is very suggestive considering the numerous *nāga* tribes existing in India and the *naga* origin of two later dynasties that rule in Magadha.

Another king mentioned in connection with Narâm Sin's campaign against Magan is named Sidur. He is one of the nine vassal princes or chiefs who help Narâm-Sin in the conquest of Magan<sup>59</sup>. Now Sidur is a Dravidian name that means "the city of Sid", Sid being the name of the river Indus in the proto-Indian times.<sup>60</sup> Hence the whole country round the river was

53. *Rg.*, III 53 14

55. *Ibid*

54. Macdonell Keith, *op cit*, II

56. Thomson *Cuneiform Texts* XXII, pl 48

57. Smith *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 85

58. The historicity of this king has been doubted, but there is no serious objection against the veracity of the documents that refer to him. Cf. Smith, *op cit*, pp. 86-88

59. King Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 158.

60. Cf. Gnana Prakasar, An examination of the words "Hindu" and "Or-gan", *The Hindu Organ* (Jaffna Ceylon), XLIX, No. 3 p. 3

also called Sid from the name of the river. King Sidur was most likely the king of Sidur through whose country Narâm-Sin had to cross before entering the kingdom of Magan. This explanation seems quite natural, since the country of Sid, afterwards named Sind, was well known in Sumer and in Babylon not long after. Cotton in this country was known as Sindhu, because they knew it came from the country of that name<sup>61</sup>. The king of Sidur had apparently acknowledged the sovereignty of Narâm Sin, either willingly or after his being defeated, and eventually helped his overlord against his neighbour of Magan.

IV *A conquest prior to the conquest of Magan* Before the conquest of Magan by Narâm Sin is narrated in the *Babylonian Chronicle*, there is the account of the conquest of Apirak, which deserves careful attention. The *Chronicle* words are as follows —

"Narâm-Sin, the son of Sargon, [marched] against the city of Apirak, and he constructed mines [against it], and Rish Ad[ad], the king of Apirak, and the governor of Apirak his hand sub[dued]"<sup>62</sup>. Apparently Rish Adad or Rish Adan was an ally of the king of Magan<sup>63</sup>. If they were allies, their kingdom could not be far from each other. Rawlinson identified Apirak after removing the augment of locality *-ak*, as is found in many Akkadian names,<sup>64</sup> with the Biblical Ophir<sup>65</sup>. The identification of the Biblical Ophir with the present Sopara on the western coast of India is already of old standing. Yet in modern times Biblical scholars are inclined to place Ophir in Arabia, without knowing that the Phoenicians who were the seafarers employed by Solomon for his maritime expeditions were originally hailing from India. They naturally would come to India whose products they knew very well, to supply Solomon with the riches he was seeking for building a worthy temple to God.

Moreover in order to carry out these expeditions Solomon built a new fleet, on the shore of the Red Sea, north-west of Arabia<sup>66</sup> whence the merchandise was taken to Jerusalem undoubtedly on camels back. If the products looked for by Solomon were from Arabia he would not have been in need of building up this new fleet nor engaging Phoenician navigators<sup>67</sup> to such a great expense. By land these products could have been taken to Jerusalem, as they were finally taken from Asiongaber. Solomon's fleet harbour. In fact from the harbour of south west Arabia called Eudaemon

61 Marshall *Mohenjo Daro*, I, p 35

62 King *Chronicles* II, pp 9 10

63 Rawlinson, "Notes on Capt. Durand's Report", *J R A S*, XII, p 214

64 For instance Asnunak, Surippak, Susinak.

65 Rawlinson *op et loc cit*, Prideaux, 'The Sepulchral Tumuli of Bahram', *A S A I Report* 1908-09, p 60

66 III Reg IX 26, I Paral VIII, 17

67 III Reg IX, 27, II Paral, VIII, 18



(Aden) there was a caravan route passing through the land of the Edomites<sup>68</sup> where Asiongaber was situated. Now the products of India were all taken to Eudaemon by sea if we are to believe the *Periplus*<sup>69</sup>. Hence the fleet built by Solomon was not needed at all if the goods required by him were finally coming from the Arabian peninsula. This shows that the fleet was going much further in fact to such shores from which land communication with Jerusalem could not be easily established.

As to the products of Ophir they are all Indian and the name given them in the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is Indian too —

1 Gold,<sup>70</sup> gold was found in India from very ancient times. The mines of gold of Mysore and Hyderabad were exploited in very early times. Gold jewels were found in Mohenjo Daro<sup>71</sup>. The *Periplus* speaks of gold mines in about Bengal<sup>72</sup>.

2. Thyine trees.<sup>73</sup> What sort of trees were meant by this name, it is difficult to say. Many authors understand that sandalwood or another sort of precious wood hailing from India was meant<sup>74</sup>.

3 Precious Stones.<sup>75</sup> In India they were numerous and were exported from very ancient times. The exportation of precious stones from India is spoken of in the *Periplus*<sup>76</sup>. In particular the following precious stones are mentioned as articles of exports: Agate<sup>77</sup>, carbuncle,<sup>78</sup> carnelian<sup>79</sup>, beryl, diamonds, ruby, spinel<sup>80</sup>, coral<sup>81</sup>, lapislazuli<sup>82</sup>, sapphires<sup>83</sup>, topaz<sup>84</sup>.

4 Ivory<sup>85</sup>. It is well known that India has always been one of the ivory exporting countries.

5 Monkeys.<sup>86</sup> The word used in the Hebrew original is *kophy* which some suppose is derived from the Egyptian *gofe*<sup>87</sup>. The ancient Dravidian word meaning monkey is *kapi* from which the Egyptian word also proceeds.<sup>88</sup>

68 Kammerer *Petra et la Nabatène* pp. 40-50

69 Schoff *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* p. 32.

70 III Reg. IX 28 II Paral. VIII 18.

71 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* II pp. 519 521 523

72. Schoff *op cit* pp. 48 160 258.

73 III Reg. X 11 II Paral. IX 10

74 Hagen *Lexicon Biblicum* III cols. 1188-1189 Cf. Montgomery *Arabia and the Bible* p. 178 and note 34

75 III Reg., X, 11 II Paral., IX 10

76 Schoff *op cit.*, p. 37

77 *Ibid.*, p. 193

78. Watt, *op cit.*, 716

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 561 716 Schoff *op cit.*, pp. 190 193

80 Schoff *op cit.*, pp. 222 224

81 *Ibid.* p. 168

82 *Ibid.*, p. 170

83 *Ibid.* p. 226

84 *Ibid.*, p. 167

85 III Reg., X 22.

86 *Ibid.*, II Paral. IX 21

87 Hagen, *op cit* III col. 1011

88 Montgomery *op cit.*, p. 177

6 Peacocks<sup>89</sup> The word used in Hebrew is *tukhm* which is evidently derived from the Dravidian *tokes* which is still used in Malayalam

The products mentioned in the Bible as coming from Ophir are so clearly Indian that even Schoff, who does not recognize Ophir as an Indian harbour, says about them "The Indian names for the products mentioned proved clearly enough that it was a trading centre dealing with India even if the land itself was not Indian."<sup>90</sup>

Now the Indian Ophir cannot be but the present Sopārā, on the northern Konkan coast Its name has had the following varieties

- |   |            |   |
|---|------------|---|
| 1 | Shurpāraka | In Sanskrit literature                                      |
| 2 | Suppāraka  | In Buddhist literature                                      |
| 3 | Hopara     | } Local pronunciation of the name of the town <sup>91</sup> |
| 4 | Opara      |   |

We see therefore that the original initial S has the tendency to be eliminated as it was done by the writers of the Bible, while it was still kept by Josephus as Sophira<sup>92</sup> and in the name meaning India in the Coptic and Egyptian languages which is also *Sophir*<sup>93</sup> Moreover Josephus tells us that Sophira was a 'regio Indiae' a region of India In fact Sopāra was one of the most important places of the Western coast of India from very ancient times In the *Mahabharata* it is mentioned as a very holy place where the Pandavas rested on their way from Gokarna (S Kanara) to Prabhas<sup>94</sup> It is being referred to as a very large city<sup>95</sup> where, according to Buddhist traditions, Gautama was born in one of his former births<sup>96</sup> It was the capital of the Konkan for a very long time<sup>97</sup>

Against the identification of Ophir with Sopāra it may be said that the country where Sopārā is is all round an agricultural track wherefrom these products of industry and commerce can hardly be expected But it is also a fact that having in this north western coast of India excellent harbours products from other parts of India were brought there to be exported to foreign countries The author of the *Periplus* says that silk cloth raw silk and other goods were brought to Broach all the way from Bengal<sup>98</sup> The products exported from Broach were numerous and varied<sup>99</sup> amongst them agate and carnelian<sup>100</sup> The ships from Broach were going up to Egypt.<sup>101</sup> There is therefore no objection in having export ships sailing from Sopara

89 III Reg X 22 II Paral IX 21

90 Schoff *op cit* p 175

91 *Thana District Gazetteer* p 317

92 Flava Josephi *Antiquitatum Judaicarum* 1 VIII c 6 No 4

93 Champolion *L'Egypte* I p 98, Wilkinson *Ancient Egyptians* I p 134

94 *Mahabharata* Vana Parva CXXVIII

95 *Harivamśa* XXXIX v 28 XL v 39

96 Hardy *Manual of Buddhism* p. 13 (2nd edition)

97 *Imperial Gazetteer* XXIII p 87 98 Schoff *op cit* p 48

99 *Ibid* p 27 100 *Ibid* p 42 101 *Ibid*

This Sopara, Suppāraka or Opara seems to be the city named as Apīrak in the *Babylonian Chronicle*. Nārām-Sin was in need of this city in order to get possession of its harbour where the products of the whole of India used to be taken for exportation.

The conquest of Apīrak = Supparaka as a preliminary step to conquer Magan also points to India as a probable country where to locate this kingdom.

V *Geographical Situation* Among the lands conquered by Sargon there are some countries mentioned as being "beyond the upper sea," and others being "beyond the lower sea." Ana and Kaptara (Crete) are the former, Dilmun and Magan are the latter.<sup>102</sup> By the upper sea the Mediterranean is evidently meant. The lower sea seems to be the Persian Gulf. Magan therefore should be found beyond the Persian Gulf.

Now beyond the "lower sea" Sargon is said to have reached "the country of the black heads," which becomes the theatre of his military exploits.<sup>103</sup> Who were these "black heads"? Sargon himself calls his subjects *nīši salmat kakkadi*, "the black headed people."<sup>104</sup> The Sumerians therefore were "black heads." Therefore while speaking of "the country of the black heads," Sargon seems to mean "the country where the black heads hail from," "the cradle of the black heads." We have already seen that the Sumerian's country of origin is India. Hence the exploits of Sargon seem to have taken place in India.

Moreover Magan, according to the Sumerian records, appears to be a mountainous country. An inscription on the broken statue of Narmān-Sin found at Susa informs us that the stone out of which that statue was carved out was brought from "the mountains of Magan."<sup>105</sup> This information perfectly agrees with the geographical condition of Magan. The Himalayas rise on its northern boundaries.

As regards the distance from Sumer to Magadha, two small details found in the Sumerian documents give us some useful information. The Lagash *patesi*, Gudea, had brought *na kalag*, "a stone" from Magan, the expedition taking one full year.<sup>106</sup> Evidently, therefore, the expedition went beyond the Persian Gulf. Magan was evidently accessible from the Indian Ocean.<sup>107</sup> But what side of it, on the Indian shores to the east or on the African coast to the west?

102 Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 89

103 Rawlinson, *op cit*, p. 214

104 Kortleitner, *De Sumerūs eorumque cum vetere testamento rationibus*,  
p. 16

105 King *A History of Sumer and Akkad* p. 242

106 Cylinder A 23, 1

107 Allright, "Magan, Meluka, Menes and Nārām-Sin" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII, p. 82

The messenger sent from Ur to Magan by the merchant Sunda had been furnished with food for his journey<sup>108</sup> The tablet in which the sums for his food are recorded also speaks of a royal paymaster accompanied by a guard with his spear and two assistants going to the city of Susa the capital of Elam which at this time was in subjection to the Kings of Ur This seems to show that the merchant Sunda took the opportunity of the expedition of a royal paymaster to Susa to send his own messenger with him up to this capital If Magan is placed in Arabia as Nies does, the mention of this royal paymaster and his attendants in this tablet seems inexplicable

This fact is of great importance. First because it shows that Magan could be reached on foot all the way from Ur Second it discloses likewise that Magan being towards the East beyond the Persian Gulf must be some where in the Indian peninsula

As regards the time employed by the messenger to reach Magan Nies thinks that it was a month The whole question depends on the significance of the word Magan If the word meant the capital of the kingdom the future Rajagṛha Buniḡga would have employed somewhat more than a month But if Magan meant only India where Magan was situated it could be more or less reached within that period of time

The fact that the ships going to Magan took one full year to reach the shores inclines me to believe that the ships turning round Cape Comorin went to the eastern coast of India on the Bay of Bengal wherefrom the kingdom of Magadha was much nearer Trade from the eastern coast of India to the Arabian sea was known in ancient times *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* speaks of maritime commerce carried on between Sopatma a port on the eastern coast of India and Egypt<sup>109</sup>

VI *The Ships of Magan* The kingdom of Magadha being at a certain distance from Sumer probably the whole of India where Magadha was situated received the denomination of Magan The ships of Magan are very often mentioned in the Sumerian documents.<sup>110</sup> In fact Magan is called the land of ships in Sumero-Babylonian inscriptions<sup>111</sup> The people of Magan were a seafaring nation renowned for their skill as shipwrights<sup>112</sup> They were in fact the merchants that established a link between their country and Sumer<sup>113</sup> A period of anarchy had preceded the reign of Ur Nammu This king restored peace and prosperity throughout his kingdom A dedicatory inscription of the temple of Nannar in Ur by Ur Nammu commemo

108 Nes *op cit* No 84

109 Schoff *op cit* pp 46-47

110 Allright Menes and Naram Sin  
pp 90-91

*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI

111 Dowson *The Age of the Gods* p 78

112 *Encyclopaedia of Islam* I p 379

113 Dowson *op cit* pp 78-79

rates the renewal of commerce with Magan by saying that "the ships of Magan he restored to its hand" <sup>114</sup> They were therefore the ships of Magan that were trading with Sumer, not vice versa

This sea trade also points to India, the country of the Minas, of the Tirayars and of the Panis, whose maritime achievements were the only ones in ancient times. There was no nation in Arabia, nor in the African coast who ever carried out maritime trade as the Proto-Indian tribes of India. In fact the Akkadian Dravidian sea trade is considered as a fact by Schoff <sup>115</sup>

**VII Magan Products** The commerce between Magan and Sumer was of importation rather than of exportation. A religious text clearly says: "The products of foreign lands may he bring to Nippur" <sup>116</sup>

The products of Magan referred to in the Sumerian documents are the following —

(a) *Alabaster* A vase of alabaster was carried away from Magan by king Narâm-Sin as part of the war booty <sup>117</sup>

Alabaster is found in several parts of India <sup>118</sup> "Alabaster, where met with is largely utilized in the manufacture of ornaments and toys. The dark green form procured from Garhwal is regularly made into elegant cups and saucers and large bowls that are much admired by the richer native gentlemen of Northern India" <sup>119</sup> The *Periplus* speaks of *alabaster* as being exported from the Minaean country <sup>120</sup> in south Arabia. It is well known that many of the products exported from the Minaean harbours had originally come from India <sup>121</sup>

(b) *Copper* Much copper was imported to Sumer from Magan. <sup>122</sup> Magan is called "the land of copper" and "the mountain of copper" <sup>123</sup> The latter expression was known to the author of the *Periplus*, who translated it as *oreichalkos* (mountain copper) <sup>124</sup>

In India copper is found in Darjeeling, Garhwal and several parts of the outer Himalayas, "where a killas like rock persists along the whole range, and is known to be copper bearing in Kulu, Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim

114 Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 133.

115 Schoff *op cit*, p. 173

116 Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* No. 1, obv. col. 2

117 Thureau Dangin, *Allsumerische und Akkadische Königsinschriften*, p. 164, Allright, "Magan, Meluha" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VII p. 83

118 Watt, *The Commercial Products of India being an abridgement of 'The Dictionary of Economic Products of India'* pp. 716-718

119 *Ibid.*, p. 718.

120 Schoff, *op cit*, p. 31

121 *Ibid.*, p. 115

122 Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 49

123 Allright, "Magan Meluha, *op cit*, p. 31

124 Schoff, *op cit*, p. 24

and Bhutan"<sup>125</sup> This is very likely the "mountain of copper" of the Sumerian records

Copper was already used for making arms, vessels and images by the Proto-Indians Numerous objects of copper have been found in Mohenjo Daro<sup>126</sup> and Harappa<sup>127</sup> The exportation of copper from India is also mentioned in very early times<sup>128</sup>

(c) *Diorite* This very hard black stone was brought from Magan,<sup>129</sup> for fashioning statues<sup>130</sup>

Diorite is also found in India and has been used for making statues specially for temple worship, from very old times Diorite statues are found in India very far from diorite quarries Therefore the shifting of diorite blocks is acknowledged in the history of Indian art.<sup>131</sup>

(d) *Goats* They were also brought to Sumer, though there is no specification of the kind of goats imported<sup>132</sup>

In India there have been goats of different breeds from very ancient times,<sup>133</sup> among them the one called goat-antelope.<sup>134</sup>

(e) *Pigs*<sup>135</sup> Pigskin is also mentioned as an article of Indian exportation<sup>136</sup>

(f) *Rhinoceros* It is mentioned in the Sumerian documents with the word *makkani*<sup>137</sup>

The existence of the rhinoceros in north-eastern India, is well known It is used for hornwork in industry<sup>138</sup>

(g) *Wood of different kinds* Gudea avers that he brought wood of all kinds from Magan<sup>139</sup> One of these kinds of wood is mentioned in Sumerian documents as *Mus Magana*, "the tree of Magan"<sup>140</sup> It has been identified with the *Acacia nilotica* by the partisans of the Egyptian identifica-

<sup>125</sup> Watt, *op cit*, p 401

<sup>126</sup> Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 30, II, pp 481-488.

<sup>127</sup> Watts, *Excavations at Harappa*, I, pp 85, 99, etc

<sup>128</sup> Schoff, *op cit*, p 151

<sup>129</sup> King *Babylonian Chronicle*, I, p 52

<sup>130</sup> King *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, pp 242 258, 262, *Cambridge Ancient History* I, p. 415

<sup>131</sup> Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, VI, pl IV, p 75.

<sup>132</sup> Allright, *op cit*, pp 82-83 <sup>133</sup> Watt, *op cit*, pp 644 743

<sup>134</sup> Watt, *op cit*, p 844

<sup>135</sup> Allright, "Menes and Narām Sin," *op cit*, p. 90.

<sup>136</sup> Watt, *op cit*, pp. 702, 752 <sup>137</sup> Allright, *op et loc cit*

<sup>138</sup> Watt, *op cit*, p 644

<sup>139</sup> Inscription on Gudea's colossal statue erected in E-nunnu King, *op cit*, p 262

<sup>140</sup> Allright, "Magan, Meluha" *op cit* p 82

tion of Magan<sup>141</sup> Others identify it with the *Acacia seyal* Yet there seems to be a general consent as regards the genus. *Mus Magan* seems to be an *acacia* No country may boast of a tree so widely spread as India may boast of the *Acacia arabica*, called in northern India *babul* (Sanskrit, *vavvula*) and in south India *karuvel*<sup>142</sup> The *karuvel*, called then *kolvel* is already mentioned as used for building houses, in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions<sup>143</sup>

No other country besides India could offer the rulers of Sumer the extraordinary and rich variety of trees well known to all industrialists. sandal wood,<sup>144</sup> teak,<sup>145</sup> blackwood,<sup>146</sup> elbow,<sup>147</sup> to mention a few

(h) *Reeds* "The reed of Magan" seems to have been famous, as is referred to in this way in the Sumerian documents<sup>148</sup> In India there are different kinds of reeds used for making mats or thatching huts,<sup>149</sup> canes or bamboos for basket making<sup>150</sup> The reed nevertheless brought from Magan as "reed of Magan" was the reed called *sacchari*, from which honey-like sugar is extracted, which was exported from Broach to Egypt already in ancient times<sup>151</sup> The sugarcane indeed could be very rightly denominated "reed of Magan", it was a precious agricultural product of great value in countries where it did not grow In fact, this reed seems to have also been very famous in China, being named after the name Kāśi (the ancient Benares), from which kingdom very likely it was being exported there across the mountains Thus it happens that later on the word Kāśi is being translated in Chinese Buddhist work as Tī mao, which means "reed sprouts"<sup>152</sup>

Having reached the end of our study we may now state that the kingdom of Magan with which the old Akkadian and Sumerian kings had been in contact on different occasions, was most likely India in general, and the kingdom of Magadha in particular Thus after the conquest of Magan, Nārām Sin could rightly boast of the title "king of the four quarters of the world"<sup>153</sup>

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141 *Ibid*

142 Watt, *op cit*, p 3

143 Heras, "La Escritura Proto-Indica y su Desciframiento," *Ampurias*, I, p 76, Cf above, p.

144 Watt *op cit*, p 152

145 *Ibid*

146 *Ibid*

147 *Ibid*, p. 153

148. Allright, 'Menes and Nārām Sin' *op cit* p 90

149 Watt, *op cit*, p 777

150 *Ibid*, pp. 98-112, 114

151 Schoff, *op cit*, pp 27 Cf p 90

152. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 2. Cf Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, pp 58-59

153. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 242

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF ŚUDDHĀDVAITA

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The present paper proposes to be an exposition of the philosophy of Vallabhācāryya and his school, known as the Philosophy of Śuddhādvaita. The Śuddhādvaita philosophy is of interest not merely as an *advaita* interpretation of Vedānta opposed to Śaṅkarite *māyātāda* and its world denial, but also as the philosophy of one of the principal Vaiṣṇavika Schools distinct from Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaitādvaita as well as Acintyabhedābheda.

The real founder of the School of Vallabhācāryya is supposed to be an ancient *ācārya*, called Viṣṇusvāmī. According to tradition, Viṣṇusvāmī was the son of a Dravidian king who was a vassal of the emperor of Delhi. The exact time of Viṣṇusvāmī is difficult to determine, but if Nāvā's *Bhaktamālā* can be relied on, Sādhu Jñānadeva belonged to his sect and was an immediate successor to him. If this Jñānadeva be the identical person who translated the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* in Mahārāṣṭrī language, Viṣṇusvāmī must be placed somewhere near 1250 A D, i.e., about forty years before Jñānadeva who flourished in 1290 A D. Grierson's contention<sup>1</sup> that Vallabha's father, Lakṣaṇa, was a disciple of Viṣṇusvāmī and Viṣṇusvāmī must have flourished in the 14th century A D is refuted by the fact that the way in which Mādha vācāryya mentions in his *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha* the sect founded by Viṣṇusvāmī proves beyond doubt that Viṣṇusvāmī must have flourished long before Madhavācāryya himself.

The followers of Viṣṇusvāmī were believed to be worshippers of Viṣṇu in the Incarnation of Nṛsimha or the Lion man. For a long time the sect remained all but extinct and it was Vallabhācāryya who resurrected it and gave it a fresh lease of life. Vallabhācāryya was a contemporary of Śrīcāitanya. ✓ The *anubhāṣya* by Vallabhācāryya on the *Brahmasūtras* is the principal authoritative philosophical treatise of the Śuddhādvaita School. Vallabha was a prolific writer and his writings include the *Subhōdini tika* on the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the *Tattvārthadīpa* or *Tattvadīpanibandha*, the *Puṣṭi-pravāhamaryādābheda*, the *Rṅṅapremāmṛta*, the *Siddhāntarahasya*, etc. all which are read, discussed and cherished with reverence by the followers of the school. Vallabha's son, Viṭṭhalanātha Dīkṣita or Viṭṭhalesvara Dīkṣita, was also the author of several works the principal amongst them being the *Vidvanamanḍana* (referred to in Vallabha's *anubhāṣya* 4-4 sūtra



14), the *Premāṁṣṭatikā*, the *Puṣṭipravāhamaryyādābheda śikā*, the *Bhakti haṁsa*, *Vallabhāṣṭaka*, etc. Viṭṭhalanātha's fifth son, Raghunatha wrote a commentary on the *Bhaktihaṁsa* called *Bhaktitaranginī* and also another *śikā* on *Vallabhāṣṭaka*. Mention may also be made here of the *Suddhādvaitamārtanḍa*—an important work of the school by Śrī Gīrṇharajee Mahārāja, a commentary thereon called *Suddhādvaitamārtanḍaparakāśa* by Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and the *Prameyaraśnārnava* by Balakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. The *Vāda kathā* by Kalyāna Raya, a disciple of Viṭṭhala and the *Bhaktimārtanḍa* by Gopeśvarajī Mahārāja also deserve mention amongst the works of the school. Another disciple of Viṭṭhalanātha called Pītāmbara, was the author of the *Āvanabhaṅga* (which was a *śikā* on Vallabha's *Tattvadīpanibandhaprakāśa*), the *Puṣṭipravāhamaryyādāvivaraṇa*, etc. Puruṣottama, the son of Pītāmbara wrote the *śikā* on the *anubhāṣya* called *Prakāśa* as also the *Vidya-manḍanaśikā*, the *Bhaktihaṁsaviveka*, the *Bhaktitaranginīśikāśrīrtha*, the *Vallabhāṣṭakavivṛtīprakāśa*, etc. For an acquaintance with the philosophy of the school, the perusal of the "*Suddhādvaitamārtanḍa*", the "*Prameyaraśnārnava*", Hari Raya's *Brahmavāda*, Gopāl Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Brahmavada ratnāraṇa*, etc. is essential. To the same category belong also the "*Prasthāna ratnākara*" by Śrī Puruṣottamajī Mahārāja.

The literature of the Vallabhite School will not compare with that of the Rāmanujists or the Mādhva School either in erudition or depth. There is no Vallabhite writer who will compare with Vedantadeśika or Vyāsaraja svamī either in learning or subtlety of thinking and philosophical analysis.

Vallabhācāryya was the son of a Telugu Brahmin called Lakṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Lakṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa started on a pilgrimage to Kāśī with his wife. On the way, his wife gave birth to a son. It was this son of his who subsequently became famous as Vallabhācāryya. Vallabha's time of appearance was 1439 A.D. (1535 Vikramābda). Vallabha spent some time at Mathurā and Brindaban. It is said that at that time Gopālākṛṣṇa under the name of Devadamana or Śrīnātha made his appearance to him over the hill called Govardhana. It is also said that at that time the Lord also revealed himself to him in a dream and directed him to build a temple for himself and spread the cult of Puṣṭibhakti.

✓ According to Vallabha, the finite self (*Jīva*) is monadic (*anu*), is a fraction (*aṁśa*) of Brahma and is non different (*abhinnatva*) from Brahma. Like sparks from a big fire do monadic *Jīvas* shoot forth or emanate from the infinite, inexhaustible and immutable Brahman which is their material cause. *Jīvas* are thus of the essence of intelligence and felicity like their material cause, Brahman, but with the emanation of the *Jīvas* from Brahman, the inherent property of *Suddhasattva* in Brahman becomes divided (*aṁśabhūta*) and attached in infinitesimal quantities to the monadic *Jīvas*, and, becoming predominant at the will of the Lord causes the *tirodhana* or suspension of the element of joy or felicity in the *Jīvas*. Hence *Jīva* crea

ture, or finite being is that monadic fraction of Brahman in which intelligence is preponderant while joy or felicity is in abeyance or arrest. (*Tadā nirupādhiko - anurūpo-akṣarāṁśaścitpradhānastirohitānando jīvaśabdavācya bhavati.*—“*Prameyaratnāṁava*”, p. 7. Chowkhambā Sam. Ser.). In other words, *Jīva* is the name of an infinitesimal fraction of Brahman with intelligence only as its manifest property. From the time of creation, the element of joy or felicity is in abeyance in the *Jīva*, while *aśvarayya*, i.e. the lordly powers of omniscience, omnipotence, etc. as also other excellences that belong to it as fractions of the divine powers and excellences become *tirohita* or suspended subsequently (Ibid., p. 7). Though the *Jīva* is monadic, infinitesimal (*anu*), yet, inspired and filled by the Lord, it manifests the qualities of infinitude and all-pervasiveness that belong to the Lord himself. But this does not establish the intrinsic infinitude or pervasiveness of the *Jīva*, for just as the heat generated in an iron-bar through contact with fire is not intrinsic to the iron-bar itself so also the pervasiveness that manifests itself in the Lord-inspired fractional intelligence called *Jīva* is not intrinsic to the *Jīva* but is due to its contact with the element of joy or felicity in the Lord.

Though Vallabhites speak of the creation of *Jīvas*, yet they do not consider them to be *anītya* or beginning in time. Though *Jīvas* are *nītya* and therefore without beginning, yet their creation (*śṛṣṭi*) is conceivable in the sense of emanation (*niṣṛṣṭi*) which means their *udgama*, *vyuccaraṇa* or shooting up (like sparks) and not their beginning to be (*utpatti*). The all-pervasiveness of Brahman does not preclude effluxes or emanations from the Lord (like sparks from a blazing fire). In fact, Brahman is not merely the cause but also the effect, not merely the *upādāna*, primordial matter or stuff but also the *upādeya* or final product, the *vyāpāra* or causal operation and the *adhikaraṇa* or seat of the final effect.

¶ *Jīvas* are either *śuddha*, pure, or *saṁsārī*, unfree, or *mukta*, liberated. The state of the fractional, monadic intelligence immediately after its efflux from Brahman, with the element of joy or felicity in complete suspension, is *śuddhañivabhāva* or pure creaturehood of the finite being. It is a state of unalloyed (*śuddha*) intelligence. After this state, when the *Jīva* contacts *avidyā* and comes under its influence, the condition of pure creaturehood is superseded by one of bondage and entanglement in *saṁsāra* and the vicissitudes of mundane life. At this stage, at the will of the Lord, the lordly powers (*aśvarayya*) and other excellences, which continue in the *Jīva* in the *śuddha* state in fractional forms, become also suspended. And so the *Jīvas* become *baddha*, unfree and limited by an alien world (*parādhina*). Amongst these unfree *Jīvas*, some are godly or angelic in nature, while others are endowed with a demoniac or wicked nature. Angelic nature (*daivatva*) consists in subtle *vāsanās* or predispositions towards a higher spiritual life which qualify their possessors for *mukti* or liberation. The creatures whom the Lord desires to be his associates in his dramatic disports, he endows

with these higher spiritual aspirations so as to enable them to qualify for liberation. In other words the *Jīvas* whom the Lord chooses as his elect or consorts are godly *Jīvas* while the *Jīvas* who are espoused or won by *mayā* are the demoniac *Jīvas*. The Lord and the godly *Jīvas* never forsake one another and the same is true of *mayā* and the demoniac natures elected by *mayā*. And in both cases the ultimate cause is the will of the Lord which divides *Jīvas* into good and evil spirits for the enactment of the world drama. The demoniac natures cannot become one with the Lord for in them on account of the *moha* or confusion created by *mayā* the two lordly powers of *Jñāna* or enlightenment and *Bhakti* or devotion become inoperative and so at one ment or *sayujya* with the Lord becomes impossible for these *mayā* dominated demoniac beings. In fact though *mayā* works both in demoniac and godly beings in the former it is *mayā* that dominates and eclipses the *Jīvas* real nature while in the latter it never succeeds in getting the upper hand and completely obliterating the *Jīvas* self possession and self command i.e. in the one case it is *mayā* that is the ruling principle in the other case the ruling principle is the *Jīva* himself. And so in demoniac natures dominated by *mayā* at-one-ment with the Lord in the sense of *sayujya* or entering the Lord's person is a forlorn hope. In the *Brahmavadaivāraṇa* (pp 30-31) the prospect of entering the Lord's Person for a demoniac nature is compared to that of the semen of the male once discharged into a female womb re-entering the male body again.

✧ It is no doubt true that *Prakṛti* as the *Śakti* of Brahman is non-different from Brahman *Śakti* being *abhūta* or non-different from the *Śaktimat*. Therefore *Prakṛti* as part and parcel of Brahman must also consist of the felicity or joy which is the essence of Brahman. But this in no way improves matters for the demoniac natures for they have not the remotest experience of the felicity that is Brahman's essence for the reason that the Lord does not reveal his joyous nature before the demoniac *Jīvas*. *Dāvi mayā* and *asuri mayā* differ from each other even though the work of *mayā* is confusion or *moha* in each case for *dāvi mayā* subverts the end of liberation in the angelic natures while *asuri mayā* works only towards the entanglement of the ungodly beings in the toils of mundane life. When *Prakṛti* becomes dissolved in the Lord and with it the demoniac beings are also reabsorbed in the Lord even then despite indirect unity with the Lord through *Prakṛti* these demoniac beings have no experience of the felicity in the Lord because of the presence of barriers. These barriers demarcate dissolution from liberation. In liberation there is experience by the *Jīva* of the inherent felicity in the Lord as part and parcel of the Lord Himself but dissolution is mere resting in the Lord and the consciousness of this in oneself without any experience of the Lord's essential joy or felicity. The experience of this inherent divine felicity is attainable through devotion only (*Bhaktimātrasādhyā*) and such devotion is of the nature of affectionate

love (*sneharūpā*) The experience of this joy arises in the liberated state. Then the devotee rests in the heart of the Lord as Lakṣmī or His Beloved Consort In *pralaya* or dissolution there is no experience of positive felicity, there being then only negative cessation from pain as in sleep or drowsiness Though all *jīvas* are intrinsically partial elements (*śāñṣa*) of the Divine Personality, yet the division into godly and ungodly beings is there, at the Lord's will, for His dramatic disport.<sup>2</sup> When the *jīva*'s heart is inspired by higher spiritual aspirations, it does so at the will of the Lord Contrarywise when the *jīva* gives way to low and evil desires and becoming filled with wicked tendencies acquires a demoniac nature, that also happens at the will of the Lord The demoniac *jīvas* live disreputable lives in their coarse, corrupt bodies and on account of their misdeeds become degraded more and more in their rebirths becoming reborn into ever lower forms of life. Thus they become slaves of their carnal desires and are enthralled by the mundane life It is only the Lord's will that can lift them out of their degradation and till the Lord wills their salvation they cannot escape from *avidyā* and its effects But when the Lord pleases to take them back to himself as his consorts, their *avidyā* and the *samsāra* and its toils that result from it forthwith cease at the Lord's will. Then the *jīva* does not require to go through the discipline of *praxis* or *sadhana* for his salvation but becomes purified through the Lord's grace and realises at one-ment or unity with him

¶ *Mukta* or liberated *jīvas* are of two classes—*jīvanmukta* and *Paramamukta* *Jīvanmukti* commences with the cessation of *avidyā* Of the class of *Jīvanmuktas* are Sanaka and several other sages There is the *mukti* of *kaivalya*, the freedom which is dispassion or detachment, the freedom which comes through enlightenment or *jñāna* and is possible in the embodied state Those who live in the Infinite (*vyāpaka*) *Vaikunṭha* or in other realms of the Lord barring *Paramavyoma* are *mukta* or liberated *jīvas* Thereafter when through a special grace (*viśiṣṭakṛpā*) of the Lord they enter *Paramavyoma* there is *paramukti* which is pure Brahmahood Amongst the godly beings some become participators in the Lord's eternal disports (*nityaśīla*) through disinterested self-contained (*svatantra*) *Bhakti* Such *Bhakti* is awakened by hearing etc. in those in whom spiritual aspirations have been generated through associations with pious and devout people

¶ According to Vallabhites Para Brahman is Kṛṣṇa himself as signified by the word *Puruṣottama* He is the subject of all sorts of *aprakṛta* or immaterial excellences and virtues and has a nature of everlasting joy or felicity All His dramatic disports are eternal, and all supernatural qualities are ever manifest in Him When Para Brahman desires to be many then there arises in Him a change of *rūpa* or form The Form which thus arises in Him is the cause of all causes and is *Akṣara* or Immutable Brahman In this *Akṣara* state owing to the preponderance of *sattva* the element of feli-

city or *Ananda* becomes dormant or latent. *Akṣara Brahman* is differently apprehended by the *Jñānī* and the *Bhakta* respectively

(1) To the *Bhakta* or the devout lover he appears as the Form of the pervasive *Vaiṣṇava* and other realms (*lokas*) of the spirit. In the Immutible Form as it presents itself to the perception of the *Bhakta* some excellences appear manifest while other qualities remain non manifest, though all qualities continue in being. The appearance or manifestation and the disappearance or vanishing from sight are nothing but the Lord's special powers (*śakti-viśeṣa*). When qualities become imperative or defunct they are said to have passed over into the non manifest or *aprākṛta* state. This disappearance is not the work of *māyā*. The *tirobhāta* which is caused by *māyā* is not objective but subjective, *māyā* does not cause the disappearance of the object but only of our knowledge of the object. *Māyā* operates in unfree beings and causes *pratīti abhava* or non apprehension in respect of *sadvaiṣaya* or things that are or exist. But the disappearance caused by the Lord is an objective transition into the *aprākṛta* state.

(2) To the *Jñānī* or enlightened however, *Akṣara Brahman* appears as reality, intelligence and joy, as beyond space and time, as self luminous, and as beyond all qualities or determinations. In the appearance in this form what remains manifest in Brahman is the power of *tirodhāna* or suspension while all other qualities remain non manifest. Hence the *Akṣara* or Immutible Brahman of the enlightened or *Jñānin* is described as *nirḍharmaka*, featureless or indeterminate. In reality however He is not featureless. If He were really featureless then the unreal would have to come into being. *Nāla bhūtes* say, what is called *abhava* or non existence is only *tirobhava* or non manifest existence and production or coming into being and destruction or ceasing to be have no intelligible meaning except as becoming manifest and ceasing to be manifest. Since *duḥkha*, suffering misery, etc. are figments of *māyā* and therefore false appearances, therefore the cessation or absence of *duḥkha*, etc. must also be a false appearance. Hence assertions of the absence of *duḥkha* in Brahman amount to the assertion of the falsity of *duḥkha*. It follows therefore that the Form of Brahman as conceived by the *Jñānī* or enlightened reduces to a featureless being with all powers abstracted therefrom and therefore beyond description in judgments for practical purposes (*sarvavyāptahatīta*).

One particular form of *Puruṣottama* which is noticeable in the *Sūryya maṇḍala* is his form as *antaryāmi* or inner controller. This *antaryāmi* is called *Puruṣa* or *Nārāyaṇa*. Three kinds of *Puruṣa* may be noted in this connection — (1) *Puruṣa* as creator of *Māhat*, (2) *Puruṣa* as immanent in the world-embryo (*Brahmaṇḍasamsthita*), and (3) *Puruṣa* as indwelling presence in all *bhūtas* or beings (*sarvabhūta-stha*). Out of *Puruṣa* come forth the Incarnations of the Lord's *Līlā* or dramatic sport in the forms of the Great Fish, the Great Tortoise, etc. The *antaryāmins* that come

out of the *Akṣara* or Immutable are all parts or partial forms (*aṁśa*) of this Principal *Antaryāmī*. They are all marked by their joyous natures, are numerically different, like *Jivas*, in different corporeal forms and are the inner controlling agents of the *Jivas* in which they dwell. In short, the *antary-  
yāmins* of sentient beings and non sentient things are all partial modes or manifestations of the Primary or Principal *Antaryyāmī*—a part or fraction of the Principal *Antaryyāmī* being manifest in every individual *antaryyāmī* in a sentient being or a non sentient thing.

According to Vallabhites, just as there is *visuddha* or pure *sattva* other than *prakṛta sattva* or *sattva* as the matter or stuff of the world so also there are *aprakṛta rajas* and *aprakṛta tamas* besides *prakṛta rajas* and *tamas* that constitute the world stuff or material cause of the world. *Aprākṛta* or Immaterial *Sattva* after creating the forms of fish etc. appears therein after the manner of fire in an iron ball and carries on their functions. In such forms consisting of pure *sattva* the Lord enters with a view to maintaining the world. The Lord as informing such *Viśuddha-Sattva* forms for the purpose of world maintenance and the like is called *Viṣṇu*. In the same way the Lord as inspiring *aprakṛta* or Immaterial *Rajas* forms is called *Brahmā*, and as informing Immaterial *Tamas* *Vigrahas* is called *Śiva*. Though they are all *aprākṛta vigrahas* or immaterial forms, yet as also controlling and directing the material or *Prakṛta* *gunas* they are to be regarded as *Saguna* or related to the *gunas*. That they have been described in the *Purāṇas* as *Para Brahman* is due to there being no real difference between them and the Lord. Though *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* are all Incarnations or Forms of *aprakṛta* *gunas*, yet the form of *Viṣṇu* is to be regarded as the highest amongst the three on account of the presence in it of the distinctive qualities of the Lord in a special manner.

§ The Lord has an infinite multitude of Forms. Every form of the Lord is Brahman in its completeness. This explains the fact why on the path of enlightenment there is no difference between *praxis* (*sādhana*) and its consequence (*phala*). It is otherwise however with the way of *Bhakti* or devotion. Just as the Lord creates the world for the purpose of dramatic disport, so also he has chalked out a separate path of *Bhakti* for those who desire to realise Him through loving devotion. In the Forms of the Lord's *Vibhūti* or Powers both the *praxis* and the end achieved thereby are limited, relative and circumscribed. The highest and most complete result cannot be achieved through these works, such result being attainable not through the worship of the *Vibhūtirūpas* but of the *Svayamrūpa* or Intrinsic Form of the Lord which is the Form of *Kṛṣṇa*. The highest end or result is *sayuṣya* and *sayuṣya* according to Vallabhites is not identity with Brahman but direct connection (*yoga*) with Brahman. Such connection or intimate relation is attainable not by enlightenment but through single minded devotion to and service of Lord *Kṛṣṇa*. There is no worship unless the Lord presents himself

externally to the worshipper as the object of devotion That is why *Bhajanā* or worship must be the worship of the Lord in his manifestations as external to oneself

✠ Liberation (*mukti*) is of two kinds—*sagunā mukti* and *nirgunā mukti*. The primary result of the worship of any deity is *sayujya* or direct union with the deity Where the deity is *saguna* the resulting union is *sagunā mukti* or liberation within the *gunas*. In other cases, *mukti* is *nirgunā* or liberation beyond the *gunas*. All deities barring Lord Kṛṣṇa himself are *saguna*. Hence *nirguna mukti* or liberation beyond the *gunas* is intimate union with Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa sayujya*). There is no *nirgunā mukti* on the path of enlightenment The Immutable (*Akṣara, Kūṭastha*), though transcending the *gunas*, also consists with the *gunas*. Enlightenment is the realisation of the *Akṣara* (as immanent in *gunas*) through *śravaṇa, manana*, etc. The liberation which results therefrom is *Kauvalya Detachment* or *Jīvanmukti* freedom in embodied being *Kauvalya* is *sāttvikajñāna* or enlightenment arising from *sāttvaguna*. Therefore it is *sāttvikamukti* or liberation in *sāttvaguna*. The enlightened turns away from the world scared by the miseries of *samsāra* and takes to the way of freedom through knowledge. It is a condition within the *gunas* and not one beyond the *gunas*. With knowledge or enlightenment comes liberation in the embodied state. In that state illusory identification with prakṛti (*adhyasa*) ceases and consequently attachment to the material world and its modes falls off. Such liberation in embodied life is liberation within the *gunas*, for in that state creature hood or creature-consciousness as under the sway of *Vidyā* and *Avidyā* continues. *Bhakti* makes its appearance subsequently to the realisation of *Brahmabhāva*—one then reaches beyond the *gunas*. If *Bhakti* does not awaken after *Brahmabhāva* one then has to continue in the *Jīvanmukta* state of embodied freedom. Such was the condition of Sanaka and the like theirs was a state (of freedom) in the *gunas* not one beyond the *gunas*. Till *Bhakti* is reached one continues within the *gunas* with the awakening of *Bhakti* one gets beyond the *gunas*. The first is a condition of enlightenment as such the second one of *Bhakti* conditioned by enlightenment. The first is illustrated in Sanaka etc., the second is illustrated in Śuka and others.

The *praxis* or *sādhana* by *Bhakti* laid down by Vallabhites is called the way of *puṣṭi* (*puṣṭimārga*). *Puṣṭi* means the Grace (*kṛpā*) of the Lord. It is an attribute of the Lord and is counteractive of time. Its effects are manifold—both natural and supernatural. *Puṣṭi* is inferred from its effects. *Mahāpuṣṭi* is Grace *Par Excellence* and consists in effecting the attainment of one's real status in the teeth of powerful obstacles. The great obstacles are the resistance of one's own nature or *stabhāva* and the resistance caused by one's works. *Puṣṭi* accomplishes all the four *puruṣārthas* or ends of life i.e., *dharma artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*. The *puṣṭi* which realises these four ends is *sāmānyapuṣṭi* or grace of the common or ordinary sort. There is

however a special grace (*viśiṣṭapūṣṭi*) from which results *Bhakti* culminating in the realisation of the Lord's *svarūpa* or intrinsic nature. The *Bhakti* which results from such special grace is called *pūṣṭibhakti*. *Pūṣṭi-bhakti* arises from the Lord's favour alone and not from anything else. (*Pūṣṭimārgo anugrahaikasādhyaḥ pramānamārgāt vilakṣaṇaḥ* — 'Anu bhāṣya', 8-89)

Every kind of *Bhakti* depends on the Lord's favour. But the *Bhakti* that arises from the Lord's ordinary favour is called *Maryyādabhakti*. The *Bhakti* that is kindled by the Lord's special grace is technically called *pūṣṭi-bhakti*. In *pūṣṭibhakti* the only object sought is the Lord himself and there is no desire for anything other than the Lord. Even *mukti* or liberation appears trivial in the eye of the devotee who has attained to *pūṣṭibhakti*.

According to Vallabhites there are four kinds of *pūṣṭibhakti*, viz —

1 *Pravāhapūṣṭi*: *Pravāha* means the stream of *saṃsāra* or world life consisting in the consciousness of the "I" and the "mine" in relation to things. And the *pūṣṭibhakti* which arises in association with this *saṃsāra* consciousness is characterised by *karmaruci* or the liking for works. In other words, in *pūṣṭibhakti* bound up with *saṃsārapravāha* there are works suited to the nature of the Lord.

2 *Maryyādapūṣṭi*: In the condition of *maryyādā*, there is cessation from the pursuit of objects arising from attraction or attachment so that the *Jīva* turns to the way of *nyūṭi* or world-denial and its consequent practices or duties. In the *Bhakti* that arises in this state or condition, the *Jīva* conquers his lust for objects and acquires a zest for hearing, etc., of discourses on the Lord and His nature.

3 *Pūṣṭibhakti*: Those who attain to this third type of *pūṣṭibhakti* are *pūṣṭibhaktas* who owing to another favour of the Lord conducive to the awakening of the enlightenment that is suited to His worship become omniscient or all knowing. Such *bhaktas* know all about the Lord, the Lord's personal attendants and courtiers. His dramatic sports, the world, etc.

4 *Suddhapūṣṭibhakti*: Those who are *bhaktas* of this fourth type are inspired by love and intrinsic affection. They serve the Lord and sing his praise out of pure affection and love. Theirs is a devotion that is very rare indeed.

Harī Raya has described this *śuddhapūṣṭibhakti* in twenty-one verses (*vide Prameyaratnarnava*, pp 19-24), the substance whereof is as follows —

☞ In the way of *Śuddhapūṣṭibhakti*, the *phala* consequence or end achieved is *Bhagavatprāpti*, attainment of the Lord, but for the realisation of this end, no *sādhana* or prescribed course of discipline is necessary. In other words, the method or means here is the absence of any prescribed means or method. Or, one may say, the end (i.e., the Lord himself) is here the means. *Siddhi* or fruition is dependent on the Lord's favour and not on individual efforts. In fact, individual effort hinders instead of furthering the



realisation of the end. The Lord elects *Jivas* out of Free Grace irrespective of their worthiness or unworthiness (according to human standards). And the devotee also does not try to judge the rightness or otherwise of the Lord's act of Grace but simply feels and recognises its super excellence. For such a *Bhakta* there is neither a sense of frailty or weakness in such acts of the Lord like Kṛṣṇa as shedding tears when chastised by His mother Jāśoda, plundering the storeroom etc. nor a sense of the uncommon or extraordinary when overpowering and subduing the Snake king Kāliya or extinguishing the conflagration etc. For him all acts point to the Lord or Master as their end and no special direction Vedic or otherwise, is necessary to discover the intrinsic import and end of all our efforts. The Lord elects *Jivas* unto himself out of free Grace—His favour is *ahetuka* not measurable in terms of human reason. And this is the reason why the end which the disciplined and much practised man fails to achieve by his strenuous spiritual efforts is easily attained by a man who may appear to be comparatively unworthy of him. Even at the time of separation from the Lord such a *bhakta* has experience of the Divine felicity for such *Bhakti* is autonomous in respect of its joy producing virtue and does not depend on the presence of the Lord's Person for producing the felicity that arises from it. As in *Bhakti* in this form the consciousness of the Lord overshadows every other experience the fear of this as well as the other world vanishes so that the *bhakta* feels the Lord's Presence in himself as obliterating all sense of time all consciousness of moral obligations as well as all ideas of himself and of the qualities intrinsic to himself. On the way of *Suddhapuṣṭi* *bhakti* the means is union physical and mental of the finite being with the Lord and the end is the union of all the senses with the Lord. And the union takes place at the will of the Lord. The consequence of it is the consciousness of the Lord in all that is allied to the Lord a feeling of repugnance to all things that are inimical to the Lord and a sense of indifference to all that is neither allied nor inimically related to Him. The *Bhakta* in this state is prompted to the preservation of the body not from a feeling of personal ownership in it but from the consciousness of its being God given and therefore belonging to the Lord. And even at the time of separation from the Lord it is preserved in the hope of a future reunion with the Lord. In the path of *Suddhapuṣṭi* worship does not consist in the rendering of any service to the Lord and the Lord also does not insult the devotion of the worshippers by bequeathing rewards for their worship. *Suddhapuṣṭi* in other words is *suddha* or pure *bhakti* for its own sake—it is love for love's sake—i.e. man's love of God out of pure zest for such love as also God's love of man for pure love's sake. In separation one tastes greater felicity in such *Bhakti* than in union because separated one has inward realisation of a new aspect of the Lord's *līla* or self display at every new moment. In the path of *Suddhapuṣṭi* *bhakti* the means and the end exchange positions so that the means is also the end and the end the means.

Thus the means which is here *Bhakti* or love of God for its own sake is also the end which it aims at and in which it culminates. Similarly the end which is *Bhagataprāpti* or attainment of the Lord is also the means inasmuch as such attainment or realisation comes only as a Gift of the Lord Himself who is to be attained or realised. The *dānya* or consciousness of nullity and insignificance which is not dependent on anything else is the cause of the appearance of the Lord, i.e., when the *Jiva* feels his own insignificance or nullity, the Lord reveals Himself. Hence such *dānya* must be distinguished from the sense of emptiness (*dānya*) that arises from separation, this latter being an effect or *phala* (of the separation) and not a cause. In *Suddhapuṣṭi* the *dānya* is intrinsic, *anyanirapekṣa*, non dependent on anything else and thus brings on the revelation of the Lord. *Suddhapuṣṭi* brings on complete renunciation of all worldly objects and surrender of everything including the body, but while as worldly they are renounced, as gifts of the Lord they are again accepted. In short, in *Suddhapuṣṭi*—the consciousness of "I" disappears and the will not as "my will" but as "Thy will" or the Lord's will, prevails. In this state the *Jiva* realises the hand of providence in everything.

According to Śuddhādvaitins the *Jiva* is consubstantial with Brahman but only as a partial element thereof and not as Brahman in all-completeness and fullness. Therefore worship is necessary for restoration or recovery of the *Jiva's* real status as a partial element within the All Inclusive Brahman. Worship, in other words is necessary for overcoming *avidyā* which is responsible for the *Jiva's* self forgetting and consequent fall into *saṁsāra* or the stream of mundane life. Worship effects his reinstatement as a *Bhakta*, i.e. his restoration as a partial element within Brahman and in necessary intimate relation of love and unity with the whole. With the cessation of egoism and its powers or *aiśvarya* and the *niṣṭi* or overcoming of *avidyā*, one attains to unity with the Lord. Even then however differences amongst *Jivas* continue.<sup>3</sup> Though the *Bhakta* attains to sameness with the Lord in respect of person, personal beauty, etc., yet, as without difference there is no real commerce of spirit, differences continue at the stage. It may be asked as *avidyā* ceases in the pure *puṣṭimārga* so as to make one fit for devotion or *bhajana*, what use is *bhajanā* or worship in this *Suddhapuṣṭi* stage? The Vallabhite answer is for the purpose of *līla* or dramatic sport—the separated *Jiva* reunites with the Lord through *bhajanā* and thereby tastes the joy of the reunion. But since *bhajana* in the *Suddhapuṣṭi mārga* does not consist in works but is *bhāvātmaka* or an emotional realisation, therefore it is *phala rūpā* in spite of its being of the nature of *sādhana* or a preparatory means. Hence such *bhajanā* never loses its character as *Suddhapuṣṭi* for *puṣṭimārga* is the way in which the end is itself the means to the end (*puṣṭimargah sa eva yatra phalam svayameva sadhanam*).<sup>4</sup>

3 Cf *Brahmavadavivaraṇa* p 20

4 *Ibid* pp 22-23

## ON SOME SPURIOUS CALUKYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

By

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In his paper contributed to the Tenth All India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati in March 1940 Rao Bahadur C R KRISHNAMACHARLU<sup>1</sup> has discussed the dates of four spurious records of the time of Calukya Vinayaditya which range from Saka 516 to 520. As these dates are too early for the king who issued these charters and as the palæography of the inscriptions is far too much removed from the period in which they purport to record the donations it is obvious that these copper plate grants are forgeries. After alluding to certain other spurious records of a Western Calukya (?) chief Vira nonamba cakravarti Rao Bahadur CHARLU<sup>2</sup> has put forward a tentative theory that in recording the exaggerated early dates the forgers have calculated the dates (*i.e.* the Saka year the name of the Samvatsara *tithi*, week-day etc.) as if the events took place 600 years earlier and that the forgeries were actually made in the eleventh century A.D. He also surmises that for the purposes of those grants the year Saka 600 must have been adopted as the starting of an era which may possibly be in celebration of or in commemoration of certain epoch making and important political event in the reign of the Western Calukya king Vinayāditya Satyāśraya. In the light of these remarks he has examined critically the dates and suggested how these with certain emendations support his contention.

Though the suggestion made in this paper is really a very ingenious one, as I shall presently show, the calculation of dates involve certain difficulties which cannot easily be solved. For since the above paper was written I have come across two more spurious grants of Calukya Vinayaditya which register donations made by him in the Saka year 520. The first one of these sets was long ago discovered in the village called Palī near Karad in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency. It was published in July 1922 in the *Quarterly of the B I S M*, III pp 6-16. This grant is dated Saka 520 Kalayukta Samvatsara Karttika Śuddha 5 Bhānuvara. Its object is to record the donation of a *ṭaṭika* in the village Ellapura in Karahāṭaka 1000 to a Brahmin named Vasudeva belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

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1 Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference Tirupati, March 1940, pp. 359-65

2 *Ibid.*, p. 362

लोपुर्न कामश्रामः सवृकु मालदेवा द्युत  
 मृगालक समेतं पाद प्रकुलक वा गा  
 मां न ने तस्या पूर्वदि शो ला गो उद्युक्त  
 दक्षिण रागो उद्गल दे विष्ठा क क र  
 श्वा क प्रमालं तस्या पश्चिम रा  
 प्रमालं तस्यो त्र न दिग्ग  
 गो सगार पनिरया प्रमा  
 गवृ क दी प्रमालं तस्या दक्षिण  
 उल पाषा ल समेतं पं यो त्र न  
 रु तु । श्व द त्रो प न द त्रो वा या ह  
 ष्टा द्यां जा या त कु मिः । सा म्  
 की यो रु व दिः सर्वो के ता कु शिकः वा

विमलालकील्लुककवपुगभट्टिनं पटिकाञ्जितकत्रया  
 पूर्वसंस्तुतं कर्मसाम्राज्यकृपतिदत्तं ॥ युतुः श्री  
 ग्रामः तस्या पश्चिमरागे श्रोतः प्रमालितस्य  
 तः प्रमालितस्य पश्चिमरागे संवलदेवी  
 गोवास्योक्तमग्रामः तस्योत्तररागे श्रोतः  
 तस्योत्तररागे श्रोतः पूर्वदिशि रा  
 लितस्योत्तरकदी प्रमालितस्य पूर्वतः रु  
 तः शोभतीति ग्रामः प्रमालितस्य मि प्रमालित  
 मशीतिसुहृत् ॥ ५ ॥ ककुनमविकाकुनं  
 तैतदसुवर्गं ॥ अष्टौ वरुणसहस्रा लिखि  
 त्वा यं वरुणसंतु कृत्वा लाकालेकालेपाल  
 शिवं द्रुकुटोदयोयायते तामरुद्रः ॥ रामदेवलिखितं

The second set was made available to me through the courtesy of Messrs S V Avalaskar and S N Patwardhan Joshi, both residents of the village Divl Agar, in the Janjurā State ( Dist Kolaba, Bombay Presidency ) It was unearthed in that village some three years ago by a farmer and before it reached my hands was still covered with thick verdegriis. The plates are three in number ( each measuring about 10" X 5½" ) and are strung in a circular ring bearing the seal of a boar to left. The grant is dated in the Saka year 520 Kālāyukta Samvatsara Caitra Amāvāsya, Vṛatipāta, Thurs day, when it is stated that there was a solar eclipse. Its object is to record a donation by Calukya Vinayāditya of the village Kollapura along with its hamlets situated in the Datiga 2000 Viṣaya to 3500 Brahmins headed by Keśava Dvivedi, Bhāskara Trivedi, Sankara Dvivedi, and Madhava Bhaṭṭa of the Ātreya and Bhāradvāja *gotras*. I quote below the relevant text of the inscription for easy reference

EXTRACT<sup>3</sup>

## Plate II b

- Line 27—श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविने(न)यादित्य स  
 Line 28—त्याश्रयवल्लभनरैन्द्रदेव कुपल ( शली ) सर्वानिवत मलहरीनद्युत्तरतटे र-  
 Line 29—क्तापुर राजधानेऽर्द्धि ( स्थि ) रतरस्वस्था (स्था)नेन पट्टव(व)धोत्सवसपादनान्वित कु  
 Line 30—रुद्रमुपागतेन पुण्ययशोवि(भि)रुद्रये पूर्वविलुप्तानपि देवभोगाग्रह (हा)  
 Line 31—रानुपालयत विशत्योत्तरपचशति(ते)पु शम्भवप्रातीति(ते)पु कालयुक्तस-  
 Line 32—वत्सरे प्रवर्तमाने । चैत्रप्राप्तामावास्याया व्यती(ति)पाते वृ(वृ)हस्पतिवारं सु(सू)र्यग्रहण  
 Line 33—तस्फाले राजविदित विप्रकुलविमलमरान्वे(न्व)ये आत्रेयगोत्र केशवद्विवेदिभ-  
 Line 34—द्याना भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्र भास्करत्रिवेदिभद्याना शक्रद्विवेदिभद्याना तस्याग्रज मा  
 Line 35—धवभट्ट प्रमुख पचशतोत्तरने(त्रि)सहस्रविप्राणा दत्तिगद्वि-सहस्र विपथोपलक्षित को-

## Plate III a

- Line 36—छापुर नाम ग्राम सट्टक्षमालदेयाभ्यतरं महालक्ष्मीस्था(स्था)न नवपुर सहित घटिका  
 श्वेतछन्दश्च  
 Line 37—मरशासनसमेत पादप्रक्षालनधारापूर्वक सर्व्वनमस्य महानृपतिदत्त ॥ चतु सी-  
 Line 38—मातरेतस्य पूर्वदिशोभागे उत्सुकग्राम तस्य पश्चिमभागे स्रोत प्रमाण तस्य  
 Line 39—दक्षिणभागे उज्ज्वलदेवि(वी) स्था(स्था)न नग प्रमाण । तस्य पश्चिमभागे कचलदेवी  
 Line 40—स्था(स्था)न प्रमाण । तस्य पश्चिमभागे वासवो नामग्राम तस्योत्तरभागे स्रोत  
 Line 41—प्रमाण । तस्योत्तरदिशोभागे रूपमग्राम । तस्य पूर्वदिशोभा-  
 Line 42—गे अगारपरिखा प्रमाण । तस्योत्तर ( रे or रेण ) नदी प्रमाण तस्य पूर्वत भ-  
 Line 43—गवनदी प्रमाण तस्य दक्षिणत गोमतीसगम प्रमाण । भूमि प्रमाण  
 Line 44—जलपापाण समेत पचोत्तरअशीति सहस्र । (Imprecating verses)  
 Line 47— . . . . . ॥ रामदेवलिखित ।

3 From the original Plates. See Figs. 12

Both the Pali and the Dive Agar grants have almost identical texts excepting of course the details regarding the donees and the property granted. Both of them are dated in the same year Saka 520, but palaeographically their script<sup>4</sup> resembles the characters of the 11th century A.D. Curiously enough both of these refer to Raktāpura situated on the northern banks of the river Malapaharī (Malaprabhā), and the village Kurunda like the four grants studied by CHARLU.

If we accept Rao Bahadur CHARLU'S suggestion taking 600 as the starting point of an era the dates<sup>5</sup> of the Dive Agar and Pali grants would correspond to 8th April and 7th October A.D. 1198 respectively. The week days in both cases do not tally with those recorded in the inscriptions. There has been no solar eclipse in the Saka year 520 as stated in the Dive Agar plates and consequently all the other details specified in the grants do not concur.

I have therefore tabulated all the spurious records of Calukya Vinayāditya in the accompanying chart and a careful examination of their dates would reveal that there is no uniformity or any method in the calculation of their dates even after taking 600 as the starting point for each date. All the dates except in Grant D have to be adjusted in one way or the other to suit our needs and in the case of Dive Agar and the Pali grants even these adjustments do not work well. It may be noted that the Dive Agar grant supplied the evidence from an unknown tract for inscriptions.

From the dates newly supplied by the Dive Agar and the Pali grants it is clear therefore that there is no method attempted in forging the spurious records of Calukya Vinayāditya.

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4 Though no facsimiles accompany the article on the Pali plates, I have examined the original set, now preserved in the Bharata—Itihāsa Samśodhaka Manḍala, Poona.

5 cf Pillai: *Indian Ephemeris* III, pp. 398-99.

## SPURIOUS COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF CALUKYA VINAYADITYA.

	Plate	Date	Donee	Property granted	Reference.	Adjusted Date.	Remarks.
A	Bellary	Saka 512, Sādhā raba Nāgha Sud dha 13 Somavāra	?	Pāpārenuru.	Annual Report of S I Epigraphy (1907), App 3	January 12, A D. 1191.	Week-day not regular.
B	Kopbal	Saka 516, Anan- da, Vaiśākha Paur ṇimā Thursday, Vyatupāta	Bhāskara - Cau- vera Bhaṭṭa of Ka- mmeya family and Kāśyapa <i>gotra</i>	Nidugundi in Kisukādu 70	Shastri's Note	May 5 A D 1194	Date regular for the previous day.
C	Dive Agar	Saka 520, Kāla yukta, Caitra Amā vāsyā Thursday, Vyatupāta, Solar Eclipse	3500 Brahmins headed by Keśava Divedi of Atreya <i>gotra</i> , Bhāskar Tri- vedi of Bhāradvāja <i>gotra</i> Sankar Dvi- vedi and his elder brother Mādhaba Bhaṭṭa	Kollāpura with its hamlets in Da- luga 2000	Unpublished	April 8, A D 1198	Week-day not regular No solar eclipse on the day as stated
D	Karnatak Historical Society	Saka 520, Kāla yukta, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā Thurs- day		Hoḍaluru in Vā (Bā) gadage 70 of Kundikā 1000	Annual Report of S I Epi (1933-34) App No 2	May 7, A D 1198	Date regular.
E	Fāli	Saka 520, Kāla- yukta, Kārttika Suddha 5, Bhānu vāra (Sunday)	Vāstudeva Bhaṭṭa of Bhāradvāja <i>go- tra</i> .	Ellāpura in Ka- rahaṭaka 1000	B I S M Q Vol III, p 6	October 7, A D. 1198 Wednesday.	Week-day not regular.
F	Madras Museum	Saka 520, Kāla- yukta Pauṣa Sud dha 13 Somavāra (Monday)	Keśava Trivedi of the Vāṇya family and the Bhāradvāja <i>gotra</i> .	Mittēre in Drau- padi 70, in Bala- kunde	Annual Report of S I Epi (1906) App 12	December 13, A D 1198	Week day not regular.



# PRATĪTYA SAMUTPĀDA AS BASIC CONCEPT OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT

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Though it may sound rather strange to say that every great thinker or true philosopher of the world is really a man of one thought it is nevertheless a truism of history. Just as a central idea called moral runs through an epic narrative interweaving various episodes into a unity so a central thought pervades a whole system of thought or of faith built upon its basic concept or creed. As regards Buddhist philosophy its basic concept is *pratītya samutpāda* a term which has been variously represented in English by *causal genesis* dependent origination and causation. We need not quarrel over words. Let us better try to realize its full philosophic and doctrinal significance as the basic concept of Buddhism in general and of Buddhist thought in particular.

In the *Āriya pariyesana-Sutta* Buddha tells us that the noble quest which had impelled him to pass from home into the homeless state of a wanderer or seeker of truth happily led him to a twofold discovery viz (1) that of *īha pratyayata pratītya-samutpada* and (2) that of *nirvāṇa*. The discovery meant the finding out of the thing or things longed for. That was in Buddha's case the non-contingent that which is not subject to the limiting conditions of life and existence.<sup>1</sup>

If thus the claim made be that of a discovery only it stands to reason to premise that the discoverer himself does not create the thing he discovers but simply finds it out as it is (*yathabhūtam*). Buddha's discovery is, therefore aptly compared to the accidental discovery by a traveller of an old buried and forgotten city as well as of the path leading to it.<sup>2</sup> Hence was his well-deserved epithet of *Tathagata* meaning the Truth finder and Path finder.<sup>3</sup> Buddhism which was an outcome of that discovery became thus both a way of truth and a way of life. As way of truth it became concerned with *the thing as it is or the things as they are and as a way of life its concern was with the thing as it ought to be or the things as they should be*

1 *Majjhima* i p 161 ff Barua Ceylon Lecture on Buddhism as personal religion. The Mahabodhi Vol 52 p 60

2 *Samyutta* i p. 104 ff Mrs. Rhys Davids, Buddhism (Home University Series) p 33 ff *Lankavatara-Sūtra*, ed Bunō Nanjō pp 143-4 Suzuki's Transl. pp 175-6 Barua *Asoka and His Inscriptions* Pt. I Ch IV

3 I accept above English renderings of the epithet offered by the late lamented Mrs. Rhys Davids.

i.e. the ideal or ideals of life conformably to the form or forms of truth as stated as well as to the nature of reality as discovered. To be intelligible to human understanding and effective as guidance to thought and action the form or forms of truth must be either philosophical or scientific, logical or psychological. To be inspiring to life and appealing to human heart and effective in their diverse expressions the form of the ideal or ideals must be either ethical or aesthetic literary or artistic social or political religious or educational national or international.

So far as the mental or subjective aspect of the discovery goes it is an unprecedented experience with an objective content referring to an existing fact, an actuality or a reality. This experience has to pass successively through three mental modes before it becomes a public property as a body of doctrine and discipline (*dhammavinaya*) or a system of thought and faith namely intuitional or mystical conceptual or apprehensible and architectonic or systematic. With each mode is connected a particular form of mental activity whether it be noetic ideational or rational where the prospect of success calls up the emotion of joy (*prīti*) and the attainment of success is followed by the enjoyment of self satisfaction happiness bliss or beatitude (*sukha*). The experience which is presentative at the first mode becomes representative at the second and expressive or presentable at the third.

According to the Pali scholiast Dhammapala whilst reflecting on the nature of reality the Blessed One got hold of the causal genesis in his mind<sup>4</sup>. This may be taken to mean that with Dhammapala *pratitya samutpada* or causal genesis represents the true nature of reality. But in the words of Buddha the term is applicable as much to the true nature of reality as intuited as to the true nature of reality as conceived and formulated it is applicable to the same as presented interpreted expounded elaborated elucidated and applied.

*Pratitya-samutpada* as intuited in its presentative character is otherwise known as *paurana dharmasthitita* and it stands for the ancient or eternal nature of reality which exists by its own right independently of the advent of the Tathagatas, independently of all modes of knowing and all forms of thought construction and rational interpretation. The same as conceived or formulated in its representative character is otherwise known as *pratyatma dharmasthitita*<sup>5</sup> and it stands for the basic concept of Buddhism and Buddhist thought as the unalterable cosmic law. The same as presented interpreted expounded elaborated elucidated and applied is known variously by the name of *pratyayāhāras*<sup>6</sup> (causal forms) *satyas* (truths) and the like.

4 *Udana Commentary* Siamese Ed. to the Bodhi Sutta I. *Bhagava Bodhi rukkhamule dhamma sabhava paccavekkhana vasena paṭicca samuppadam manasa kasī*

5 *Lankavatara Sutra* pp 143-44

6 *Vibhanga* Ch VI where *paccayakara* is used as a substitute for *paṭicca samuppada*.

and all of them stand for the various architectonics of thought as well as the moral law. The ideals of life and action are set out in conformity with the truths as formulated and presented, the truths are formulated on the basis of the central concept,<sup>7</sup> while the central concept has behind it the nature of reality as intuited or experienced. The Buddhist creed formula, *ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavah*, etc. applies to *pratītya samutpāda* as conceived, formulated, presented, interpreted and applied. Regarding the *paṭisaṃdāna*, the *pratyātma dharmasthititā*, and the system of thought and faith based upon the second, Buddha's significant statement in the *Samyutta* is "Because of birth, monks decay and death. Whether there be an arising of *Tathāgatas*, or whether there be no such arising in each this nature of things stands, this causal status this orderliness, the relatedness of this to that. Concerning that the *Tathagata* is fully enlightened, that he fully understands. Fully enlightened, fully understanding he declares it teaches it reveals it, sets it forth manifests explains makes it plain saying 'Behold' conditioned by this, that comes to be.'<sup>8</sup>

In the above statement Buddha clearly refers to and distinguishes between the three successive mental modes

(1) becomes enlightened or awakened as to the nature of reality which exists by its own right—*abhisambujjhati*,

(2) formulates with the suggestion therefrom the fundamental law of the cosmos which is to say, forms the basic concept of his doctrine—*abhisameti*,

(3) states addresses, sets forth establishes discloses expounds, elucidates in short, presents as a system—*acikkhati, deseti*, etc.

*Pratītya samutpāda* as the essential nature of reality is characterized in Pali as the elementary datum of experience, the standing order of becoming (*dharmasthititā*), the way of the happening of things (*dharmasamutpāda*), suchness (orderliness *tathatā*), uncontrariness (*avītathatā*), unotherwiseness (*anānīkathatā*), background of relatedness (*idappaccayatā*). It is further characterized in the *Lāṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and other Mahāyāna treatises by such predicates as vacuity (*śūnyata*), realness (*bhūtata*) and actuality, (*satyatā*). The same set of predicates applies, *myātis mulandis*, also to *pratītyasamutpāda* as formulated, presented interpreted and applied,<sup>9</sup> though in a somewhat different sense.

The positive thesis of the philosophy of Nāgārjuna who is not without reason honoured in the *Lāṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as the second Buddha is generally missed. This is, however, clearly stated in the two opening verses of his *Kārikā*. These indicate that Nāgārjuna's primary interest was to call

7 According to the *Lāṅkāvatāra Sūtra* pp. 143-44, Buddha's discourses were all based on the *pratyātma dharmasthititā* and not on the *paṭisaṃdāna*.

8 *Samyutta* II p. 25, The Book of the Kindred Sayings, II p. 21.

9 *Visuddhimagga* II p. 518.

attention to the *pratītya-samutpāda* as the fundamental nature of reality which is not capable of verbal representations and not apprehensible by the intellect, the mode of understanding. It refuses to accept all the predicates the intellect can devise, e.g. cessation (*nirodha*), origination (*utpāda*), annihilation (*uccheda*), eternality (*śāśvata*), singleness (*ekārtha*), manifoldness (*nānārtha*), advent (*āgama*), and egress (*nirgama*). The only mental mode of witnessing or being face to face with it is intuition, immediate perception, first hand experience or direct vision, all being means within the reach of mysticism. The powerful dialectics employed throughout his *Kārikā* are directed to expose the incapacity of all the intellectual and verbal modes of representing that nature of reality as it is, as it exists by its own right, independently of all thinkers and all ideal constructions. If the last word of Nagārjuna's dialectics be 'be quiet', it only means the futility of the modes of understanding and the expressions of language as means of representing and stating that nature of reality, and nothing else. The incapacity of intellect and language is not to be used as proof against the objective reality to which the Buddha mind was awakened and being awakened to which the Buddha felt with the deepest conviction that he became supremely enlightened (*abhisambuddho*). The utility of this intuition or supreme experience is not denied, for therein lies the means of stopping all aberrations of intellect and getting tranquillity which is the *summum bonum* (*prapañcopaśama śiva*).

Dr Satkari Mookerjee characteristically observes: 'The Sautrāntika may rejoine that (his) philosophy is the most perfect possible explanation of the objective world and is absolutely immune from the logical difficulties which are the besetting sins of other realistic philosophies. But the justice and validity of this claim have been disputed by Nagārjuna and Śāṅkara who have shown in unmistakable language that causation is the hidden rock on which the barque of realism has suffered shipwreck.<sup>10</sup> But reading between the lines one cannot fail to understand that here Nagārjuna's way of thinking is not different from the general Buddhist way. *Pratītya samutpāda* or the essential nature of reality which exists by its own right is not the law of causation as conceived, formulated and applied. Proceeding from the experience with its elementary datum one may come to conceive and formulate the law of causation or dependent origination, but one cannot resolve it back into the experience itself which occurred once only when it occurred and remains nevertheless a point of reference to *pratītya samutpāda* conceived and formulated as the law of causation. According to the general Buddhist way of thinking one may proceed from a chemical combination of all the ingredients used to account for the possibility of the preparation of a dish of pudding but one cannot for that reason resolve the taste of the pudding which is something unique into the separate tastes of the ingredients themselves

10 *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux* p. 57

that have lost their individualities in course of the cooking<sup>11</sup> The experience which is a momentary affair and never occurs twice in one and the same form accounts similarly for the possibility of the conception and formulation of a law of causation, and the law of causation or the system of thought built upon it derives its significance therefrom, but that does not mean that the experience is restorable from the law itself, far less its elementary objective datum which is not an ideal construction, and hence deserves the name of an *asaṃskṛta dhātu* or uncreated element of reality As it is constituted, mind can just once peep into the nature of reality as it flashes through intuition or mystical experience.

Now, considered with reference to the noble quest described in the *Ārya pariyesana Sutta*, is the discovery claimed to have been made by Buddha two fold or single? If twofold, are we not compelled to entertain the notion of there being two *asaṃskṛta dhatus* or uncreated elements of reality, namely, *pratitya-samutpāda* and *nirvāṇa*, which is logically absurd?<sup>12</sup> The uncreated elementary objective datum of experience must be single or unitary But how is it stated to be double or twofold? Suppose we assume that *pratitya-samutpāda* alone is the element of reality, can it not be shown that *nirodha* or *nirvāṇa* is just a side-issue or an aspect of it?

Whether we objectively watch cosmic life, or individual life, or life of consciousness, we can have just momentary peeps or glimpses into it At the most we can have 'point instants' or 'snapshot views' within a limited duration In the kaleidoscopic or cinematographic view, one picture seems to pass away or to appear in quick succession or in an order of sequence, while just one picture is always present before the eyes that gaze on without reflecting or thinking The impression left on the mind of the observer is that of the movement of pictures or appearances in the continuity of an order of change or becoming, in short, of orderliness in a continuity of which the first beginning (*pubbakoti pubbanṭa*) and the ultimate end (*aparakoṭi, aparanta*) cannot be seen and determined So far as the cosmic life, individual life, or life of consciousness is concerned certain experiences occur that remind us of those occurred in the past and are preserved in memory But for the memory, the experiences that occurred previously would be lost or non-existent for ever If the case be that of a person continuing to write a new figure on a black board with his right hand and to efface the old figure with his left there is present always a single figure before the observer and that which is effaced is gone for ever But for the memory the past is past, the present is present and the future (*anāgata*) is that which is not come, that which is yet to be With regard to the past, the correct statement is that it was (*ahosi*), with regard to the present, that it is (*etarahi paccuppanno*) and with regard to the future, that it will be (*bhavissati*)<sup>13</sup> There is no other mental

11 *Mūlinda* p 63

12 *Kothavattthu* VI, 2.

13 *Polḷhapada Sutta* *Dīgha*, I, p 200 ff

mode of describing historically the event watched than representing it in terms of the three portions of time, viz., a past (*atīta*), a present (*paccuppanna*), and a future (*anāgata*), while the event itself has nothing to do with these mental modes that introduce into it the ideas of sequence, succession and duration, and thus relate it to the concepts suggestive of time and its reality. As we watch, that which strikes us is the continuity of a process of genesis at every juncture (*pratibandhi*) of which is to be noticed something ceasing-to-be and something coming-to-be, in other words, *nirodha* and *utpāda*, but the objective datum of experience is always the *utpanna* or something which has come-to-be. Something which has ceased-to-be becomes a thing of the past, and non-existent for us but for memory. We proceed from the *utpanna dharma* to *utpanna dharma*, the ceasing-to-be and the coming-to-be being the mental modes of representing the junctures in the process of genesis. The observed order of sequence applies to one *utpanna dharma* ceasing-to-be and to another *utpanna dharma* coming-to-be. One can say, therefore, that the notion of cessation is just a side-issue and a negative aspect of the fact of sequence, either that something having ceased-to-be, something ceased-to-be, or that something having come-to-be, something came-to-be. This indeed is known as the original formulation (*ādi naya*) of *pratītya-samutpāda* conceived as the fundamental law or mode of happening in the process of genesis:

(1) *Imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti, imass' uppādā idaṃ uppajjati;*

(2) *Imasmiṃ asati idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati.*

The first setting, called *anuloma-desanā*, is set forth in terms of advent or appearance, and the second, called *pratīloma-desanā*, is set forth in terms of cessation or disappearance.<sup>14</sup> In the second Pali Abhidhamma text called *Vibhaṅga*, as well as in the Sarvāstivāda texts, the *pratīloma-desanā* is altogether dispensed with and just the *anulomadesanā* is retained.<sup>15</sup>

In the above formulation of the general law of genesis, happening or becoming, the mental representation or verbal statement is in terms of sequence between two *utpanna-dharmas*, one ceasing-to-be and the other coming-to-be. If we cannot causally connect or inter-relate them, the building up of a system of thought is impossible. When we causally inter-relate them in thought we make different causal relations out of the simple fact of sequence, and take them to subsist between the *paccayas* (causal factors, conditions or circumstances) and the *paccayuppanna-dhammas* (causally induced states, i.e., effects).<sup>16</sup> If the causal relation subsumed between two successive events or stages in a process of genesis involving the notions of

14 *Udāṇa*, I, 1-3; *Majjhima*, i, 262; ii, p. 32.

15. *Vibhaṅga*, Ch. VI; P. C. Bagchi in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 194, 199; B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 47 ff.

16. According to Vasubandhu, between the *samutpāda* (i.e., *hetu*) and the *samutpanna* (i.e., *phala*). *Abhidharma-kośa*, III. 28.

advent and cessation, single terms are the convenient devices of thought to designate these events or stages. The notion of temporal sequence is out of place in the causal interpretation of an event, which when it takes place, takes place as a unit with regard to time and is to be viewed as a common performance of several causal factors and conditions in their momentary unification. One may think of simultaneity but not of priority or posteriority. If any one speaks here of priority, it must be understood in a logical sense (*uppada paccayaññena*)<sup>17</sup>. A rational explanation of the possibility of the occurrence of an event, mental or otherwise, lies not in any single efficient cause (*eka karana*), whether it be God or Time or Fate, but in a conjuncture of circumstances or causal factors and circumstances (*paccaya sāmaggī, samavaya*), a view, which is in different ways adopted in the Sāṃkhya, Pūrva mīmāṃsā, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of Indian thought. Though the Pāli scholiast Buddhagghosa pleads for the plurality of causes (*aneka hetuto vutti*)<sup>18</sup>, Buddhist realism stands really for the unification (*samanvaya* or *ekakarana*) or combination of causal factors and circumstances excluding the idea of mere juxtaposition or collection<sup>19</sup>. The unification or combination must be sufficient to produce the result, which is to say, enough in itself to account for the possibility of the result produced.

The general law of happening in terms of temporal sequence (*tabbhāna tabbhañitā*)<sup>20</sup> with its causal implication was sought to be illustrated by a causal scheme of life exhibiting the twelve successive stages in the process of genesis each denoted by a single term called *nidāna*. The twelve terms are *avidyā, saṃskāra, viññāna nama-rūpa, saḍḍyatana sparsa vedanā, iṭṭha, upadāna, bhava, jāti (janma), and jara maraṇa-śoka paridevāna upayāsāh*. The convenient mode of expressing the causal nexus between any two successive stages is because of this that *avidyā pratītyat saṃskāra kārāṇa, saṃskāra pratītyat viññānaṃ*, etc. Unfortunately this illustrative causal scheme represented as a wheel of life (*bhava chakra*)<sup>21</sup> has been mistaken for the whole of *pratītya samutpada* conceived and formulated as a general law of happening. The illustrative causal scheme or chain of life, as its twelve terms and eleven links indicate, is suited only to represent the common experience of mankind and animal world in connection with the biological development of a living being and its bearings on the feelings of

17 *Dhammapada Commentary* i p 23

18 *Atthasālini* p 59 *samāyāya saṃkhalo samāyo aneka-hetuto vuttam* *āpīti tena eka kārāṇa tado paṭisedhite hoti. Samāyo ca nama sadharāṇa phala nupphālane annamānuppekko. Tasma eko katta nama natthi.*

19 *Atthasālini* p. 60 *sadharāṇa phala nupphāda-kattena hi jhātobhāvo samagga na anekesaṃ samodhanamattam na ca andhānaṃ dassanaṃ nūña sādhekāraṇa phalaṃ.*

20 *Abhidhammattha saṃgaha* Ch VIII, *Atthasālini* p 60 *assa bhāva bhāvo*

21 *Abhidharma kośa* III 16

others interested in his welfare. If we stop at *jarā maraṇa* (decay and death), the scheme applies only to the biological career of an individual from its beginning to its end. The three terms, *śoka*, *ṣaṇḍevana* and *upā jāsā* (sorrow, lamentation and despair), represent the painful feelings of the kith and kin of a person on account of his death, and should, therefore, be omitted, as Vasubandhu has done, while discussing the biological career of an individual *qua* individual. The continuity of the biological career carries with it the notion of sequence or succession of *ātmabhāvas*, bodily appearances or individual existences within limited durations. Before we proceed further with the discussion, we should consider Vasubandhu's interpretation of *pratītya-samutpāda* in the *Abhidharma kośa* and Yaśomitra's interpretation of the same in his *Abhidharmakośa vyākhyā*.

Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra seem to interpret *pratītya samutpāda* the former tacitly and the latter explicitly, under its four aspects, viz., (1) as representing the momentary character of all forms in which the nature of reality presents itself to experience, i.e., as *kṣanika pratītya samutpāda* (2) as representing the continuity of the order of becoming i.e., as *prākāśika pratītya samutpāda* (3) as involving the idea of inter relation between cause and effect, i.e., as *sāmbandhika-pra<sup>a</sup>-samutpāda*, and (4) as differentiating the successive stages in the career of individuals, i.e., as *āvasthika pratītya samutpāda*.<sup>21</sup> According to Vasubandhu, by the causal scheme of life Buddha meant the *āvasthika* aspect, and by the twelve terms outlining the same, the twelve successive stages, each exhibiting predominance of a particular feature, whether it be *avidyā*, *saṃskāra*, or the like. At each stage is to be recognized a particular organic combination or development of the five aggregates.<sup>22</sup>

In this architectonic of thought conceived in terms of the three portions of time, out of the twelve *nidānas* the first two, namely, *avidyā* and *saṃskāra* are relegated to past, the last two namely, *jarā* and *jarā maraṇa* to future, and the middle eight, from *viññāna* to *bhava* to present. The *nidānas* are classified also under three heads viz., *kleśa*, *karma* and *vastu*. *Avidyā*, *trṣṇā* and *upādāna* are to be treated as *kleśas*, i.e., the mental properties or co-efficients that stain or contaminate our nature, the nature of consciousness (*citta*). *Samskāra* and *bhava* stand for *karmas* or the volitional phases of action shaping the destiny or determining the form of birth and rebirth. The remaining seven signify *vastus* or *loci* of *kleśa* and *karma*, these stand also for *phalas* or resultants.<sup>23</sup>

Viewed under the *āvasthika* aspect of *pratītya samutpāda* the process of genesis gives rise to the idea of an orderly sequence between successive *atmabhāvas* or bodily appearances within limited spans or durations of life

21 *Abhidharma kośa* III 16

22 *Abhidharma kośa* III 25

23 *Ibid* III 25 *āvasthikah kleśaṣo yam, prādhanyatvaṅga kīrtanam*

24 *Ibid* III 27



The junctures in the connected narrative of a continuous biography are called *sandhis* or *pratisandhis*. Here the past existence or episode is represented as followed by the present and the present by the future. So far as the past existence is concerned we are required to take cognizance of these two distinctive features viz *avidya* and *saṃskāra*. Here *vidya* and *avidya* stand for two kinds of knowledge running counter to each other just as two enemies who are both men are hostile to each other in their intentions and actions<sup>25</sup>. The term *avidya* does not imply the absence (*abhava*) of *vidya* or knowledge of some kind<sup>26</sup>. The real difference between the two lies in the fact that the animal instincts and impulses sex urges and lower passions are subservient to one kind of knowledge<sup>27</sup> and the higher instincts and impulses and nobler desires and ideals are led by the other kind. Vasubandhu defines the *avidya* stage as the total natural disposition of the animal instincts and impulses sex urges and lower passions of an individual in his past life and the *saṃskāra* stage as the sum total of the effects of past deeds of an individual as determining his destiny<sup>28</sup>.

As to the present life the *viñāṇa* stage is the condition of the individual just at the moment of conception and at the inception of organic development. The next stage called *namarūpa* covers the period of organic development the development of the foetus in the womb prior to the development of the six sense-organs. This is immediately followed by the *sāḍāyatana* stage which is just prior to the stage of *sparsa* in which the organs of sense begin to function bringing the individual into contact with the external world and enabling him to communicate with and feel interested in persons and things other than himself<sup>29</sup>. In the *sparsa* stage the individual acquires the potentiality for experiencing different feelings. The *vedanā* stage prevails when the individual begins to experience certain feelings for an object of enjoyment and it is followed by the *tīṣṇā* stage when he conceives the longing for the object during its enjoyment<sup>30</sup>. The next is the stage of *upādāna* when the individual runs after the objects of enjoyment for obtaining them. In the *bhava* stage he begins to perform such deeds as may enable him to attain to the desired future state.<sup>31</sup> In relation to the future life, the *tīṣṇā* and *upādāna* stages act as the *avidya* stage and the *bhava*

25 *Abhidharma kośa* III 28 *vidya vipakṣo dharmo nyo vidyamitraḥ pratisandhiḥ*

26 According to Yasomitra, *vidyaya abhavo vidye ti tu nabh preta*

27 According to Yasomitra, *kleśair-anugata hi avidya*

28 *Abhidharma kośa* III 21 *putra-kleśaśarīrya saṃskārah purīka-kāmanah*

29 *Abhidharma kośa* III 21 22 *sandhiskandhas tu viñāṇaṃ namarūpaṃ atakṣaram prak sāḍāyatanoḥpadat tat putraṃ trika saṃgamat*

30 *Ibid.*, III 22 23 *sparsaḥ prak sukha-duḥkhaśikṣatana p āna śaktinah viśiṣṭaḥ prāṇ maitṣunat tīṣṇa bhogama thuna rag'nah*

31 *Ibid.*, III 23-24

takes the place of the *saṃskāra*. In the scheme of future life, the *jāti* stage is just another name for the *ujjāna* and the term *jarā maraṇa* denotes the stages from the *nāma rūpa* to the *vedanā*<sup>32</sup>

The poetical imagery depicting the *āvasthika pratītya samutpāda* as a *bhavadakṛa* or wheel of life must be handled with caution. If in the order of sequence one *ātmabhāva* be followed by another and the second be neither the same as nor quite different from the first, there is no room for the imagery of a wheel, the series running as a, a<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>3</sup>, a<sup>4</sup> ... a<sup>n</sup>.

The imagery comes in only in so far as similar stages recur in the same theoretical order of sequence in each *ātmabhāva*, and yet we are not to picture to ourselves the procession by the analogy of a single wheel in motion, it going on rather in a spiral or chain like movement.

Vasubandhu maintains that the above formulation of the law of *ātas thika pratītya samutpāda* was intended to set at rest all doubts as to the past, present and future existences of individuals as individuals<sup>33</sup>. The typical questions raised concerning the three are: Did I exist in the past or not, do I exist now or not, shall I exist in future or not, after having been what I am now what I am what shall I become after having been what I am now? These questions as problems are said to have been discarded by Buddha in the Sabbasava Sutta on the simple ground that to admit the questions is to beg the questions, i.e., to admit the answers suggested in them. Arguing therefrom one is apt to arrive at one or the other of the following six conclusions: that one possesses an entity, that one does not possess an entity, that one knows self by self, that one knows not self by self, that one knows self by not self, that there is a soul or percipient within him, and that soul is the only entity which perdures through the whole series of bodily changes, not itself being liable to change.

All that Vasubandhu means amounts to saying that by the above statement of the law the Blessed One both avoided and met the two extreme positions of self-existence and self-extinction in other words, of eternalism and annihilationism. To subsume an entity, be it soul or spirit, which remains unaffected by organic transformations is to take up an arbitrary position in a reality where all things change but the soul or spirit alone enjoys the imperial or royal prerogative of remaining where it is being always above the law. Nowhere in the process of genesis, in no stage of individual existence, is to be noticed such disparity between one element of reality and another, i.e., between matter and spirit, body and soul. Wherever there is any bodily appearance or individual existence there is an inseparable combination of the five aggregates, all being equally subject to one and the same law of causal genesis. But the question still is—how far will the procession go without coming to an end for good? Does or does not *nirvāṇa* imply, in

32 *Ibid.*, III, 24

33 *Ibid.* III 25 *pūri aparantamadhveṣu sammoha vimuṭṭhaye*

other words the total cessation of the process of becoming meaning the *uccheda* or annihilation of individuality of a changing individuality?

Once we assume that *nirvana* means the cessation of the eschatological process of individuality there is no escape from the charge of annihilationism which was always denied by Buddha. If from the eschatological point of view we say with Ajita Keśakambala a veritable Cārvaka philosopher that individuality ceases with death and after death a person is not it is a bold case of annihilationism. Suppose the next man comes and avers that to completely get rid of individuality one must utterly exhaust the *karmic* force which is not possible through the effort of one life. Individuality ceases entirely to be only when a perfect man dies after experiencing the first state of trance. The third man pleads for the second state and the ninth man for the eighth and the Buddhist were to come at last to plead for the ninth state of *samapatti*. Can we defend any of them against the above charge? The *Vedānta* position is no better if it be like this that individual selves become ultimately merged in the universal self like the rivers losing themselves in the sea abandoning their separate entities. The *Sāṃkhya* position is worse if it means that when an individual reaches the highest conceivable state of perfection, after death his soul becomes separated for ever from *prakṛti* or matter which contains the potentiality and possibility for all organic changes including mental. Is this precisely the ultimate eschatological position to which we are led by the logical conclusion from the trend of Buddha's *avasthika pralīya samutpada*?

We can well appreciate Buddha when he took Bhikṣu Svāti to task for construing his philosophic thought as implying that *viññāna* alone runs from existence to existence, through the entire series of embodiments. By *viññāna* Svāti obviously kept in view the Upaniṣadic *viññānatman* or soul made up of a mass of intelligence (*viññāna-ghana*)<sup>35</sup> or bare consciousness. But the criticism put into the mouth of Buddha goes to show that the word *viññāna* was taken to mean sense-cognitions and not that because of which these mental acts and developments are possible i.e. the *bhāvaṅga citta* or *ālaya viññāna*—the life-continuum the individuated consciousness.<sup>37</sup> Even if Svāti's *viññāna* were taken in this very sense he could not be absolved from the guilt of misrepresentation. There is nowhere this suggestion that *viññāna* or *citta* alone can exist apart from being a component factor in some form or other of the organic unity of the five aggregates.

We can similarly appreciate that in the *Khandha Saṃyutta* Bhikṣu Yamaja is severely criticised for having given out that as he construed Bud

31 *Majjhima* i p 7

32 *Brahmajāla Sutta* under *ucchedavāda D gha* i p 34 ff

36 *Bhadd Aranya Up* V 5 13 Note that *prajñāna* and *viññāna* are used as variants.

37 *Majjhima* i p 25 ff

dha's doctrine, it meant the cessation of the process of individuality of an Arahant with death. To put it in his own words "On the dissolution of the body a *kṣināsṛata* becomes annihilated as an individual, after death he is not (i.e., does not evolve further)'. The stereotyped Buddhist arguments employed to bring the upholder of the wrong opinion to a right way of thinking are to these three effects (1) that none of the five aggregates as constituents of an individual existence is a permanent entity, (2) that in no stage an individuality is identifiable either with a single aggregate or with a sum total of all the five aggregates, and (3) that no individuality in any of its stages is conceivable apart (*aññātra*) from the five aggregates<sup>38</sup>

By the illustrative formula because of *avidyā*, *saṃskāra*, because of *saṃskāra*, *vipāna*, etc. just one aspect of *āvasthika pratītya samutpāda* is sought to be brought out. Viewing in the light of this particular formula, we are to picture to ourselves an orderly sequence of the various stages of individual life with *avidyā saṃskāra* etc. as their distinctive features. In Theravāda Buddhism this formula is supplemented by another, namely, because of the cessation (*nirodha*) of *avidyā* the cessation of *saṃskāra*, because of the cessation of *saṃskāra*, the cessation of *vipāna* etc., to bring out another aspect of the same. Viewing in the light of this second illustrative formula, we are to picture to ourselves an orderly sequence of the various stages of individual life with *avidyā nirodha saṃskāra nirodha*, etc., as their distinctive features. The *nirvāna* stage is to be reached when there takes place a complete cessation of *avidyā* as well as of the instincts, impulses, passions and desires led by it (*avijjaya asesā virāga nirodha*). Considered from this point of view, *nirvāna*, which is held out as the *summum bonum* of life, is negatively characterised as a state implying the exhaustion or extinction of all *aśravas* the complete cessation of *avidyā* and of *duḥkha*. This has led many a critic of Buddhism, particularly John Caird, to think that Buddhism offers us but 'a heaven of nothingness' as the goal of life, which is to say that in Buddhism the world has arrived only at a negative result<sup>39</sup>. This is undoubtedly due to the sequential setting of the stages of life in terms of *nirodha* and *kṣaya* instead of in terms of *samudaya* and *paripūrṇa*.

In point of fact, whether such a setting be in terms of one or the other, behind it is the reality of causal genesis, the trend of life running through the successive stages of development. Neither the course of cosmic life nor that of individual life nor even that of the life of consciousness is negated thereby, it is on the contrary, posited. By negating it, we render the signi-

38. *Saṃyutta* iii p 109 ff

38a. The popular prospects of an eternal and everlasting life of bliss and glory in a paradise as held out by Hīnayana Buddhism in the *Buddhakhetta* (*Buddhavaṃsa*) by Mahāyāna Buddhism in *Sukhāvati* (*Sukhavatīvyūha*), and by other religions in the *Vaiṣṇava* the Heaven and the like should not be brought in to bear upon the present discussion. These must be relegated to the realm of poetic fancy.

ficance of all such causal settings and thought schemes of existence and of life and experience nugatory. The negation of it means the denial of the factual reality existing by its own right on which these must have their bearings in order to be significant both in thought and in the life of efforts.

To understand Buddha's real trend of thought one may do no better than to take clue from its various *mātikās* or architectonics. According to one of them, four are the express or implied aims of a life of efforts, namely, the stoppage (lit. non production) of the appearance of those sinful and unwholesome states that have not as yet arisen, getting rid of such states that have already arisen, the inducement of those wholesome states that have not as yet arisen, and the preservation, non-confusion augmentation, increase in magnitude, development and fulness of such states that have arisen.<sup>39</sup> Here the first two aims relate to *nirodha* or *kṣaya* and represent its two modes, and the last two relate to *samudaya* and denote its two modes. Does it not follow from this way of stating the matter that the aim, upon the whole, is the fulfilment (*pāripūrī*) of all the higher possibilities of life? The question of negation arises only when we think of getting rid of and guarding against those diseased states and future diseases that stand in the way of the healthy development of life and its progressive course.

But we must also consider here the implication of two other architectonics of Buddha's thought. Going by them, we are to adopt two different modes in classifying the living individuals, one complementary to the other, one in which the individuals are assumed to be stationary i.e. *at rest*, and the other in which they are taken to be changing i.e. *in motion*. According to one, they fall into these four classes: elevated (*unnata*), degraded (*avanata*), both elevated and degraded (i.e. elevated in one sense some respects and degraded in another sense other respects), and neither elevated nor degraded. According to the other, which is really Buddhistic, they are to be classified as degraded elevated (*avanata unnata*), degraded degraded (*avanata avanata*), elevated degraded (*unnata avanata*), and elevated elevated (*unnata unnata*).<sup>40</sup> Accordingly the individuals may be judged either as degraded though they appear to be at the present moment, they are tending towards elevation or as not only degraded now but also proceeding headlong towards degradation or as elevated though they be now, they are tending towards degradation, or, fourthly, as not only elevated now but also proceeding towards further elevation. Is it not evident also from the second classification that the aim of Buddhism is to lead life from elevation to elevation by arresting its course from degradation to degradation?<sup>41</sup> Is the emphasis laid here on the negative or the

39 These are known as *cattāro sammappadhana*. See *Sangīti Suttanta Dīgha*, III p. 221.

40. *Puggala-pariṇatti* IV 20.

41 This trend of Buddha's thought goes against Stcherbatsky's forceful opi-

positive aspect of the results of life's efforts, the passage of life from stage to stage being always the nature of reality behind all resulting efforts? To do justice to Buddha's balanced mind and comprehensive view, one can say that in his thought schemes and methods of training the emphasis has been equally laid on both the aspects<sup>42</sup>

The Pālī or Theravāda illustrative formula is mostly two-armed (*anuloma prāṣiloma*) and rarely one-armed (*anuloma*), the *Sarvāstivāda* formula is invariably one armed (*anuloma*), precisely as in the *Vibhanga*, Ch. VI. Whether one-armed or two-armed, the formula betrays the mental preoccupation about the general run of life under the sway of *avidyā* and *īṣṇā*. Under the aspect of cessation, too, it suggests the mental preoccupation about the stoppage of the unwholesome and the elimination of the troublesome factors, in short, negative results of life's efforts. In the *Vibhanga* chapter on *pañicca samutpāda* alone, we have specimens of different causal formulas (*pacceyākāras*) including those applicable to the course of life that starts from *kusala mūlas*<sup>43</sup>. Here, too, the application of the law of causal genesis to the progress of higher or better life on the *lokottara* level of consciousness is barely indicated. It is clearly shown that if a course of life starts from a *kusala-mūla*, play of *avidyā*, *īṣṇā* and *upādāna* has no place in it, in each series *prasaḍa* (i.e. *śraddhā*, serene faith) is substituted for *īṣṇā* and *adhimokṣa* (strong bent of mind) for *upādāna*. *Prasaḍa* or *śraddhā* implies faith or belief in better states of existence and their realizability through right directed efforts etc., and *samyak dṛṣṭi*, translated by 'right view', whether *laukika* or *lokottara*<sup>44</sup> is rooted in it<sup>45</sup>. In that case *samyak sankalpa*, translated by 'right resolve', whether *laukika* or *lokottara*, may be taken to be rooted in *adhimokṣa*. Unfortunately for Buddhism it has nowhere been clearly shown what the illustrative formula of *āvasthika pratītya samutpada* should be to set forth the procession of the better stages of life that start from *vidyā*. The series from *vidyā* to *vedanā* running like that from *avidyā* to *vedanā* its continuation may be outlined by the following terms: *samyak dṛṣṭi*, *samyak sankalpa*, *samyak vak*, *samyak karmānta*, *samyak aḥiṇa*, *samyak vyayāma*, *samyak smṛti*, *samyak samadhi*, *samyak jñāna*, *samyak vimukti*<sup>46</sup>.

mon (*The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* p. 29) that the moral law conduces through a very long process of evolution the living world into a state of final quiescence, where there is no life, but something lifeless or inanimate. In this sense the Vaibhāṣika outlook resembles the materialism of modern science.' For the modern scientist's view, Julian Huxley's *Essays of a Biologist* first and last chapters (Pelican Series).

42 I am greatly indebted to my esteemed cousin Mr. Birendra Lal Mutsuddi, author of the *Abhidharmārtha samgraha* for drawing my attention to this.

43 See *Maha-cattāriṣa Sutta Majjhima* iii p. 231.

44 *Saddha mulikā sammadiṭṭhi* *Sumangala vilasini* i p. 231.

45 *Dīgha* iii pp. 291. B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism* p. 36.

In the progressive course of life which proceeds from health to health, from wholesome to wholesome, one may notice a twofold process of *nirodha* namely *apratīsamkhyā* (natural temporary) and *pratīsamkhyā* (through knowledge) <sup>46</sup> When the *kuśala* states prevail say during the *rūpa* and *arūpa dhyānas* the *akuśala* states cease to be present then in consciousness, but these may make their appearances after the *dhyāna* periods are over. Thus there are chances of lapses or recurrences, though not in identical forms. The prescribed course of training is intended therefore, to exhaust these unhappy possibilities to eliminate these chances. We reach the *nirāna* stage when these possibilities are completely exhausted and these chances are entirely eliminated. Thus the fulness of life reached through the progression of wholesome stages and the thorough elimination of obstacles on the way by means of two kinds of *nirodha*<sup>47</sup> may be taken to meet at a point which seems to have led Nagarjuna to hold that the ultimate reaches (*koṭi*) of *saṁsāra* and *nirvāna* are the same.<sup>48</sup> But how far will the process of life go without coming to an end?

If negatively *nirvāna* and positively fulness be held out as the final goal of life's efforts, the highest conceivable state of perfection reached by Buddha or any other man does it follow from Buddha's doctrine of *pratītya samutpada* that there is such a finality? Does the recorded history of men bear testimony to that? I would say No. It is negated also by the evidence of history. Theoretically only *nirāna* or fulness of life is the finality. History attests that there was a time when *nirāna* or *vimokṣa* was claimed to have been realized through the first *rūpa dhyāna* and during the first *saṁapatti*. World progressed and subsequently this was found to be wrong. It came to be claimed that some one else realized it through the second *rūpa dhyāna* and during the second *saṁapatti*. Proceeding in this manner and already before the rise of Buddhism, the claim was made in favour of the eighth *saṁapatti*. This, too was declared by Buddha to be inadequate and he came to base his claim on the ninth *saṁapatti*. Thus the number of *saṁapattis* swelled up from one to nine as well as the number of *vimokṣas*<sup>49</sup>. If the number could go up from one to nine, why should it not be that like the growing number of planets, it will increase from more to more with

46. *Abh dharma kośa* I 6 *Pratīsamkhyā nirodho yo tīsamyoḡaḥ pīṭhak pīṭhak Utpadatyanta-irgho nyo nirodho pratīsamkhyaya*. See for other definitions of these two *nirodhas* Satkari Mookerjee's *The Buddhist Philosophy of Ummersat Flux* pp. 5 101 244-46, 248-49 252.

47. The utility of *apratīsamkhyā nirodha* lies in preventing the rise of the hindrances that have not arisen, and that of *pratīsamkhyā nirodha* in getting rid of those which have arisen. Cf. Satkari Mookerjee *op cit*.

48. *Ie ya koṭi nirvāṇasya sa koṭi saṁsāraṇasya ca*

I have used the word *samsa* in a somewhat different sense in my Ceylon lecture on Buddhism as personal religion, p. 9.

49. *Bhikkhupala Sutta D gha* I. p. 30 ff. *D gha* II. p. 262.

each fresh realization or discovery? Then again, we are not to think when we speak of the number of planets, only of one solar system. Even assuming for argument's sake that under the present condition of human beings belonging to our planet the state of perfection reached by Buddha was not the penultimate but the very ultimate one it does not follow from it that there are not still better conditions of beings elsewhere in the universe. The *uttarāra* slogan of Buddha precisely like the *paratpara* slogan of the *Upaniṣads* is inconsistent with any claim to finality, unless it be a finality so far a finality hitherto known and recognized as such. Just as in a numerical series 1 2 3 4 ... *n* the *n* remains always the theoretical finality the same as to *nirvāṇa* which is held before us as the final goal and which is bound to recede like an ever retreating horizon as we advance towards it.<sup>50</sup>

One more question still remains to discuss. How is it possible to turn the *avidyā* series of *aśāstika pralītya samutpāda* into a *vidyā* series, if *vidyā* and *avidyā* be diametrically opposite in fact? They are mutually contradictory as logical terms no doubt. But in fact *avidyā* as we saw does not imply the absence of *vidyā* or knowledge of some kind. Just as two contradictory logical terms red and not red comprehend together the whole universe of discourse regarding the subject of colour so *vidyā* and *avidyā* (not *vidyā*) may be shown to comprehend together the whole universe of discourse regarding knowledge. *Avidyā* as a kind of knowledge, based upon a certain reading of the nature of reality which impels us to follow the so called normal course of life guided by our natural instincts and impulses sex urges and worldly desires and passions. *Vidyā* as another kind of knowledge based upon two readings one on the lines of *avidyā* and the other on its own new lines the latter inspiring us to change the direction of life, to follow a different course which is calculated to elevate our nature. The *vidyā* form of knowledge too, may be shown to emerge out of *avidyā* here *avidyā* and *vidyā* standing respectively for that which is not brought and that which is brought into clear recognition. In these senses indeed the terms *avidyā* and *vidyā* were used by the Buddhist Sister Dhammānanda (Dhammānanda) when she spoke of the *avidyā* stage resulting as a counterpart (*pratibhāga*) by way of a reaction from the *nādukkha-nāsukha* of *vidyā* as a counterpart by way of a reaction from *avidyā* of *vimuktī* from *vidyā* and of *nirvāṇa* from *vimuktī*.<sup>51</sup>

50 Barua Ceylon Lecture on *Buddhism as personal religion*, p. 8 ff.

51 *Culla-vedalla Sutta Majjhima* 1, p. 304. According to Buddhaghosa, *upekkhā paṇa andhakaraṇhībhūta duddhāpana ariya pa tadisa vāṇi ten ettha sobhaga paṭibhāga*.



## EARLY LIFE OF CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

(From Jaina Sources\*)

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Chānakya was born in a village called Chanaya in the Golla District (*Gallavisae*)<sup>1</sup> His father Chanaka was a Brahmana by birth (*Mahano*) but a Jaina by faith (*savao*) The baby Chanakya was born with full grown teeth (like Minerva born in panoply<sup>1</sup>)<sup>2</sup> At that time were staying in his house some Jaina saints (*sahu*) who when they saw it predicted that the new born babe was destined to be a king (*raya*) Chanaka, who was religiously inclined considered earthly kingdom to be a hell which his son

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\* Mainly based on the *Sukhabodha* of Devendragarūn a commentary on the *Uttarajjayana* the first of the four *Mulasuttas* of the Svetambara *Siddhanta* Other works consulted are the *Churni* on Bhadrabahu's *Āśvāsya Nijjuttī* the *Āśvāsya Vṛtti* of Haribhadra Suri and Hemachandra's *Śhaṭṣaṭvācīkhaṇṇa* or *Paṇisishṭaparvan* Prakrit passages cited within brackets are from the *Sukhabodha* (on the *Uttarajjayana* iii 1 Nijjuttī 166)

1 *Āśvāsya Niryukti-Churni* p 563 (Jainabandhu Printing Press Indore 1928) *Āśvāsya-Sūtra* [Vṛtti] p 433 Agamodaya Samiti Edition Bombay 1916-17) *Paṇisishṭaparvan* viii 194

No clue is to be found in our sources with regard to the location of either the village or the district associated with Chanakya's nativity Golla however may be identified with Gola as mentioned in one of the Bharhut inscriptions (Cunningham *Stupa of Bharhut* p. 140 No. 21) Gola seems to be the name of a town, but it can also be the name of a district as well as of its head-quarters.

According to the Buddhist tradition Chanakya was born at Taxila (*Vamsat thappakasini* p. 119 l 35 Sinhalese Edition) Whether that famous city was situated in a district (*issae*) called Golla or Golya is not known to us so far

In the *Churni* on the *Āśvāsya Nijjuttī* the village where Chanakya was born has been mentioned as Chanaya and, strangely enough the same name has also been given to Chānakya's father in that work. According to the Jaina *Bṛhatkathakośa* (cxliii 3) Chanakya, son of Kapila belonged to the city of Pāṭaliputra which was his ancestral home.

2. *Putto se jao saha dadhahim* (*Sukhabodha*) Cf Shakespeare

The midwife wondered and the women cried

O Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!

And so I was which plainly signified

That I should snarl and bite and play the dog

Then since the heavens have shaped my body so,

Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it."

(*King Henry VI* pt iii Act V Sc. vi)

Kaupilya 'the Crooked One' might have thought also on the same line as the dramatist puts it through Richard Duke of Gloucester

should be spared ('*mādoggaṃ jāssaṃ 'lī*). He then took the drastic step of scraping out the baby's teeth (*danitā ghaṭṭhā*) as signs of royalty.<sup>3</sup> At this, the saints foretold that Chāṇakya would then rule by a substitute ('*ettāhe vi binbāntario rāyā bhaviṃsaṃ 'lī*).

As he grew up, Chāṇakya was educated in the fourteen branches of knowledge then extant, in all of which he became highly proficient (*ummu-khabālabhāvena choddasa vijjāḥhānāni āgamiyāni*).<sup>4</sup> When he had completed his education, his father married him in a respectable Brāhmana family (*bhaddamāhanakulāo bhajjā parinīyā*).<sup>5</sup>

Chāṇakya's wife once went to her mother's place (*māigharaṇi*) to attend her brother's marriage celebrated with great pomp. Her three sisters and their aristocratic husbands (*khaddhādānyā*) also came to the function attired in the finest dress, jewellery, and ornaments.<sup>6</sup> As a contrast, Chāṇakya's wife entered in tattered garments and without ornaments, but bearing on her body the necessary auspicious marks of a married woman. Seeing her dress, her sisters at once burst into laughter of scorn, together with the assembled guests.<sup>7</sup> There she remained alone all the time, for nobody cared the least for her. She returned home dejected and weeping. When Chāṇakya heard the details from her, he understood the cause of her insult, viz, his poverty (*niddhanattam*), and swore that he would acquire wealth anyhow ('*dhanam uvajjānāmi kenāpi uvāena*').

3 According to the Buddhist tradition, Chāṇakya himself had his teeth removed. Cf. Moggallāna

"*Mātuyā pi vacho sutvā Chāṇakkabrahmaṇo sakam |  
adhūmattasinehattā dāḥam bhindāpayi tato*" ||

(*Mahāvamsa*, v 688-69a).

4 The fourteen *vijjāḥhanas* (branches of knowledge), according to the Jains, are (1) Six *Angas* (subjects), viz, (i) *Sikkhā* (Phonetics), (ii) *Vāgarāṇa* (Grammar), (iii) *Nirutta* (Vedic Etymology), (iv) *chhamda* (Prosody), (v) *Joisa* (Astronomy), and (vi) *Kappa* (Ritualism), (2) Four *Veyas* (Vedas), (3) *Mīmamsā* (System of Philosophy), (4) *Nayavittara* (Logic), (5) *Purāṇa* (Mythology), and (6) *Dhammasattha* (Legal treatise). (Cf. *Sughaḥ* on *Uttara*, iii 1. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* Bk 1 Ch iii).

5 It may be noted here that, except the Jaina, no other tradition does even adumbrate that Chāṇakya had the good fortune of taking to himself a wife. His hatred for the fair sex is perhaps indicated in one of the aphorisms which is commonly attributed to him. What had actually led Chāṇakya to be a misogynist is not known, but at least two historical works in Pali literature, represent him as the ugliest human specimen and, hence, unnegotiable in matrimonial market. (*Vamsatth*, p 120, ll 9-11 e.g. Sinh. Ed., Moggallāna's *Mahāv* v 70b-71a). According to a later Jaina tradition, the wife of Chāṇakya was a 'dark beauty' (*śyāmā*) named Yaśomatī (*Bṛhatkathakośa* cxliii 5).

6 The word "*khaddhādānyā*" which occurs in the *Avassaya Chumṇi* as well as in the *Sukhabodhā*, may be translated as 'aristocratic' (*mahebhya*), in which sense it has also been taken by Hemachandra (*Parīś*, viii 203; *Avas Chun*, p 563).

7 *Parīś*, viii 206-208.

At that time King Nanda<sup>8</sup> used to distribute large charities among the Brāhmaṇas (*diṭṭhina*) on the full moon day of the month of Kārttika (*Kat-tiya punnima*)<sup>9</sup> Chāṇakya proceeded to Pāṭaliputra forthwith and reached there early in the morning of the appointed day. He then entered the palace and occupied the every first seat (*āsane paḍhame nusanuo*) which was, in fact, kept there permanently for the members of the royal family (*tam cha tassa pallivaissa raulassa sayā* [*haviṃṣā*—*Sukhab*; *tam cha tassa sāliyatassa rāu-lassa satā* [*haviṃṣā*—*Āvas Chun*]). King Nanda entered the hall accompanied by his son, Prince Siddhaputra,<sup>10</sup> who asked the maid in attendance to give another seat to Chāṇakya. When it was given, Chāṇakya placed on it his drinking pot. He also placed his other belongings to wit, the staff (*damdayam*), the rosary (*ganettiyam*), and the sacred thread (*janno-*

8. He is evidently the ninth king of his dynasty. Cf. '*Tao Pāḍahputtam, tatthalhi Namdavanse navamo Namdarāya*' *Sukhab on Uttara*, II 17. See also *Āvas Sū* [Vṛt], p. 693.

9. According to orthodox Buddhist tradition as recorded in the *Vamsatthapakasini* the royal charities were distributed daily and not on any particular day of the year (*Vāṇsatth*, p. 120 II 12-19 *Sinh Ed*). From the same source it also appears that for the proper distribution of his charities, which amounted to over a crore annually, King Nanda (Dhanananda) had set up an 'Alms Department' (*Dānagga*) and vested the power to control it in a 'Board' (*Samgha*) specially constituted for the purpose. It appears further that only the eminent and learned Brāhmaṇas could be the members of that Board and that the most learned Brāhmaṇa scholar or one who would be held as such by those members, was to be elected its 'Chairman' (*Samghabrāhmaṇa*). It was one of the duties of the Chairman, who appears also to have acted as the Controller of the Alms Department, to supervise daily the distribution of charities in the royal 'Alms hall' where the king himself also used to come from time to time for the very same purpose. The Chairman appears to have held his office on the express condition that he would resign if he were defeated in scholastic disputations by another Brāhmaṇa of much superior learning.

It was the misfortune of the last Nanda king that Chāṇakya came so far as Pāṭaliputra to have polemical discussions in that great centre of learning, succeeded in removing the Chairman of the Board of Almoners by taking advantage of the condition specified above and occupied his place. As the king could not stand the repulsive appearance of the new Chairman he practically had him removed by force from the alms-hall. He thus incurred the malice of that astute politician and brought ruin on himself and his family (Cf. *Moggallāna's Mahāv*, v 72b-83a, *Vamsatth*, p. 120 II 12-40 *Sinh Ed*).

10. According to the Jains Siddhaputra (Siddhaputta) was the son of the last Nanda king. Hemachandra refers to him as 'Nandaputra' but does not mention his name (*Paris*, VIII 218). According to the orthodox Buddhist tradition the name of the son and heir-apparent of the last Nanda was Parvata while the same according to the *Bṛhatkathā* tradition, was Hiranyagupta or Hargupta (*Vamsatth*, pp. 121 ff *Sinh. Ed.* *Moggallāna's Mahāv*, v 86 ff *Chatterjee C. D.*, *Ind. Cult.*, i pp. 220 and 223).

The ninth Nanda probably had only one son, for in all the sources there is reference to only one though mentioned under different names.

wayan) on three more seats as they were offered to him. Finding that Chāṇakya was vain enough not to vacate the royal seat and was even appropriating the other seats the maid had no patience with his insolent behaviour and made him get up by a kick ('*dhūṭṭho*' *ti nichchūḍho*), whereupon he flew into a rage and uttered the following vow in the presence of the whole assembly

'Like the high wind laying low by its invincible velocity the tallest tree, I will uproot Nanda with all his riches and retinue and throw him down with the overspreading branches of his family in all its progeny and kinsmen' 11

- 11      *Koṣena bhūṭiyaścha nibaddhamulam |*  
           *putraścha mitraścha vivuddhasakham ||*  
           *utpaṭṭya Nandam paṭivartayami |*  
           *mahadrumam vayuriva grahagah ||*

[*Sukhab* on *Uttaraj* in 1. Instead of *mahadrumam*', we find *hataddrumam* in the *Avassaya Churni* (p. 563). The former is undoubtedly a better reading.]

The imprecation uttered by Chāṇakya which has been differently expressed by different writers, forms an interesting study by itself. In Jaina literature, it occurs for the first time in the *Avassaya Churni* in the form as given above which has been apparently copied by Devendraganin in his *Sukhabodha* with slight modification. In his *Parīśiṣṭapariṇāman* (viii 225), the celebrated Jaina writer Hemachandra puts it as

*Sakoṣabhūṭiyami sasukhūṭiputtam sabalavahanam |*  
*Nandamunmulayshyami mahavayuriva drumam ||*

One will be interested to note that although in the *Avassaya Churni* and the *Sukhabodha* the story of Chāṇakya and Chandragupta occurs in Prakrit, the imprecation as we find in them is couched in Sanskrit. Evidently this change has been made under the belief that a learned Brahmana like Chāṇakya is not expected to speak in a language at least in public, which is considered to be unrefined and is intended for the masses. No such linguistic bias, however is to be observed in Buddhist literature for the two specimens of the imprecation which is alleged to have been uttered by Chāṇakya at the time of his expulsion from the alms-hall are in Magadhi (Pali). Thus the anonymous author of the *Vamsatthappakasini* (first half of the 10th century A.D.) on the basis of the tradition as recorded in the two oldest Sinhalese commentaries viz the *Sihalaṭṭhakatha* of the Theravādis (3rd cent. B.C.) and the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakatha* of the Dhammaruchikas (c. 1st cent. A.D.) to which he had access translates it from the original Sinhalese as *Imaya cha chaturantaya paṭhaviya Nandino vaḍḍhi nama ma hotū ti* (p. 120 ff. 38-39. Sinh. Ed. the form *Nandino* which stands evidently for *Nandassa* has been retained probably because it was to be found in the originals). Incidentally it may be pointed out here that, through this form of imprecation which is the oldest on record an interesting side-light has been thrown on the fact that the Nandas, who were of Sudra origin were contemptuously called Nandins by the Brahmanas and also possibly by others of higher social standing.

Following the traditions of the Theravādis and the Dhammaruchikas the chronicler Moggallāna writes

Chakya burning with indignation left the city of Pataliputra (*niggaṇayārao*) He recalled the prophecy made about him by the Jaina saints that he would rule by proxy (*suyam cha tena bimbantaro raya hohami tti*)<sup>12</sup> While wandering about in the guise of a *Parivrajaka* (*Parivrajagāṇiṇam*)<sup>13</sup> in search of a person who would be fit for kingship he came to the

*Tasmim kuddho samuḥhaya yānasuttan cha chhindaṇḍa |  
kundaṇḍam paṭṭhānāṇḍa indakilaṇḍa tarade ||  
Vuddhimahota tassetā abhisappesi brahmano |*

(Mahāv. v. 81.82a)

12 *Bimbantaro* (Skt. *bimbantarak*) literally means screened by mirror Hanubhadra Devendraganin, and Hemachandra appear to have used it in the sense of a substitute which is evidently its secondary meaning (*Paris* vii 227)

13 In the *Dharmasūtras* the terms *Parivrajaka* and *Bhikṣu* have been applied to refer to the Brahmanas sometimes of the third and sometimes of the fourth Stage of Life called *Āśrama* (Gautama, i. 2 Āpastamba ii 9.21.7 Vasishṭha vii 2 Baudhayana ii 6.11.12) The *Parivrajakas* are thus the Brahmanas who have renounced their worldly life and as the term indicates (*parivrajaka* a wanderer) have embraced the life of vagrancy They are broadly distinguished as the *Ekadāṇḍikas* and the *Tridāṇḍikas* according to the nature of the staff i.e. whether its top was single or triple carried by them as an emblem of asceticism In ancient literature, they have been represented as itinerant ascetic philosophers noted for their versatility wisdom and saintliness and visiting by turns the chief centres of culture such as Vaisali Champa Sravasti and Rajagṛha in quest of truths relating to Life and Death Ātman and the Supreme Bliss, Brahman and the Universe and of their discussions with their comrades in learning Although *Parivrajaka* like *Charaka* is a generic name for the Wandering ascetics in the Brahmanical system, in the Buddhist and Jaina texts the term is applied to both the Brahmana and the non Brahmana ascetics (*Majjhima-Nikaya* i pp 22ff and 29ff for the *Brahmana Parivrajaka* ib pp 40ff P T S etc.) Thus the Jaina *Uvavaya* or *Upapadika-Sutra* (erroneously called *Upapadika-Sutra*) while admitting the life in *Brahmaloka* as good for a *kalpa* or cycle of existence (*Bambhaloe kappe devattae utarattaro bhavamiti*) to be the supreme end of all the *Parivrajakas* distinguishes the *Brahmana* (*Mahanapariṇaya*) from the *Aśhatṛīya Parivrajakas* (*Kaṭṭiyapariṇaya*) and divides them into seven classes, viz (i) the followers of the Sāṃkhya system of Kapila (*Sāṃkhya Kavla*) (ii) the followers of the Yoga system of the Bhṛṅgu school (*Jogī Bhṛṅguva* the *Bhārgava* Yogins were probably the followers of Bhṛṅgu whose technique of meditation is enunciated in the *Bhṛṅgutaṭṭi* of the *Tattiriyopaniṣad*) (iii) the Hamsas (*Harisa*) (iv) the Paramahamsas (*Paramahamsa*) (v) the Bahudakas (*Bahuudaga*) (vi) the Kuṭṭbratas (*Kuṭṭiya*) and (vii) the Kṛstma parivrajakas (*Kaṇṭha parivrajaka*) (*Uttaraya* §§ 76 & 81) In certain non Brahmanical works, there are also references to the *Parivrajakas* or female Wandering ascetics, both Brahmana and non Brahmana who used to take part also in the intellectual life of the country by discussions in philosophical circles.

With regard to the dress and outfit which mark out a *Parivrajaka* (*Parivrajagāṇiṇa*) so far as one could see them from outside, perhaps the best poetic description is to be found in the *Ramayana* (*Aranyakanda* xlv 2-3) That epic, while laying stress on the fact that a *Parivrajaka* is a *Brahmana* (ib xlv 36

village of the Peacock rearers (*Moraposagā*) in the service of King Nanda. At that time, the daughter of their headman (*mayahara*) was expecting a child. Chānakya promised to appease her pregnancy longing (*dohalo*) of drinking the moon on condition that, should she give birth to a male child, he must be made over to him. As the father of the girl, finding no other alternative, accepted the condition imposed on him, Chānakya, too, satisfied her desire by a clever contrivance. He then left the place for an unknown destination.

In due course of time, a son was born to the daughter of the headman, when her father, remembering the way in which her longing was satisfied, gave the name of Chandragupta ('Moon-covered')<sup>14</sup> to the new born babe.

xlvi 2), describes him as an ascetic, attired in saffron-coloured robe (*kāshāḥa*), having a tuft of hair on his head (*sikhī*), wearing sandal (*upanaḥi*), and carrying an umbrella (*chhattī*), a staff (*yashṭi*), and a water pot (*kamanḍalu*). Articles not mentioned by its author are apparently those hidden under the upper robe, such as the *brahmasūtra* (sacred thread), the *kaupina* (loin cloth), and the *kaṭiveshṭana* (girdle), as well as those which could be optionally carried, such as the *vṛshī* (seat of Kuśa grass), the *pātra* (vessel), and the *śikā* (loop or swing made of rope) (Govindaraja on the *Ramayana Aranyakanda*, xlv 3). The non Brāhmaṇa *Parivrajakas* wore different kinds of dress some of them, like the Digambaras, even going naked (*Achelakas* or *Naggachariyas*).

Unlike the non Brāhmaṇa *Parivrajakas*, dubbed '*vṛishalapravṛpta*' by Kauṭilya (*Arthaś.*, Bk. III Ch. xx) such as the Śākyas or Sakyaputtras (Buddhists), the Ājivakas (a sect of the naked ascetics) and the Nirgranthas (Jainas), who belonged to different castes including even the Chanḍālas and lived in organized religious communities, the Brahmana *Parivrajakas* lived by themselves as individuals and not as members of any fraternity (*Gana* or *Samgha*). They did not believe in organization as an aid to spiritual life, which depended more upon one's own efforts in privacy and in solitude. All classes of *Parivrajakas* were, however, at one in taking to the life of Wanderer as the indispensable requisite for spiritual life. A limit to their wandering was set only by the conditions of the season. In rains, they had to keep to fixed habitations lest by wandering they should tread upon sprouting life and be thus led to sins of violence. There were also codes of discipline for each of these classes of ascetics, viz. the *Paṭimokkha* for the Buddhists, the *Aśāramga* for the Jainas, and the *Bhikṣu-Sūtra* of different schools for the Brahmanas (Pāṇini iv 3 110 111).

14 There is a slight discrepancy between the Buddhist and the Jaina tradition with regard to the family and ancestry of Chandragupta Maurya. According to the former, he belonged to the family of the Chief of the 'Peacock-clan' (*Moriyā*) and his father was a Chief himself, while according to the latter his maternal grandfather was the Headman (*mayahara*) of the community of 'Peacock rearers' (*Moraposagā*). The later Jaina writers thus considered Chandragupta to belong to a professional caste and not to any tribe or clan, from which it may be assumed that they had no authentic information about the nature of the connection if any, between the peacock and the name of the emperor's family. There is also nothing on record to show what the earlier Jaina writers knew about the same.

Whatever might be the significance of the clan name *Moraposagā* (Skt. *Maurapashakāh*) occurring in the *Arassaya Churni* and the *Sukhabodhā* it is perhaps the only sensible interpretation of the Pali appellation *Moriyā* that has

come to our notice so far. In Pāli literature, the word *Moriyā* occurs invariably as the name of a Kshatriya tribe, and it appears from the *Vamsatthappakāsini* (p. 119, II 10-16 Sinh. Ed.), the *Mahābodhi-vamsa* (p. 98, P. T. S.), the *Mahā-tamsa* of Moggallāna (v. 94b-101a) and other Pāli works that the Moriyyas were a branch of the Sākya who had separated themselves from the main body, shortly before the death of the Buddha. The tradition is so persistent and is also so consistent that it may be difficult to see eye to eye with Prof. B. M. Barua, when he brushes it aside as the result of the 'Sākya phobia' of the Buddhists (*Ind. Cult.*, x. p. 32). When the Kosalan king Viṣṇuśekhara threatened to massacre the Sākya, some of the Sākyan nobles along with their families and followers entered into a forest of Pippala trees (*Pippalavāna*) somewhere in the sub-montane tract of the Himalayas, while others migrated to other parts of Northern India. Those who had taken refuge in the aforesaid forest, adopted the name *Moriyā* (from Pāli *mora*, 'a peacock'), because of the abundance of peacocks in their new settlement. Strange though it may seem, the adoption of a totemistic name by those migrants was nothing but an artifice to avert the impending national calamity, by passing themselves off as one of the many Austro-Asiatic tribes living in the hills and jungles of the vast Gangetic basin, such as the *Ajās* (Goat Clan), the *Sigrus* (Horse-radish Clan), the *Vayāmsis* (Bird Clan), the *Tarakshas* (Hyena Clan), the *Kulingas* (Sparrow hawk Clan) and the like, mentioned in ancient literature. But this clever ruse to conceal the identity was entirely misunderstood by the later authorities recording the Moriyan tradition, as is evident from the fact that the Jaina writers were led to believe that the Moriyyas were a community of 'Peacock raisers', (*Moraposaḡā*). Grammatically speaking, the Prakrit '*Mora posagā*' is a rational interpretation of the Pāli *Moriyā*, if we stand only on the etymological meaning of the latter.

Dr F. W. Thomas draws our attention to the fact that the surname *Maurya* as borne by Chandragupta, is explained by the Indian authorities as meaning 'son of Murā', who is described as a concubine of the king Nanda, while "a more flattering account makes the Mauryas an Himalayan offshoot of the noble sect of the Sākya, the race of the Buddha" (*Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, i. p. 470). How for a Hindu king, it could be a *flattering account*, whether more or less, to be described as the son of a concubine passes comprehension, though we admit that the same was not the case with some of the non-Hindu rulers of India. To what extent the Hindu rulers were sensitive to the purity of their descent, is evident even from the fact that led to the massacre of the Sākya mentioned above. But surely all the Indian authorities do not agree that the emperor Chandragupta Maurya was the son of Murā. While some of them inform us that he was the grandson of Murā, others want us to believe that he was her son. We are also at a loss to find out, where exactly Murā has been mentioned as a concubine of King Nanda as stated by Dr Thomas, for, so far as we know, she has been represented either as the queen\* of the last Nanda king or as the morganatic wife† of King Nanda alias Śarvārthasiddhi, the founder of the royal house of the Nandas. But can we possibly accept the theory that Chandragupta or his father was called *Maurya*, because he was the 'son of Murā'? According to Pāṇini the regular metonymic

\* Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa Commentary* of Ratnagarbha ( *Chandraguptam* 'Nandamāyānāṁ putrānāṁ Murāsamāyānāṁ putrānāṁ Mauryānāṁ prathamam') This work does not appear to be earlier than the first half of the eighteenth cent.

† Cf. *Upodgata* in the *Mudrārakṣasa Commentary* of Dharmakīrti and also Ravinartaka's *Chārakyaṭakā* (v. 9).

form for the son of Murā is *Maurah* (iv 1 113, cf *Siddh Kaum.* 1116), but not *Mauryah* which is the only regular patronymic form for the 'son of Mura' (iv 1 151, see also *Gaṇapāṣha* on the same, *Siddh Kaum.*, 1175) \* We are, thus, left to choose between the two origins of the surname *Maurya*. It may be taken either as the patronymic of the 'son of Mura' and of his lineal descendants or as the phonetic variant in Sanskrit of the Pali surname *Moriya* (*mo*=*mau*, *riya*=*-rja*). None of the early Sanskrit writers, in whose works the word *Maurya* has been actually found to occur, has taken it to be a metronymic form as has been done by their successors belonging to the sixth cent A.D. and after.

In Sanskrit literature, the word *Maurya* occurs for the first time in the *Mahabhashya* of Patañjali (c 150 B.C. cf Patañjali on Pāṇini, v 3 99) and later on, in the historical portion of the original *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* (c 260 A.D.) to signify the Imperial Maurya dynasty. As the word *Moriya* (pl) has been found to occur twice in the original Buddhist Canon, viz, in the post Nirvāṇa portion of the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* ii pp 166-167 P T S), compiled sometime between B.C. 483 and 383, and in the *Nandapeta vatthu* (*Peṭi vatthu*, p 57 P T S), composed about B.C. 247, there cannot possibly be any doubt that it is the oldest form of that tribal name which has been differently represented in different languages, viz *Mauryāḥ* in Sanskrit *Muriyā* *Murua* and *Mori* and even *Moriyā*, in Prakrit, and *Mories* in Greek (Hindī *Murāi* and *Murao*).

The association of Chandragupta's family with the peacock is not only evident from the authoritative Buddhist and Jaina works but also from the monuments of the Mauryan and the post Mauryan period. The peacock ensign of the royal house of the Mauryas, about four inches in length has been found in the Lauriya Nandangarh pillar of Asoka, in the unpolished portion below the ring-like projection buried under the ground, and a pair of peacocks is to be seen on either side of the lowest architrave of the East Gateway (outer face) of the Great Stupa at Sanchi, representing the scene of Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi tree. In the pairs of peacocks, Grunwedel finds a special allusion to the Maurya dynasty, since the peacock was the canting badge of that royal family (*Buddhist Art in India* p 70 cf *Monuments of Sanchi* Marshall and Foucher, ii Pl 42 see the explanatory note on the Bottom Lintel).

In the narrow compass of this paper, it will not be possible for us to assess further the historical value of the Buddhist tradition relating to the origin of Chandragupta, which Dr F W Thomas has summarily dismissed as a 'flattering account'. We should therefore, be content with examining two more facts which have a direct bearing on the subject under discussion. Firstly the Theravadins aver that the Moriya as a separate tribe came into existence shortly before the death of the Buddha and their affirmation seems to receive valuable support from the fact that, unlike the other autonomous tribes, nowhere in the sermons of that great saint, the Moriya even incidentally have been referred to. Secondly, the reason that appears to have led the later Sanskrit writers viz Viśākhadatta, Somadeva, Kshemendra, Iṣaṇi Chākyar, Ananta Kavi, Dhundiraja, and Ratna garbha, to assume that Chandragupta was a scion of the Nanda family, is a pass-

\* This was pointed out by me to Dr Radhakumud Mookerji when he was writing his book on *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times* (see now p 16). It may be noted here that the metronymic form *Maureyah* which we can have by the application of the rule "*Stubhyo dhak*" (Pāṇ., iv 1 120), is irregular in face of the rule "*Avyādhābhyo naḍimāmushibhyastannamikabhyah*" (Pāṇ., iv 1 113).



(*Chandagutto se nāman kayam*) Chandragupta grew up among the village boys whom he dominated by his superior bearings and signs of greatness. Chāpakya happened to come to the village again after a long interval, which he had profitably employed by secretly collecting gold by means of metallurgical process in which he was an adept (*dhāubilām*)<sup>15</sup> He was particularly struck by Chandragupta's behaviour, which seemed to mark him out for kingship. He saw him already playing the rôle of a king at games with the other village boys, like one proficient in statecraft (*rāyāññe*), and tested him by asking for some present.<sup>16</sup> As the boy was prepared to grant it then and there, Chāpakya asked for the cows but feared lest he might

age in the *Purāṇas* which tells us that the rulers after Mahāpadma Nanda 'will be of Sūdra origin' (*'tatah prabhūti rājano bhaviṣyāḥ Sūdrayonayāḥ*). The vagueness of this statement coupled with the fact that the word *Maurya* cannot be equated grammatically to the Pali word *Moriya*, must have led those later Sanskrit writers to conclude that both the Nandas and the Mauryas were Sūdras. They should have, however, borne in mind that a strong champion of the *varṇasrama dharma* like Kauṭilya who strove so hard to exterminate the Sūdra royal family, would be least expected to raise a Sūdra to the throne (cf *Arthas* Bk. I Ch. III, Bk. VIII Ch. II and Colophon), and that the word *Maurya* can never be used in Sanskrit as a regular metonymic form for the son of Mura.

The introduction of Mura as a historical character in Sanskrit literature whether as the mother or the grandmother of Chandragupta to explain the surname *Maurya* is a hoax that has confounded the Indian and European scholars alike and the sooner we realize this mischief of the later pantheists the better for our successors in the field of historical research.

15 Cf Hemachandra

*Suvarṇopārjanadhiya Chanakyo 'pi paribhraman |  
gaveskayitumarebhe dhatuvadavisaradan ||*

(*Paris* viii 241)

Chāpakya's proficiency in Metallurgy (*Sulbadhatuśāstra*) and Inorganic Chemistry is amply borne out by the knowledge exhibited by him in his *Arthashastra* (Bk. II Chaps. XII, XIII, and XIV). The *Sulbadhatuśāstra* referred to in the *Arthashastra* is no longer extant. Chāpakya also appears to have utilized his knowledge of metals, non metals, and their compounds in studying their effects on the human system and to have written a separate treatise incorporating the results of the same. That valuable work had disappeared from India long ago without leaving any trace behind though it was known to the early Arab writers to whose country it had migrated like so many other Sanskrit works (Zachariae, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* xxviii p. 206 f., the Arabic form of the name 'Chāpakya' is 'Sanaq').

16 Cf Moggallāna

*Darakeh' eta nikkhamma Chandragutto kumarako |  
gopāladarakā distā nayakam akarum tato ||  
Rajakijāḥkayam kīlam kīlanto so kumarako |  
senapati amachche cha kūtā gopāladarake ||  
kehiṣṣi uparajādī-adhikāram akarayi |  
majjhe tesam sayam eta khattiyo ra nisidati" ||*

(*Mahāv.*, v 110-112)

not be able to carry them unopposed. Chandragupta retorted that the earth was for the heroes (*virabhojjā pukaī*). The answer impressed Chāṇakya so much with the boy's quality for kingship that he could not resist the temptation of enquiring about his identity from his playmates. They informed him that Chandragupta was the son of a *Parivrājaka* ('*Parivvāyagaputto esa*'). Thus, coming to know that Chandragupta was the same boy whose mother had been helped by him in the guise of a *Parivrājaka*, Chāṇakya promised to make him king ('*jāmu jā te rāyānaṁ karemi*'). He then made away with the boy forthwith from that place (*so teṇa samanī palāo*).<sup>17</sup>

With the riches he had accumulated by his knowledge of metallurgy, Chāṇakya now began preparations for overthrowing the king Nanda.<sup>18</sup> By spending money lavishly, he recruited men (*logo milio*) for his army and invested (*rohiyaṁ*) the city of Pāṭaliputra. King Nanda, however, with his superior military strength, surrounded the army of Chāṇakya and completely destroyed (*bhaggo*) his vastly inferior forces. At this sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, both Chandragupta and Chāṇakya took to flight with their army scattered. The king then sent some of his officers on horseback in their pursuit (*assehiṁ pachchhao laggā purisā*) with a view to putting an end to their ambitious career. When one of the pursuers was about to overtake them, Chāṇakya concealed Chandragupta in a tank that was near and thickly overgrown with lotus (*paūminīsāṇḍe chhubbhitiā*), and himself assumed the guise of a washerman (*rayao jāo*).<sup>19</sup> When the

17. According to the Buddhist tradition, Chandragupta was taken by Chāṇakya to his own place of residence (*attano vasaṇatthānaṁ netvā*), i.e., the city of Taxila, for education (*Vamsatth.*, p. 122, ll. 12-13, Sinh. Ed.).

18. According to Moggallāna and the anonymous author of the *Vamsatthapākāsinī*, Chāṇakya manufactured fraudulent silver coins (*kahāpana*) and buried them somewhere in the Vindhyan forest (*Vijjhāpavi*). The vast sum of money thus collected, was subsequently utilized by him in building up a huge army for the conquest of the Nanda kingdom (*Vamsatth.*, p. 121, ll. 17-20, Sinh. Ed.)

Cf. Moggallāna :

"Aṭavim tattha vasitvā sambhāre pariyesiya |

Katvā kahāpanarāsiṁ sūkoṭṭippamāṇakaṁ" ||

(*Mahāv.*, v. 92)

19. Here we find a glaring discrepancy between the *Parisishṭaparvan* and the *Sukhabodhā*. According to the former (*Paris.*, viii. 257-278), King Nanda had sent two horsemen one after another in pursuit of Chāṇakya and Chandragupta. Before the first pursuer named Sādi (!) could overtake them, Chāṇakya asked Chandragupta to conceal himself in a tank that was near and thickly overgrown with lotus, while he himself sat down on its bank in the guise of an ascetic. When the horseman reached there and asked Chāṇakya, whether he had seen a young man running off, the latter only pointed to the tank but gave no reply. The signal thus given enabled the horseman to understand where Chandragupta exactly was. When he removed his sword and armour and was about to plunge into water, Chāṇakya instantly seized the sword and cut him into two. Chandragupta then came out of the water, and the two made off with the horse

horseman reached there and asked him about Chandragupta. Chanakya pointed to the tank and said 'He has dived into water and is still hiding there. When the horseman spotted Chandragupta (*āsavarena diṭṭho*), he immediately made over his horse to Chānakya and put down the sword (*khaggam mukkam*). But no sooner did he remove his armour with the intention of plunging into water (*java nigumḍo jaloyaranāc kamchugam mellai*) than Chānakya seized the sword and cut him into two (*khaggam dhettuna duhakao*). On being signalled Chandragupta came out and afterwards the two hurriedly left that place (*palaya*). On the way Chanakya asked Chandragupta what he had felt, when the horseman had been directed to the tank. The boy coolly said 'Perhaps it is good for my master knows best' (*haṇḍi evam cheva sohanam havi, aṭṭo cheva janaṭi tti*). The reply highly satisfied Chanakya, for it not only convinced him of the worthiness of the boy for the crown but also of his unflinching devotion and loyalty towards him as his preceptor (*tao nena jantiyam jogo na esa vipari namaṭi*)<sup>20</sup>

In course of their wanderings the two came to a village where in a certain house they heard a boy crying because his fingers had been scorched in his attempt to eat hot rice gruel (*vilevi*) right from the middle of the plate

of the hapless pursuer. While still continuing their flight Chanakya asked Chandragupta, what he had thought when the horseman had been directed to the tank. The boy coolly said 'Perhaps it is good for my master knows best.' The reply highly satisfied Chanakya, for he was convinced that, even as king Chandragupta would remain loyal and devoted to him. When the second horseman sent by King Nanda was about to overtake them, Chanakya asked Chandragupta to plunge into the tank which they had reached by that time and also scared away a washerman from that place by saying that the king was extremely annoyed with his guild and that he would be killed by that horseman coming at top speed should he remain there any longer. When the bewildered washerman fled leaving his bundles behind Chanakya took his place. On being questioned as before Chanakya directed the horseman to the tank, and when the latter was about to dive after removing his sword and armour he suffered the same fate as the other.

It may be noted here that the story of Sati and Chanakya as given in the *Parīśiṣṭapārvan*, is not to be met with in the *Sukhabodha*. In the *Atassaya Churni* we come across another such story but unfortunately it is difficult to form an idea even of its bare outline because of the brevity. Haribhadra Devendraganin and Hemachandra, too have also taken no notice of it apparently because of the same difficulty. In the *Churni* the story occurs in the following form:

*Cīandautto ya paumasare nibuddho imo upaspiṣṭaṭi (?) sannae bhanatī bolī yuttī ulūma nasamī* (p. 564). We do not find any possibility of equating it with the story of Sati as given above.

20 Here follows a fantastic story common to both the *Atassaya* and *Uttarajjhayana* traditions. It tells us how Chandragupta was famished for want of food and how his life was saved by Chanakya. So says Devendraganin: "*Pachchha Chamdagutto chhuhaṇo Chanakko tam jharetta bhāṭṭassatigao bihetī mā etiha naṭṭeṭṭā Moḍḍassa bahim niggaṭṭassa poṭṭam phaliyam dahikuram gahaya gao Jimmīo dārao*" Cf. *Atas Churn* p. 564.

in which it had been served to him.<sup>21</sup> The mother of the boy, an old lady (*theri*), who had also served the same frugal meal to her other sons scolded him saying that he was as stupid as Chanakya and did not know how to eat ('*Chanakkamangula*' *bhottum pi na janasi*') Chānakya who was exceedingly surprised to hear his name mentioned and the compliments paid to him in so glowing a term appeared before the old lady and asked her what she meant by that comparison. Then said she, "Don't you know that that fool of a Chanakya without securing his rear, rashly invested the capital of Nanda with an inadequate force and brought defeat on himself? He should have started the campaign right from the frontiers which he should have first consolidated ('*pasam padhamam gheppanti*') before advancing into the interior of the kingdom. So this greedy boy also instead of eating the rice gruel gradually from the sides hurriedly eats into the hotter middle with his fingers which are thus burnt."<sup>22</sup>

Profiting by her suggestion (*tan paribhaviya*), Chanakya now altered his strategy. He then went to Himavatkuṭa (*Himavantakuṭam*) and made alliance (*mettikaya*) with its ruler named Parvata (*Parvata rāya*) by promising that the kingdom of the dispossessed Nanda would be equally divided between him and Chandragupta (*Nandaratnam samam samenam viśham jayamo*)<sup>23</sup> Parvata agreed to the terms laid down by him (*padivannan*

21 Hemachandra takes *vilevi* (Skt. *ślepi* rice-gruel) in the sense of *rabba* (probably the same as the Hindi *rabā*). It might be a preparation of granulated flour cooked with milk and sugar (*Paris* viii 292, 296).

22. For the Buddhist version of the story of the old woman and her son see *Iamsatthappakasini* (p 123 ll 6-15 Sinh Ed) and Moggallāna's *Mahāsaṃsa* (v 141-146).

23 According to the Buddhist tradition Parvata was the son of King Dhanaṇḍa (*Vamsatth* p 121 l 9 Sinh Ed). In the Brahmanical tradition he figures under the names of Parvatāka (Mountaineer), Parvatendra (Ruler of the Mountains) and Parvateśa (Lord of the Mountains) and the story as given by the dramatist Viśakhadatta in his *Mudrarakṣasa* (second half of the 6th century A.D.) the poet and actor Iravī Chakyaṛ alias Ravinartaka in his *Chānakya-kātha* (c 1615 A.D.) the poet and pseudo-historian Ananta Kavi in his *Mudrarakṣasapūrasaṅkatha* (c 1660 A.D.) and the commentator Dhundhuraṇa in his *Mudrarakṣasatīkā* (A.D. 1713-14) represents him as a Mlecchha and the ruler of the Mlecchhas, whose kingdom lay at a distance of about 900 miles north (? north west) of Pāṭaliputra (*Paṭaliputrādudichyāni śatayojane*). Being duped by Chānakya with the false hope of getting a share of the Nanda kingdom he invaded Magadha with his army composed of the Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas (Scythians) Kāmbojas (? Indo- Iranians) Pārasikas (Iranians) Kīratas (tribesmen of Tibeto-Burman origin) Khasas (polyandrous tribesmen of Tehri-Garhwal) Kulutas (Koltas of the western Himalayas originally of the Kulu valley), Sabaras (Austro-Asiatics) Balhikas (tribesmen of the north west frontier) and Hunas, and killed all the *one* Nandas in battle. He then occupied the city of Pāṭaliputra and conspired with Rakṣasa, the former minister of the Nandas, to retain for himself the entire Nanda kingdom but before he could put his plan into action, he lost his life from the effects of poison through physical contact with a *viśakanya*

lena) and promised to give him the military help required for the purpose. Then the combined forces of Parvata and Chandragupta invaded the territory of Nanda from its frontiers as planned before, and gradually advanced into the interior. But their scheme received a complete setback, when they failed to occupy an important city which proved to be invulnerable *oyaiumāḍhallo egattha nayaram, na paḍai*), because of its tutelary goddesses. Chāṇakya then entered that city incognito in the guise of a Tridandin ascetic and saw the deities, the daughters of the god Indra, for whom it could not be conquered (*Indakumāriyāo diṭṭhāo, tāsuṃ tanaena na paḍai*).<sup>24</sup> The citizens being

(poison marden), who was, in fact, sent by Rākshasa to kill Chandragupta but was passed on by Chāṇakya to that treacherous Mlechchha king for the very same purpose.

Hermann Jacobi identifies Parvata with Parva, the eleventh king of the Kīrātā dynasty of Nepal, as mentioned in the *Bauddhapārvatyavamsāvali*, on the ground that in the reign of the seventh king Jitedāsti, the Buddha visited Nepal, and in that of the fourteenth, Sthunka, Aśoka also visited that country (*Paris*, 2nd Ed, pp lxxv-lxxvi, cf *Ind Ant*, vii, p 90, xiii, p 412). Parva might have been a contemporary of Chandragupta, for Sthunka, great grandson of the former, and Aśoka, grandson of the latter, were contemporaries.

While we do not question the historicity of Parva alias Pañchem, the 11th Kīrātā king of Gokarna, it passes comprehension, how an astute politician and strategist like Chāṇakya could count so much on the military assistance of a barbarous Mongoloid ruler of a hill state for overthrowing the last Nanda king, when the war veterans under Alexander, who had brought under their heels the vast tract of Asia stretching from the Hellespont to the Hyphass, wavered for want of confidence in their success against the most powerful Xandrames, King of the Prasii and the Gangaridai, and ultimately retired almost from the frontier of his kingdom. That makes us suspect whether the later Jaina writers (c 200-1150 A.D.) have truly depicted the court tradition of the Imperial Mauryas, when they represented Parvata to be 'a mountain chief' (*pārvatiko raja*) and 'the ruler of the Himalayas' (*Himaratkūlapārthivah*). *Avas Sūt* [Vṛt], p 434, *Paris*, viii 338, cf *Sukhab* " . . . gao Himai amlakuḍam tattha Paviao raya", *Avassaya Churni*, p. 564. There is no information on record to show what the earlier Jaina writers knew about Parvata; nor is there any reference to that king in the *Kathā* literature of the Jainas.

24 The *Indrakumaris*, 'Daughters of Indra', who are otherwise unknown to Hindu mythology, have been identified by Hemachandra with the *Saptamatṛikas*, 'Seven Mother goddesses' (*Paris*, viii. 303, *Atas Churn*, p 564, *Sukhab* on *Uttaraj* in 1). Oddly enough, there are two groups of the *Saptamatṛikās*, one, according to the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 229-10), viz. Kāka, Halimā, Mālīnī, Brūhātā, Āryā, Palālī, and Vamutrā, and the other, according to the *Purāṇas* (Agni, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Varāha, Devī, etc.) and certain religious works of the Śaivas, viz. *Brahmāṇi* (also *Brāhmī*) *Māheśvari*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaishnavī*, *Vārāhī*, *Indrāṇī* (also *Andrī*), and *Chāmundī*, and it is difficult to ascertain which particular group was admitted by the Jainas to be 'the daughters of Indra.' Both the groups of *Saptamatṛikās* are believed to be the nurses or protectors of Skanda, son of Śiva and the War god of the Hindu pantheon, but while in Śaivism, the second group is worshipped with Skanda, we have no evidence to testify to the worship of the first group along with the same god. It may be noted here that with the excep-

unable to bear the strain of the siege any longer, approached the ascetic and asked him, how long it would still continue. He replied, "As long as the city's tutelary goddesses remain here." The citizens thus being duped, dug out the circle of deities and had them removed from the city (*nināṭiyāo*), whereupon Chāṇakya sent a message to Parvata and Chandragupta asking them to invest it at once. When the overjoyed citizens had been completely thrown off their guard, the besieging army returned and invested the city afresh, which now fell (*gahsiyam nayaram*). Under Chāṇakya's leadership, the army then extended its conquests so as to occupy the territory of Nanda as far as Pāṭaliputra.<sup>25</sup> Next the two leaders, Parvata and Chandragupta, marched with their army towards Nanda's capital, the city of Pāṭaliputra, and besieged it (*Pāṭaliputtam tao rohiyam*). When the city was stormed, King Nanda surrendered near the gate called Dharmadvāra and entreated Chāṇakya to save his life.<sup>26</sup> Chāṇakya permitted him to leave the city loading his chariot with all the riches that it could carry. King Nanda took with him his two wives, his daughter, and as much wealth as he could carry in his chariot and left the city. On the way, his daughter (? Durdharā or Suprabhā) fell in love at first sight with Chandragupta (*kammā niggach chhamṭī puno puno Chandaguttam paloṇi*), who also responded to her gesture.

The amorous behaviour of his daughter did not escape the notice of King Nanda. He gladly permitted her to marry Chandragupta by *svayamvata*, as she was a Kshatriya princess.<sup>27</sup> Thus, having her father's consent

tion of Chāmunda, each of the seven Divine-mothers of the second group is but the deified female energy of some prominent male god of the Hindu pantheon.

Being the protectors of the War-god, the Seven Mother goddesses' were believed by the ancient Hindu kings to protect a sovereign who takes refuge in them. Epigraphic evidence tends to show that the Kadamba and the Chalukya kings of the earlier period recognized the *Saptamatṛikas* and Skandā as their tutelary deities (*Ind Ant*, vi pp 27 and 74 vii p 162, xii p 137 f). As stated by Hemachandra, even a town was believed to be invulnerable, if 'the Seven Mother Goddesses' were worshipped there (*Paris*, viii. 303 ff). Public worship of this group of deities in certain towns is amply borne out by the lithic records discovered at Gangdhar and Bihar Sharif (*Cor Ins Ind*, iii pp 49 and 76).

25 Cf *Paris* viii 311-312

26 'Dharmadvāra' seems to be the same as *Mahādvāra* of the Nidāna-kathā of the *Jātaka* (i p 63, Fausbøll's Ed and 'Brahmadvāra' of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. II Ch. iv). The significance of the word 'Dhammadāra' in the passage, *Nando Dhammadāram maggaṃ* (*Sukhab*), is not difficult to understand, but Hemachandra appears to have put a new meaning to it, when he says, "dharmadvaramaṃyachishṭa" i.e., 'prayed for a lawful or safe passage.' (*Paris*, viii 314, *Āvas Chun*, p 564, l 13 'Dhammaduvāram').

27. No definite information is available regarding the caste of the Nine Nandas. According to the Jaina tradition, the first Nanda, who succeeded king Udayin was the son of a courtesan by a barber named Divākṛti and evidently therefore was of the barber caste ('*ganikākukshijānmā*' and '*nāputakumara*' *Paris*, vi 231 232, '*nāp-tadāsa*', *Avś. Sūt* [Vṛt], p 690, '*nāpitaṅgikāsuto*', *Vividha-Tīrthakalpa*, ed

to marry the princess got down and attempted to get into Chandragupta's chariot and as she was doing so nine spokes of the wheel gave way (*nava aragā bhaggā*) Chandragupta took it to be an ill omen and therefore requested her to get down ('*amangalam tti nivartya tenam*) Chanakya, however considered it to be a good omen and allowed her to get into the chariot. He informed Chandragupta that the breaking of nine spokes portended that his dynasty would continue for nine generations after him (*nava purisajugam tujjham vamsa holi*)<sup>28</sup>

Jina Vijaya : p. 68) For according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and other authoritative texts, it is the caste of the father and not of the mother that determines the caste of a child whether born in lawful wedlock or not (*mata bhastra pituh putta yena jatah sa eva sah Viṣṇu* iv 10 12 cf *Arthasā* Bk iii Ch vii) The information preserved in Jaina literature cannot possibly be an instance of *odium theologicum* for while the Nine Nandas have nowhere been represented as antagonistic to Jainism at least one of them appears to have been a great supporter of that religion (*Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela* l 12) In support of the *Atassaya* tradition which both Hanabhadra and Hemachandra have followed it may be mentioned here that when Alexander the Great was gathering information about the king of the Prasii and the Gangaridai evidently a Nanda king Poros is said to have informed him that the ruler of those two nations was hated and despised by his subjects because of the meanness of his origin for he was the son of a barber (*Curtius Alex* Bk ix, Ch. ii *Diodoros Bibl Hist* Ch xcii) and it appears that the same opinion was also maintained by Chandragupta (*Plutarch, Lives* Ch. lxi) Again when the *Purāṇas* characterize the first Nanda as a *Sudragarbhodbhavaḥ* (*Bhagavata*) and his descendants as the *Sudra bhūmipalah* (*Viṣṇu*) the Jaina tradition only receives additional confirmation for originally the barbers were considered to be a low-caste people (*hinajacheho Jataka* ii p 5 Fausboll's Ed.) following a filth cleaning pursuit (*hinajacheho malamajjano nahapitaputto Jat* ii p 452) and were undoubtedly classed amongst those Sudras who were allowed to live within the pale of the Aryan society (*Sudranamaniravasitanam Pāṇini* ii 4 10 cf *Amarakosa* Sudravarga 10) whatever might be the theories regarding their origin or social grade which were started at a later period (*udbhvanapita Napita Adho rapita* cf *Sūta-Samhitā* of the *Skandapurāṇa* I xii 15 3? Anand Sans. Series)

But this cumulative evidence pointing to the low origin of the Nandas has been practically set at naught by certain later writers such as Visakhadatta Irai Chakya and Dhundhiraia according to whom the Ten Nandas, viz King Sarvartha, addhi Nanda and his nine sons (*nava Nandaḥ*) were true-born *Kshatriyas* What had led those scholars to increase the number of the Nandas and represent them to be *Kshatriyas* is not known but we cannot possibly praise Hemachandra of being consistent when he has used the word *Kshatriya-kanya* with reference to the daughter of the last Nanda (*Parī* vii 320) forgetting that he himself has described elsewhere the eldest of the Nine Nandas as the son of a barber begotten on a courtesan (*Parī* vi 231 232)

No key to the solution of this historical problem has been afforded by the Buddhist authorities. According to the *Dīpavamsa* Uggasena the eldest of the nine brothers and founder of the royal house of the Nandas, belonged to some unknown family (*"tesam hi jetho pana aññatakulassa putto* see p 117 ll 13-14 Sinh. Ed.)

28. It is evident from the *Uttarajhayana* tradition as recorded by Deven

Chandragupta and Parvata then entered the royal palace (*rāulamai*) accompanied by Chāṇakya, where they divided between themselves the kingdom and the vast riches of the ex-king Nanda. In the palace, King Parvata noticed a girl of exquisite beauty and became enamoured of her. As he expressed the desire to have her as his consort, Chāṇakya at once began preparations for their marriage. Unfortunately, that virgin was a poison girl (*visakannajā*); and although Chāṇakya himself had discovered that fact, he approved of the marriage knowing fully its consequence. During the ceremony before the sacred fire (*aggiparyamchane*), when Parvata seized her hand, he was affected by the poison exuding through her perspiration and began to succumb to its fatal effects (*visaparigao marumāraddho*)<sup>29</sup>. Moved by the dying man's pathetic cry, when Chandragupta came to his rescue (*Chandagutto 'rumbhāmu' iti vatasio*) by a remedy, he was frown'd off it by Chāṇakya (*bhuḍi kajā*). As no antidote was given, Parvata soon breathed his last.

Chāṇakya thus acquired without any trouble the territories of both Nanda and Parvata (*do ti rajjāni tassa jāyāni*) and placed Chandragupta on the throne. This event took place on the expiry of *one hundred and fifty five years* reckoning from the date of the earthly deliverance (*mukhi*) of Lord Mahāvīra.<sup>30</sup>

dragapin, that the Imperial Maurya dynasty comprised *ten* rulers, viz, Chandra gupta, the founder of the house, and his nine successors. This is perfectly in consonance with the *Avassaya* tradition which Hemachandra has evidently followed ('*gāmi purushayugāni nava yavattatānvayah*" *Parī*, viii, 326, *Avas Chun* p 565, *Atas Sut* [Vijit], p 435). Out of the five *Purāṇas* which have preserved the dynastic list of the Mauryas, at least three, viz *Matsya*, *Vishnu* and *Bhāgavata*, give the number of those rulers as *ten* and only two, viz, *Vayu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, as *nine*. Thus, the well attested number is *ten*.

29 According to the *Mudrārākshasa* (Acts I and II), after the murder of the old king Sarvārthasiddhi Nanda, his minister Rākshasa had sent a beautiful poison maiden to the Sugāṅga Palace thinking that Chandragupta would be snared by her exquisite beauty and would die eventually from the effects of poison by coming into physical contact with her. But the stratagem was discovered by Chāṇakya, who had her sent instead to his treacherous ally Parvataka, and the latter lost his life through her. According to the *Gesta Romanorum* (xi), an Indian queen in order to take revenge on Alexander the Great had sent him a poison maiden as present, but the life of that Macedonian hero was saved by his master Aristotle, who foiled the trick in time (*Kathasaritsagara* trans. C. H. Tawney 1 p 149 and note). In dealing with Toxicology the celebrated physician Sūsruta (2nd cent. A.D.), has also admitted the fact that the system of a *vishakanya* is charged with poison to such an extent that a man is apt to lose his life through having carnal knowledge of her (*vishakanyopayogādva kshanājjahyādasūn narah* ' *Susruta-Samhita* Kaipasthāna, 1 3).

30 So says Hemachandra

' *Etam cha śrī Mahāvīramukter tarshasate gate |*  
*panchapāñchāśādhike Chandragupto bhavannīpaḥ* ' ||  
(*Parī*, viii 339)



It has been pointed out by Dr Jacobi (*Paris Intro p xx*) that the date of Chandragupta's accession as given by Hemachandra viz 155 years after the demise of Mahavira, has been confirmed by Bhadresvara, who in his *kahavali* writes

*Evam cha Mahaviramullisamayao paichavan(n)atarisase nuchhagne (uckh hune) Namdavamse Chamdagutto raya jau iti*

It is evident therefore that Bhadresvara too is of opinion that the Nanda dynasty was exterminated and Chandragupta was placed on the throne on the expiry of 155 years reckoning from the date of the earthly deliverance (*multis*) of Mahavira. This traditional date however, has been discountenanced by a number of other Jaina works such as the *Vicharasreni Harivamsa Putana Vrudhha Tirtha kalpa Tirthoddhara Prakirnaka* and *Trailokya Pramapti*, according to which Mahavira died 215 years before the Mauryas came to power (60 years for Palaka + 155 years for the Nandas). All these works were composed at different periods ranging from the 8th to the 14th century like the *Parisishatparian* and the *Kahavali* mentioned above.

As the accession of Chandragupta cannot be dated earlier than B.C. 324 he having met Alexander the Great in the Punjab in B.C. 326 or in the first half of B.C. 325 as an ordinary individual and not as the king of the Prasien and the Gangaridai (Plutarch, *Lives*, Ch. lxi) the date of Mahavira's death as given by Hemachandra and Bhadresvara cannot possibly be earlier than B.C. 479 (B.C. 324 + 155 years). As the Buddha died in B.C. 483 he should be considered to have predeceased Mahavira by at least four years, if B.C. 479 be accepted as the year of the latter's death. But the case was just the reverse. For not only the Buddha and his personal attendant Sanputra who predeceased him, knew of the death of Mahavira at Pava and the schism in the Jaina Church that followed it, but they were extremely anxious, lest the infection should spread in the Buddhist Church and its members might behave in the same manner under similar circumstances (*Digha-Nikaya*, iii pp 209 ff P T S). The fact may be proved in another way. Chunda a Samaguddesa (novice) in the Buddhist Order who happened to spend the rainy recess at Pava (*Parajam tassavuttho*) like Mahavira comes to see the Buddha at Samagama a village in the Sakya country and informs Ananda that Nigantha Nataputta (Mahavira) has passed away recently at Pava (*Parajam adhuna kalakato hoti*), that on his death, his followers have become divided into two hostile groups (*diethikajata bhandanajata*) upholding widely divergent views and that their quarrel has taken such a serious turn that they are now abusing each other (*utadapanna annamannam mukhasattisi utudanta vharanti*). When the two brethren in their anxiety to preserve the integrity and prestige of the Buddhist *Samgha* approached their master to discuss the matter with him, the Buddha delivered two lectures to them, of which one was specially addressed to Chunda and the other to his personal attendant Ananda. Of the two lectures the longer one which was delivered to Chunda came to be recorded by the *Dighabhaypakas* (*Digha Nikaya* iii pp 117-141 P T S.) while the shorter one which was meant for Ananda, by the *Majjhimabhaypakas* (*Majjhima Nikaya* ii pp 243-251 P T S). Thus, if we are to believe in the Jaina tradition as recorded in the *Kalpesutra* (§ 123) that Mahavira passed away in the 4th month of the rainy recess in the 7th fortnight, in the dark fortnight of Kārttika on its 15th day (Dark day), in the secretariat buildings of King Hastupala at Pava (Pava) we shall have to admit that he predeceased the Buddha for the latter is definitely known to have discussed the future of his *Samgha* with one who had also spent the rainy months in the very same town as Mahavira, and was therefore fully posted with the latest developments in the Jaina Church as also their effects on the Jaina laity.

The secular works of the Jainas in Prakrit and Sanskrit present at least two streams of tradition relating to Chandragupta and Chanakya, of which one is special to the commentaries on the *Āiassaya* and the *Uttarajjayana* and the other, to the Jaina *Katha* literature. The *Āiassaya* tradition, again, is essentially the same as that of the *Uttarajjayana* though it differs from the latter in minor details. The germs of these two traditions are traced in the *Nijjuttis* or concise metrical explanations on the two scriptural texts mentioned above. They were subsequently developed by the addition of a variety of episodes by the earlier Jaina scholars who have, it is believed faithfully preserved the story as was told to them by their teachers in the Jaina Church. These stories or more precisely narrative themes thus remained in memory for many centuries during which period they were transmitted by successive teachers (*tachaka*) through oral method. For how long exactly the traditions relating to Chandragupta and Chanakya continued to remain in memory is difficult to ascertain, but it cannot possibly be after the

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The date suggested by Bhadresvara and Hemachandra for the accession of Chandragupta Maurya (A.V. 155), is therefore clearly inadmissible and so also is the one which adds sixty years more to it (A.V. 215). What seems to be probable is that the period intervening between the death of Mahavira and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya was in reality 165 years, but which has been inadvertently recorded by some later chronicler as 155 years. We are, of course, not in a position to state definitely whether he had in view the date when the youthful Chandragupta under the guidance of his master Chanakya first appeared in the role of a rebel in the frontiers of the Nanda kingdom, a few years before he actually ascended the throne (B.C. 321) and met with what was perhaps the greatest reverse of his fortune. Whatever the case may be if according to the Buddhist chronology the first Mauryan emperor ascended the throne 162 years after the demise of the Buddha a gap of three years between the death of Mahavira and his junior contemporary the Buddha cannot possibly be an unacceptable historical proposition.

[B.C. 483 as the year of the Buddha's death has been fixed by Wilhelm Geiger, J. F. Fleet and D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe with the help of all the available chronological data bearing on the ecclesiastical history of Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon up to the end of the 6th century A.D. (*Mahavamsa* Geiger Intro., pp. xxv ff; P. T. S. Trans. Series Fleet, *J. R. A. S.* 1906 pp. 984-986, 1909 pp. 1 ff; pp. 323 ff; Wickremasinghe *Epig. Zeyl.* iii pp. 4 ff). Fresh investigations in this direction have revealed the fact that in Ceylon the Buddha Era commencing from B.C. 483 was in use up to the close of the 15th century when a reform of the calendar took place B.C. 544 being adopted as the year of the Buddha's death (John M. Senaveratne *J. R. A. S. Ceylon Br.* xxiii No. 67 pp. 141 ff). According to Fleet, the Buddha passed away on October 13, 483 B.C. (*J. R. A. S.* 1909 p. 22) while the same event according to the present writer took place on Sunday April 26, 483 B.C. (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* pp. 329-330). Takakusu informs us that the dotted record kept up at Canton to the end of the year A.D. 489 shows 975 dots, and hence the Buddha died in B.C. 486 ( $486 + 489 = 975$ ) (*J. R. A. S.* 1906 p. 51). The occurrence of three extra dots is not unexpected considering the crude method of keeping the record and the length of the period for which it had been kept.]

famous Valabhi Council of Devarddhi Kshamaśramaṇa which was held 980 or 993 years after the demise of Mahavira (died c 486 B.C.) for the purpose of collecting and recording the sacred scriptures of the Śvetāmbara *Siddhanta* as well as their commentaries.

The first occurrence of the Chandragupta tradition as a written record is very probably in the *Churni* (*Churni*) on the *Avassaya Nijjuttī*<sup>31</sup> on the basis of which sometime between A.D. 740 and 770 the celebrated Jaina commentator Haribhadra Suri of the Vidyadharakula (*gachchha*) wrote the story of Chandragupta and Chanakya in an elaborate manner incorporating in it much that is extraneous but which is believed to have been orally transmitted to him. It is to be found in his *Avasyakasutra Vṛtti* a Sanskrit commentary on the *Āvassaya* the second *Mulasutta* of the Śvetāmbara Canon. Nearly three centuries later Devendraganin wrote out the story afresh in Prakrit, interspersed with Sanskrit and Prakrit verses in his commentary on the *Uttarajjayana* the first *Mulasutta* of the Śvetāmbaras. His commentary is popularly known as the *Sukhabodha* and appears to have been completed in A.D. 1083. That Devendraganin has ignored the story of Chandragupta and Chanakya as given in the *Avasyakasutra Vṛtti* is more than evident but it is equally true that his narrative is mainly based on the *Avassaya Churni* from which he has extensively copied the Prakrit text of the story. He probably intended to reproduce the original narrative with certain emendations in the manner preferred by his teachers or the ecclesiastical group (*gachchha*) to which he belonged. Another version of the story in metrical Sanskrit is to be found in the *Sthaviravaliṅgharita* or *Parisishṭaparvan* which was composed about A.D. 1165 by Hemachandra Suri as an Appendix to his *Trishashṭisalākāpurushacharita*. It is mainly based on the *Avassaya* narrative of Haribhadra and consists of 276 *śloka*s. It may be noted here that the portion of the tradition which relates to the period after the consecration of Chandragupta whether recorded by Haribhadra or by Devendraganin is not of much value in history.

The other stream of tradition which is special to the Jaina *Katha* literature is best represented by the *Bṛhatkathakośa* of Harisheṇa<sup>32</sup> the *Āradhana sātkaṭhaprabandha* of prabhachandra the *Āradhanakathakośa* of Nemiḍatta and the *Kathakośa* of Śrichandra.<sup>33</sup> Regarding the literary character of these works, it may be said that the *Kathakośa*s of Harisheṇa and Nemiḍatta are composed in metrical Sanskrit and that of Śrichandra in metrical Prakrit. No *Kathakośa* in Prakrit prose containing the tradition has come to light so far the one in Sanskrit prose being that of Prabhachandra. Of these four *Kathakośa*s the earliest and perhaps the most important is that

31 Cf. *Avasyaka-Airyukti-Churni* pp. 563-565 (Jalanabandhu Printing Press, Indore 1928).

32 Cf. *Bṛhatkathakośa* ed. A. N. Upadhye pp. 336-338, Bombay 1943.

33. *ibid.*, Intro., p. 57 ff.

of Harisheṇa (A.D. 931) and the latest is that of Nemidatta (c. 1530 A.D.), while the other two belong to the intervening period<sup>34</sup>. All the four authors appear to have derived the tradition from an earlier *Āradhana* text of the Jains composed in metrical Prakrit, viz. the *Bhagavati-Āradhanā*<sup>35</sup> of Śivārya, otherwise known as Śivakoṭi and Śivakoṭyācārya which in view of its linguistic and textual evidence might be assigned to the first century A.D.<sup>36</sup> But the *Bhagavati-Āradhana* itself does not appear to be the primary source of that tradition, for it can be traced through that repository of tales and legends to another of much earlier period. The fossils of the Chanākya (Chandragupta) tradition in fact have been found embedded in the literary stratum of the *Painnas* (Miscellanea) which as we know are included in the Canon of the Śvetāmbaras and in the Secondary Canon<sup>3</sup> of the Digambaras. Of the ten *Painnas* the two which might be taken to represent the nuclear stage of that tradition are the *Bhattapaṇṇa* and the *Samthara* for it is in them that the original of the story of Chanākya as a Jain monk (1) has been found to occur for the first time to illustrate and uphold certain religious practices in the manner approved of and prescribed by Mahāvira the founder of modern Jainism<sup>38</sup>. The date of the *Painnas* is not definitely known but considering the fact that the renowned Digambara ascetic philosopher Kundakunda and his worthy disciple Umāsvāmin who belonged to the earlier part of the first century A.D.<sup>39</sup> have thoroughly utilized the *Anga*

34 *ibid* Colophon vi 11 12 (=A.D. 931 932) Winternitz *History of Indian Literature* II p. 544

35 Also called *Āradhana* and *Mularadhana* Cf. *Mularadhana* (with Sanskrit commentaries and Hindi translation) v 1556 Sholapur 1935 Dr Upadhye is right in thinking that the language of this work is Śaurasen Prakrit (*Bṛhatkathakosa* Intro. p. 50) The language is however not unadulterated for a large percentage of Ardhamagadhi words can be traced in it

36 We have tentatively suggested this date as it seems to be only approximately correct but further investigation on this point is desirable There is nothing positive in the text itself to indicate that its author Śivārya flourished before the time of Kundakunda and Umāsvāmin as supposed by Dr Upadhye (*Bṛhatkathakosa* Intro p. 55 v. *infra*)

37 The Digambara term for it is *Angabhāṣya* (standing outside the *Anga* or not included in the *Anga*) It is so called because the texts in this collection are not considered by the Digambaras to be essential or primary

38 Cf. *Chatuḥśaranadīpikāsamādhyantam Prakṛnakāśakam* (Āgama-daya Saṁiti Ed. No. 46) Bhattapaṇṇa v 162 Samthara vv 73 75

39 If the Digambara *Paṭṭavālī* is to be believed we shall have to assign Umāsvāmin to the 1st cent. A.D. (VS 101=A.D. 44) But the *Paṭṭavālī* whether of the Śvetāmbaras or of the Digambaras are so very contradictory that it is difficult to place absolute reliance on the chronological data furnished by them Since Umāsvāmin (Umāsvatī or Svātī) according to the Digambara *Paṭṭavālī* of the Sarasvatī Gachchha was the sixth in succession to Bhadrabāhu (II) who was the seventh pontiff after Mahāvira and died in B.C. 53 (VS 4) and according to the Śvetāmbara *Paṭṭavālī* of the Tapa Gachchha was the second in succession to Ārya Mahagiri (died in A.V. 291 A.V. 249 according to the Kharatara Gachchha

and the *Angabakya* texts of the Digambaras in their respective work<sup>40</sup> the downward limit of the period to which the *Painnas* could be assigned might be fixed at about B.C. 100 at the latest.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore unlikely that the archaic form of the story of Chanakya as preserved in the *Painnas* is later than the beginning of the Christian era

Since the *Avassaya* the *Uttarajjhayana* and the *Painnas* have been excluded by the Digambaras from their principal Canon as unauthoritative and extraneous, the representation of Chanakya as a Jaina monk might be the work of the Svetambaras. If this hypothesis be correct we are yet to explain why there should be two streams of tradition relating to Chanakya one being special to the commentaries on the *Avassaya* and the *Uttarajjhayana* and the other to the *Painnas* and why so many discrepancies are to be noticed between the two

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*Paṭṭavali*) who was the eighth pontiff after Mahāvira (died c. 486 B.C.) we are in no way justified to fix for him so late a date as the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Ind Ant.* xi pp. 246 and 251, xx p. 351). In all probability both Kundakunda and Umasvamin belonged to the period extending from B.C. 75 to A.D. 50.

40 The works of Kundakundacharya and Umasvamin are included in the third *Veda* (*Dravyanuyoga*) of the Digambaras.

41 It is difficult to believe that a compendium of Jaina dogmatics and practices of the nature of Umasvamin's *Tattvarthadhigama-Sutra* which holds in Jainism the same place as the *Visuddhimagga* in Buddhism could have been written even before the scope and character of the *Anga* and the *Angabakya* were definitely settled by the Digambara Church.

That Umasvati or Umasvamin was a Digambara ascetic is beyond cavil but it is equally true that in his work he has scrupulously avoided the points disputed by the Svetambaras and the Digambaras. The original commentary on the *Tattvarthadhigama-Sutra* (*Bibliotheca Indica* 1903 5), which in a large measure supports the Svetāmbara beliefs and practices, is considered by the followers of that school to be the work of Umasvati himself. How far the Svetambaras are justified in claiming the authorship of that commentary for Umasvati is difficult to say but we must have the frankness to admit that the credit of writing commentary on one's own work has been given to more than one author even by us. Thus in spite of clear indication given in a verse occurring in it the *Arthaśāstra* as we find it to-day has been ascribed by us to Kauṭilya though in reality it is the commentary on that work written by a certain Vishnugupta wherein the verses comprising the original *Arthaśāstra* have been mostly rendered in prose while of the remaining verses some have been commented on and some retained in their original form. Such instances are not uncommon. We have attributed to Dhananjaya the *Ataloka* on his *Dasarupaka*, which we have also admitted to have been written by him under the name of Dhanika, the pseudonym adopted by him for the purpose of writing that commentary (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1913 p. 301). Likewise we have assigned to the chronicler Mahanama the *Tika* on his *Mahāśamsa* even ignoring the textual evidence proving the contrary (Turnour *Mahāśamsa* Intro p. liv). These are some of the glaring instances of our credulousness and if we ascribe the original commentary on the *Tattvarthadhigama-Sutra* to its author Umasvamin disregarding the vital objections of the Digambaras, we shall be in no way creating a precedent through it for the practice has been already well established by us!

## PLASTER

By

Prof STELLA KRAMRISCH, Ph D

Whether an Indian temple is built of wood, brick or stone, the work is done with precision. Bricks and stone are carefully laid and joined (*suyuktyā*, 'Viṣṇudharmottara' III, ch XCI, 12) The stones are frequently kept in position without any cementing material<sup>1</sup> Iron clamps are used for wooden joints, if need be and where the masonry is dry the stone blocks are held together (*Deogarh*) with iron dowels *Sudhāsīlā*, plaster, and *Vajralepa*, a glue cement and coating, were applied, there is no lack of prescriptions how to prepare them. *Vajralepa* is a hardened glue mixed with other substances such as conch shell powder or white earth (*caolin*) *Vajralepa* is made either of purely vegetable substances gums, resins and viscous residues or else it is produced from animal substances hides and horns, to the latter could be added a mixture of metallic substances, or of lime. *Vajralepa* which means 'diamond plaster' is so called because it is specially durable and firm, it is recommended for these qualities, in the '*Śilparatna*' (XIV 58 75), in a passage which deals with the different kinds of lime plaster (*sudhā*) The careful process of mixing the several ingredients with the granulated and powdered lime from gravel and conch shell lasted from two to four months with the result that the plaster was not only durable but also that it had none of the stark deadness of effect which for instance whitewash imparts It is a rich and creamy white, discreetly shining, like polished ivory or some ancient enamel<sup>2</sup> Under this white smooth, polished plaster, stone and

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1 The practice of building with cyclopean stones (cf *Jarasandha ka baithak*, Rajgir (Kramrisch in Vol VI p 235 of Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*)) persisted in the Hindu temple in the courses of dry masonry of carefully dressed and relatively very large stones (Gupta temples in Central India early *Cālūkyā* temples in the Deccan, early *Cola* temples in South India) In the *Cālūkyān* temples dry masonry with no cementing materials between the stones, was employed in the earlier sandstone buildings (H Cousens, 'The *Cālūkyān* Architecture' *ASI NIS* Vol XLII) This is also true of the medieval temples of the Deccan built of amygdaloidal trap (H Cousens *Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan ASI IS* Vol XLVIII) of those in Gujerat (J Burgess H Cousens, 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujerat', *ASW* Vol IX p 29) and of Orissa (M M Ganguli 'Orissa and Her Remains', p 257)

2 Some of the most perfect temples in Central India at *Khajuraho* have their facing stones of fine sandstone embedded in lac (*lakh*), apparently vegetable *Vajralepa*, *chunam* concrete being generally used in the core Iron clamps are also freely employed, (B L Dhama 'A Guide to *Khajuraho*', p 4) In the *Panjab*

the Kafirkot stone temples are cemented with lime mixed with quartz (Cunningham *ASI*, Vol. XIV, p. 26).

The earliest preserved dry masonry is the stone facing of Stūpa I, Sāñci, the earliest occurrence of lime mortar in historical times is in the brick foundation of the Viṣṇu temple at Besnagar (*ASIAR* 1913-14, p. 206). Brick temples have frequently a thin layer of a clay mixture as an adherent between the bricks (P. Brown, 'Indian Architecture', Pt. I, p. 16). The brick temples in Surpur, C. P., seventh century, were completely covered by a thin layer of white plaster. The bricks are carved (*ASIAR* 1909-10, p. 11).

The 'Bṛhat Saṃhitā' Ch. LVII, 1-3 and the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Part III, Ch. XVII 1-15, among the 'early' texts, give the ingredients of the various kinds of Vajralepa which were used in stone and brick buildings. Vajralepa formed also the ground for wall paintings, this is described in detail in the 'Mānasollāsa' or 'Abhilāṣitārtha Cintāmaṇi' (Pt. II, Ch. III, 132-40), a compendium compiled in the twelfth century.

Four and five recipes respectively of the preparation and ingredients of Vajralepa are given in the 'Bṛhat Saṃhitā' and in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. Two of the preparations are purely vegetable, one consists of animalic glue and vegetable substance, the fourth contains metallic substances and into the fifth (V Dh. 1 c., 10-11) a concoction from cowhides, etc. and lime has been mixed.

These different kinds of Vajralepa, the 'adamantine glue', are used for external application on stone and brick buildings, according to both the early texts. V Dh. 12-13, indicates that these mixtures are also used for cementing the stones or burnt bricks of the buildings.

In the 'Mānasollāsa', II iii 132-40 (Cf. also the Narada Śilpa Śāstra' of which two chapters on painting are translated by V. Raghavan, *JISOA*, Vol. III, p. 19 f.), the walls, to which lime plaster (sūdha) has been applied should then be coated with a paste of hide-glue mixed with white earth (caolin?) in three layers, and above it another final coat of the same paste mixed with powdered conch, etc. This passage clearly shows that the 'adamantine glue coating' or 'plaster of the Vajralepa', is applied in several thin coats above the lime plaster, Sūdha. The final coat of Vajralepa, when completely dry, forms the ground of wall paintings. The 'Mānasollāsa' describes as further use of the Vajralepa that it is mixed with all colours. In that case, the glue of the boiled buffalo skin is collected on small sticks and allowed to harden. It is then put in an earthen pot with water and melted. This pure glue is to be mixed with the respective pigments. It is thus a tempered medium for painting on the Vajralepa ground (the reference in V Dh. III Ch. XL, to a decoction of hides may imply this too).

The wall paintings, according to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', 1 c., are executed on plaster. The plaster there, in the main consists of bricks, variously powdered, mixed with clay and carefully prepared with gum resin, bees wax, liquorice, molasses 'mudga' bean and other vegetable substances. Sand, etc., has to be added in due proportion, the mixture is allowed to consolidate for one month and is then applied to the wall and left to dry. If this dry plaster is not perfectly smooth, it is coated with clay plaster mixed with resin and oil which is carefully smoothened and polished. On this dry, smooth wall the paintings are produced according to Ch. XL, Pt. III of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'.

The kinds of glue Vajralepa, given ib., Ch. XCII, are not referred to in connection with the preparation of the ground of the wall paintings which is a brick and clay plaster with a certain amount of resinous and viscous substances in its fabric.

brick are often combined in one and the same structure, stone in the lower parts and brick above, a practice found not only in South Indian temple but also in the Deccan as in the Temple at Kokamthan Ahmednagar<sup>3</sup> On the superstructure the Śikhara of this temple the figure symbols are cut or formed in the plaster only while the carvings on the Kailasanatha Temple at Conjeevaram are of stone with their ornaments and lesser details carved in plaster<sup>4</sup> The calm radiance as of moonlight or snow of the white temples is extolled in inscriptions<sup>5</sup> In this whiteness, it appears their 'sattvika' quality their conformity with the pure Essence (sat) shone forth.<sup>6</sup>

The Śilparatna XIV 5875 describes different kinds of lime plaster mainly from powdered etc. gravel but also of powdered shell and with a proportion of sand to which the following liquids are added the sap of various milky trees Aśvattha Butea Frondosa Kadamba Myrobalan and Mango-juice or curd milk coconut water ghee, as well as ripe bananas, pulse rice gruel etc. according to the different types or desired qualities of the plaster Last of the varieties of plaster Vajralepa is described 100 parts are lime 2 parts resin (karala) and small quantities of ghee bananas coconut water pulse Aśvattha sap and jaggery

Vajralepa acc. to the Śilparatna is a high grade lime plaster with two per cent resin in its composition and other binding and adhesive substances

Coomaraswamy Indian Architectural Terms JAOS Vol 48, p 263 says of Vajralepa the adamantine medium that it is actually glue It should be distinguished from Sudha, plaster This is correct but when various glue-substances are mixed with the plaster the whole mixture is also called Vajralepa

Various recipes for producing an adamantine plaster were used in the millennium from the Brhat Sāphita and Viṣṇudharmottara to the Śilparatna in different parts of India Lime plaster particularly described in the Śilparatna and the Mānasollāsa both of them South Indian text books is also briefly mentioned in V Dh III Ch XCII as Sudhaśī where its use is advised in temples but not in houses The same chapter (13 14) speaks of Vajralepa which is described in detail in the following chapter as cementing material for baked bricks and stones, whereas mud cement is prescribed for unbaked bricks.

3 Cousens, Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan *op cit* p 50 The walls are of stone the Śikhara or superstructure is of brick The carvings in stone are overlaid with plaster in the brick portion the carving is solely in plaster

4 *Carving in plaster and also in terracotta gives precision and dignity to these substances of the carved bricks of brick temples from the Gupta age (Deogarh, Paharpur etc.) to those of the nineteenth century in Bengal*

5 The temple resembling a mountain shines white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon Mandasor (in Laṭa) Inscr A.D. 473 74 line 16 Indian Antiquary Vol XV p 196 This temple was consecrated to Surya

An inscription from the Lakṣmaṇa Temple, Khajuraho dated in the Vikrama year 1011 or 954 A.D. praises this temple in verse 42 as a charming splendid house of Viṣṇu which rivals the peaks of the mountains of snow Epigraphica Indica Vol I p 111—An inscription of the early 13th century speaks of repairs to all the temples in the city They were also made resplendent by being newly plastered. Chebrolu Inscription Kistna District, Ep Ind Vol V p 149

6 The 3 Guṇas are Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Their colours are white red and black and their inherent tendencies are ascending expanding and descending respectively The three Guṇas are the three constitutive qualities of Prakṛti the nature of the world.



This luminous splendour corresponds to the ascending tendency within the 'sattva guṇa', which is expressed by the vertical of the high superstructure of the temples and the total disposition of their mass. From the broad base they are built up towards the high point in the centre above even their mountainous superstructure or Śikhara.

Bricks and stone are frequently combined in one and the same building. The body of the temple is of brick and the door frame of stone<sup>7</sup> or the body of the temple is of stone and the superstructure of brick,<sup>8</sup> or in a single architectural relief panel, the major part is stone and it is completed in brick on one side<sup>9</sup>. These varied combinations, for reasons of added strength or decreased weight or for the sake of expediency, are due to the relation of the craftsman to his work and towards the means of making it. Once he has taken the stone for instance from the earth and the tree from the forest and its living context, with expiation and apology for his interference, he takes on himself the responsibility for giving them appropriate use in the new context. This is to set up the temple as an image of the Puruṣa and as His dwelling. The natural connection has been severed: the earth has been burnt, the stone has been cut, the tree has been felled and they arise as the temple and its parts. Their texture survives and it is given consideration by the traditional and hereditary craftsman. It would however, amount to a retrogression from the state of grace into the state of nature were one to expect that the 'material' would guide the builder. On the contrary, brick and stone alike or in combination may disappear under a coating of plaster which might partly have been coloured too.<sup>10</sup>

The 'material' does not demand from the Hindu craftsman in his treatment of it a consideration of its nature for it has ceased to exist as such. The wood of a living tree fulfils a different function from that of a carved image, pillar or vaulted beam. It has been converted to its new function by a series of processes by art as well as by magic. As little as Indian thought knows of 'matter' so little is the craftsman concerned with the

7 Sirpur C. P.

8 This is frequent in the later South Indian temples.

9 Paharpur Bengal. *ASIAR* 1926-27, Pl. XXXII a. Kramrisch *Indian Sculpture*, p. 215.

10 To what extent each structural temple was originally plastered or plastered and painted, is difficult to say. The cave temples of the Deccan, however almost without exception were originally coated with plaster and painted, on their plan and straight, as much as on their carved and modelled surfaces. Ellora, especially in the Daśavatāra cave. Badāmī and Ajantā have still painted plaster preserved on their images, especially in Ajantā, the large Bodhisattva figures in the sanctuaries of caves I and II and on carved capitals and pillars, etc.

In temples no longer in use whatever plaster there may have been has since disappeared or perhaps never existed at all whereas it has been overlaid by the use of whitewash in those still in worship.

material for the sake of its effectiveness. He knows, on the other hand, its texture and the various qualities which make it suitable for one special purpose and not for another. He does justice to them and applies his knowledge and sensibility to the lustrous malleable metals for instance or to the stones of different hardness and light absorbing power in their carved surfaces. These qualities act as evocative influences by the contact with his hand and eye and they make more close his identification by his work with his vision. It is in the form of his work and its intense consistency. This does not belong to any single statue or image only, for all the carved form, figure or architectural unit, however small is part of a comprehensive whole, the temple. It may show itself as made of wood brick or stone or else be covered by a coat of egg shell like plaster and painted detail. Sometimes as in the Kailāsanātha Temple at Conjeeveram the detail is carved only in the thick plaster which overlays the stone such embellishment far from being supernumerary tends to focus attention on every part to which it clings.

Stone, brick or wood and also plaster and paint are substances of realisation. In them the image or vision takes form, settles down, imbues their grain and fibre and gives them the new life as part of the temple the seat of God. All the same these substances are true to this name also in another sense. In them 'subsists' their grain and texture the frame work given to them by Yama and it carries with it the memory of their original state. This finally outlasts its own particular substance, the curves of light woods for instance such as bamboo and branches retain their resilience whether they are cut in brick or carved in stone.

"The clay is permanent but things constructed with the clay are not so" ('Brahmavivartta Purana' I XXVIII 28). The clay persists in nature however many things made of it may perish. On the other hand, even when substances other than the clay are used, its feel its qualities and the ideas associated with it persist, the form which resulted from a long and intimate contact remains a living memory and by it such other substances are shaped which are substituted for definite reasons. The clay, the brick the wood and to some extent too the 'cyclopean' boulder of stone have each outlasted their original state and also their actual employment in the form and proportion of the temple.

The well known transfer of the construction forms of one material into the other is so caused. The curves of the bamboo for example are copied in bent wood and cut in brick and stone. In any material it is the bending nature of bamboo stems or wooden branches yielding the elements and the form of the arch. Whatever the material it is made into the same form and conveys the same meaning. It is the form by which the memory of the original is made permanent.

The inherent quality, the subtle nature, of bamboo for instance, is thus restituted by giving it a permanency which its physical nature could not

guarantee. This is done by art. This permanence, in art, is a quality of the form and belongs to memory. The transfer of form from the one more perishable, to the other, less perishable substance is a restitution of the 'subtle' body, of the original clay or wood. Though all things made of clay or wood might perish including clay and wood themselves their subtle nature is expressed in stone. It is the way of redemption, a relative guarantee of immortality which things constructed are able to give.

The substance of which the temple is built gives body to the indwelling Essence, from this point of view it is immaterial what it is, and it is also immaterial whether different substances are combined or the one is overlaid by the other, provided that the Essence imbues and impresses the form.

By their new destination, wood, clay, stone and plaster, etc. are transubstantiated. This comes about while they are being worked on. In this how ever, they are not altogether passive for they offer their obstacles as well as their particular facilities and these contacts are felt and remembered by the craftsman. Sensibility contributes its own share to a wider memory, which comprises all those associations that have accumulated round the bricks or the wood in their traditional employment. A triple memory, that of traditional knowledge, of sensibility and of piety helps to preserve the subtle body, that is the particular quality and aptness of the several substances severed as they are from their natural life and habitation in a more permanent body which has but one ultimate destination.

# ON THE SUCCESSORS OF KUMARAGUPTA I

By

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Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty ceased to rule in 455 A.D., the date supplied by his latest available silver coin after a pretty long reign of 41 years. Him succeeded his son, Skandagupta, who successfully repulsed the attack of the Puṣyamitras,<sup>1</sup> probably of the Narmadā region, just before the death of his father, and thus re-established the falling fortunes of his family. There is no knowing if the succession of this great hero was as a matter of necessity accelerated by the dangers that lurked behind the Gupta throne, or as a matter of right, he being the eldest of the sons of his imperial father, but coupled with the omission indubiously deliberate of his mother's name in all extant records is the fact, highly significant, that he is called *Gupta-vamśaika-vīrah* in his Bhitari Pillar inscription. No stress would normally be required to lay upon his claim to belong to the Gupta lineage, had not the claim been calculated to be sufficiently feeble or impaired. Of him, again, his Kahaum Stone Pillar inscription of the year 461 A.D. speaks in the same strain *Guptānām vaṃśa yasya*, i.e. *who belonged to the family of the Guptas*. This repeated solicitude on the part of the son of Kumāragupta I to recognise him as a true member of the Gupta dynasty renders it almost sure that he was born not of a *Mahādevī*. That Kumāragupta I, like his father, Candragupta II, had two wives is also perhaps indicated by his 'Two queens type' coins, which are classified by Allan as of 'Pratāpa type'. In the Bihar Pillar inscription of Skandagupta (?), there is in its first part (ll 2-3) an allusion to a minister whose sister had become Kumāragupta's wife and one might be tempted to conjecture that she was perhaps the mother of Skandagupta, but it has recently been suggested by Dr R. C. Majumdar that the inscription belongs not to Skandagupta but to a successor of Pūrugupta, evidently Kumāragupta II, and it is he who is the Kumāragupta of the first part of the inscription.<sup>2</sup>

There is, however, reason to believe that Skandagupta's mother came of a family that had eventually proved inimical to the Guptas. Referring to Skandagupta, the Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription tells us that "who, when (his) father had attained the skies, conquered (his) enemies by the strength of his arm and established again the ruined fortunes of (his) lineage, and then crying "the victory has been achieved," betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears of joy, just as Kṛṣṇa when he had slain (his)

1 If that be the correct reading of the text.

2 *Ind. Cult.*, X, p. 172

enemies betook himself to (his mother) Devakī'. The simile contained herein does not suggest that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devakī, as it was first propounded by Robert Sewell.<sup>3</sup> The force of the comparison of Skandagupta and his unnamed mother with Kṛṣṇa and Devakī respectively can only be maintained by supposing that like Kṛṣṇa who had slain his maternal uncle (Kamsa) and thus saved the Yādava family from impending destruction, Skandagupta also worsted a powerful relative on his mother's side and saved the Gupta empire from imminent ruin.<sup>4</sup> This relative might have been the leader of the so-called Puṣyamitras or a member of that tribe or only one who had joined them in their design against the Guptas, but in any case he had met discomfiture at the hands of the valiant Skandagupta. And this is apt to explain why, at the news of the defeat of the enemies by her son the eyes of Skandagupta's mother were full of tears and why, again, the tears were of joy.

Skandagupta ruled vigorously over the destinies of the Gupta empire for twelve years from 455 to 467 A.D., and had his successor in his step-brother, whose reign admittedly, was an extremely short one extending only over a year or two (467-68 A.D.) Pūrugupta, and not Puragupta was his name, and Anantadevī that of his mother. The supposition that she was a Kaṭmāba princess daughter of Kakusthavarman who is placed between *circa* 435 and 475 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> may safely be discarded, for it makes the father-in-law at best a junior contemporary of the son-in-law. To Puru(gupta) was assigned by Allan the gold coin of the Archer type with the legend *Śrī vikramah* on the reverse, which has of late been attributed to Budha(gupta) by Mr S. K. Saraswati<sup>6</sup> with whom I, however, fail to see eye to eye on this point. While the first letter of the king's name beneath the left arm has had yet to be re-examined the second letter has unmistakably the appearance of a *ra* rather than of a *dha*. But in any case, the coin testifies to that one other Imperial Gupta sovereign than Samudragupta.<sup>6</sup> Candragupta II and Skandagupta did assume the *biruda* of *Vikrama*. Kumaragupta II, too it is relevant to add here had the *biruda* of *Kramaditya*, which as is found in case of Skandagupta was probably a variant of *Vikramāditya* and *Vikramaditya* may, therefore, be said to have been a common *biruda* of many a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The shortness of Purugupta's reign, unless it was accidental has had to be explained by the comparatively long reigns of his great grandfather grandfather and father and then the interregnum of his step-brother, which show that he had the lot to come to the throne at a very advanced age. But the shortness of his reign must not be constituted a

3 *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* p. 349

3a Cf. also Dr D. R. Bhandarkar in *Fp Ind* Vol. XVIII p. 212

4 Dandekar, *History of the Guptas* Poona 1941 p. 102

5 *Ind Cult* I p. 691

6 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* Vol. V, 1913 pp. 136-37

reason for denying his separate existence from his step-brother. The identification of Pūrugupta with Skandagupta, which was first proposed by Dr R C. Majumdar<sup>7</sup> to be controverted by R D Banerji,<sup>8</sup> has recently been revived by Mr Krishna Deva,<sup>9</sup> labouring under the idea that of Pūrugupta we have no coins and having drawn considerably from the apocryphal *Mañjuśrī-Mūla Kalpa*. But apart from the coin in question of the Hoey Collection, which has been ascribed by Mr Saraswati to Budhagupta there are in a private collection at Patna two gold coins from Gaya, "on which the name *Pura* is very distinct"<sup>10</sup> Even bereft of all coins Pūrugupta, born of Anantadevī, cannot be one and the same with Skandagupta, whose mother was in all likelihood not the *Mahādevī*

If Allan's attribution of the coin with the *Śrī vikramah* legend to Pūrugupta be rejected, nothing is left there to regard him identical, as Allan did, with the Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā father of Bālāditya, who is said to have later on become a zealous patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu, or to suppose that he had his capital at Ayodhyā Dr Dandekar accepts Mr Saraswati's ascription of the coin to Budhagupta and yet believes in Allan's identification of Pūrugupta with the Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā of Paramārtha's description<sup>11</sup>

The name of Pūrugupta's queen was *Śrī Candradevī*<sup>12</sup> and she was the mother of Narasimhagupta His coins give him the *biruda* of Bālāditya The fact that his seal has been found at Nālandā may, if at all, indicate his association, through his patronage, with the University, then in its making, but if the statement of Paramārtha be construed to mean that Narasimhagupta Bālāditya son of Pūrugupta, was even before his accession a Buddhist disciple of Vasubandhu it is an absurdity In his own seal Narasimhagupta's religious persuasion is clearly indicated by designating him a *parama bhāga(vata)*<sup>13</sup> Paramārtha's story of Bālāditya is either fictitious or the identification of his Bālāditya cannot in the present state of our knowledge, be made out

A Nālandā seal reveals the fact that Maharajadhīrāja Budhagupta was a son of Pūrugupta, and not of Kumāragupta I, whose *biruda*, *Mahendraditya*, has hitherto been responsible for equating it with Huen Tsang's *Śakraditya* the name of the father of the pilgrim's Budhagupta Pūrugupta had thus (at least) two sons, Narasimhagupta and Budhagupta The son of Narasimhagupta by *Śrī Mitradevī* was, as evinced by the seals both from

7 *Ind Ant* XLVII 1918 p 161 f

8 *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, I pp 73-75

9 *Ep. Ind.* XXVI pp 237-38

10 *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, I, pp 73-75

11 *Op. cit.* p 125

12 *A. S. I., Ann. Rep.* 1934-35 p 63

13 *Nālandā and its epigraphical material* (Mem. A. S. I.) by Hirananda Śāstri, p 65

Nalanda and Bhitari<sup>14</sup> Kumaragupta II whose son again according to another Nalanda seal was the Maharajadhiraja Viṣnugupta.<sup>15</sup> Of one Kumaragupta presumably Kumaragupta II son of Narasimhagupta we have the date 473 A.D. in a Sarnath votive inscription while another votive inscription from the same site gives the date 476 A.D. for *Maharaja* Budhagupta. The latter as we know from his coin ruled up till 495 A.D. at least, and after him came Vainyagupta whose Gunaigar inscription is dated in 507 A.D. In 510 A.D. the Imperial Gupta monarch was Bhanugupta, the last known representative of the dynasty.

A genealogical table drawn in the light of the above data stands thus

Name unknown = Kumaragupta I = Anantadevi

Skandagupta  
455—467 A.D.

Purugupta = Sri-Candradevi  
467—68 A.D.

Narasimhagupta  
= Sri Mitradevi

Budhagupta  
476—495 A.D.

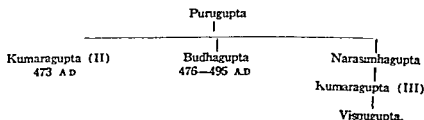
Kumaragupta II  
473 A.D.

Va nyagupta  
507 A.D.

Viṣnugupta

Bhanugupta  
510 A.D.

The difficulty of accommodating the three generations of kings Narasimhagupta, Kumaragupta II and Viṣnugupta within the brief space of only eight years, is on the surface of things, while the accession of Budhagupta after the reign of his grand nephew Viṣnugupta is also an event not of common or usual occurrence. And in order to get out of these difficulties, Dr R. C. Majumdar has lately suggested that Kumaragupta of 473 A.D. was a different person from Kumaragupta the son of Narasimhagupta and father of Viṣnugupta and that all these three kings came after Budhagupta.<sup>16</sup> The genealogical scheme according to this theory has to be represented as follows



But apart from the fact that Kumaragupta (II) as a son of Purugupta exists only in surmise, Dr Majumdar's scheme presupposes on one hand

14 *Ibid* p. 66

16 *Ind. Cult.*, X pp. 172-3

15 *Ep. Ind.* XXVI p. 23

that the two consecutive elder brothers, Kumarāgupta (II) and Budhagupta could not have any sons to succeed them, and places, on the other, the three successive generations of kings, Narasīnghagupta, Kumāragupta (III) and Viṣṇugupta, between 495 A.D., the last known date of Budhagupta, and 507 A.D., the date of Mahārājādhirāja Vainyagupta, whose existence as a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty we cannot deny. In other words, Dr. Majumdar's hypothesis, although ingenious in conception, does not improve the situation at all, and as such we are required to approach the question by falling back upon the genealogy as drawn previously, but striving at the same time to render it, if possible, more agreeable to a normal outlook. Thus although the name of Budhagupta first occurs in a Sāmāth inscription of G. E. 157 (= A.D. 476), we must note that he is styled as simply a *Mahārāja* therein, and if it has any significance, he has to be regarded only as a governor of the Sāmāth region at that time. This will reduce the duration of Budhagupta's reign by a few years which may conveniently be allotted to the reigns of his immediate predecessors. The first known inscription manifesting Budhagupta in imperial glory is one of the Damodarpur inscriptions dated in G. E. 163 (= A.D. 482). Or, if we cannot subscribe to such a view, we may tentatively shift the reign of Viṣṇugupta to the period just following the reign of Budhagupta and before that of Vainyagupta.

Too much has been made in recent years of the evidence of two epigraphic records, viz. the Tumain (about fifty miles to the north-west of Eran) inscription of Ghaṭotkacagupta of G. E. 116 (= A.D. 435) and the unpublished Mandasor inscription of Prabhākara of V. S. 524 (= A. D. 467). Ghaṭotkacagupta, we know, was either a son or brother or step-brother of Kumāragupta I, and, according to a clay seal found at Basāḥ, he held some office at the court of the Yuvarāja at Vaiśālī (Basāḥ) during the reign of Candragupta II. And in 435 A.D., while the king (*ṇpati*) Kumāragupta, "who resembled the great Indra, embraced and protected the whole earth, like a virtuous wife, with his mighty hands," and "was shining (i.e. ruling over) the earth like the Sun in the winter," Ghaṭotkacagupta was, according to the Tumain inscription, the governor of Airikīṇa (Eran) or Eastern Malwa. There is absolutely no indication whatever in the Tumain inscription that "Ghaṭotkaca Gupta was then trying to be politically independent, by severing all loyal connections, which he owed, in his capacity of a provincial governor, to his sovereign in Magadha."<sup>17</sup> And it is indeed a dangerous hypothesis to set forth that "the internal dissensions among the scions of the Gupta royal family thus appear to have started even during the times of Kumāragupta I."<sup>18</sup>

Similarly there is nothing in the summary given of the Mandasor inscription of Prabhākara, whose commander-in-chief (Dattabhāṭa) was the

17. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

18. Dandekar *op. cit.*, p. 119.



son of the general (Vayurakṣita) of Govindagupta to bring home that immediately after the death of Skandagupta in 467 A D Govinda Gupta refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Gupta emperor of Magadha.<sup>20</sup> Such a theory owed its inception to R. D Banerji<sup>21</sup> who suspected that the absence of the name of Skandagupta in Prabhakara's inscription must have been pregnant with a lot of meaning. But the late lamented Prof. or had himself admitted later on that. It is not clear from the wording of this inscription whether Govindagupta was alive in V S 524-467 A D or not.<sup>22</sup> Even supposing in the absence of the full text of the inscription that Govindagupta a contemporary of the father of an officer of Prabhakara was in life in 467 A D one must now cease to attach any immoderate importance if not warranted by any specific attestation to the omission of the name of the paramount sovereign in an inscription. Does the Pahlav inscription for instance of the year 478-79 A D where the name of the Imperial lord is conspicuous by its absence prove that the local chiefs of Puṇḍravardhana had by that time refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the then Gupta emperor (Budhagupta)? All that we know of Govindagupta is that Maharaja Govindagupta son of Candragupta II and Dhruvasvamin was for some time the governor of some province probably of Vṛisali (Basarh) and that he was subsequently transferred to Malava (Western) as its governor during the reign of either Kumaragupta I or of Skandagupta.<sup>23</sup> In the imagination of Dr R N Sastore Govindagupta was the suzerain lord of the Gupta empire in 413-15 A D and governor of Malwa in 467-68 A D.<sup>24</sup>

But who was Prabhakara? As he is in the Mandasor inscription called *Gupta-anvay-ari-druma-dhumaketuh* (the destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta family) he is rightly supposed to have been a feudatory of the Imperial Gupta dynasty<sup>25</sup> and governor of Daśapura (Mandasor).<sup>26</sup> Dr N P Chakravarti suggests that he was perhaps the successor if not the son of Bandhuvārman<sup>27</sup> and perfectly entertaining is the suggestion as it explains why like all other records of this family the Malava era has

20 *Ibid* p 120

21 *Age of the Imperial Guptas* p 51

22 *Ibid* p 66 App I

23 It has been suggested by Dr D R. Bhandarkar that As Indra is represented as being suspicious of Govindagupta's power the latter seems to have been a supreme ruler (*Last of Inscriptions of Northern India* No 7 p 2 foot note 5). But if it is not an innocent and artless effort of the writer of the epigraph to magnify Govindagupta by the employment of any figurative language the *Indra* of the text would look to contain a covert allusion to the contemporary Gupta emperor who was then suspicious of the growing power of the provincial governor.

24 *Life in the Gupta Age* pp 27-30 and p 35

25 Bhandarkar's *Last of Inscriptions of Northern India* p 2 footnote 4

26 R. D. Banerji *Age of the Imperial Guptas* p. 66 App I

27 *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI p 131 footnote 4

been used in the inscription of Prabhākara, too. It cannot be divined at present if Prabhākara (467 A.D.) continued to be the governor of Daśapura in 473 A.D., the date of the second part of the Mandasor inscription composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi according to which a part of the temple of the Sun built at Daśapura in 436 A.D., when Kumāragupta I was the Imperial lord and Bandhuvarman was the governor of the place, by a guild of silk weavers from the Lāta *viśaya* fell into disrepair through the indifference of several kings (*anyath pāṛthivath*), and after thirty six years it was restored by the same guild. But we must not doubt that the allusion to the 'several kings' in Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription applies to Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, Pūrugupta and Narasimhagupta,<sup>23</sup> and as such Western Mālava did never cease to have been included in the Gupta empire till at least 473 A.D., when Kumāragupta II was the paramount sovereign.

As to other provinces and feudatories, the use of the Gupta era and of the phrase *Gupta-nṣpa-rajya bhuktāu* (in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings) in the copper plates, dated in 475, 482 and 510 A.D. of the Paribrājaka Mahārāja Hastin of Dahāla (Mod Bundelkhand region of Central India and the area covered by the eighteen forest kingdoms) shows that the ruler was all through a feudatory of the Guptas. An inscription found in the Rewa State, bordering on the Mirzapur district of the U.P., and issued from Jayapura records the grant of a village to a Brahmin by Mahārāja Lakṣmana in the year 158, which is referable to the Gupta era and would thus correspond to A.D. 477.<sup>24</sup> The grant recorded in the Barwānī (in Central India) copper plate inscription is issued by Mahārāja Subandhu in the (Gupta) year 167 (= A.D. 486) from Māhṣmatī which is either Mahesvara or Mandhātā on the Narmadā.<sup>25</sup> If the employment of the Gupta era in these two charters is not without significance both Lakṣmana and Subandhu were feudatories of Budhagupta. Budhagupta again, according to the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of Mahārāja Maṭṛviṣṇu and Dhanyaviṣṇu was recognised as the overlord of Eastern Mālava in 484 A.D., when his viceroy, Surasimicandra was ruling the country between the Kālindī (Yamunā) and the Narmadā. In the east, the Pāhāḍpur and the two Dāmodarpur copper plates prove his domination over the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. In the west, in Kathiawad and Gujarat Bhaṭārka Senāpati of the Maṭṛaka family and his eldest son Dharaṣena I, both of whom may be placed between 460 and 500 A.D., did not even assume the title of Mahārāja, while the second son of Bhaṭārka, Mahārāja Droṇasinha refers himself as *Parama bhaṭṭāraka pād = ānudyātaḥ* in his Bhamodra Mahotta copper plate of the year 183 (= A.D. 502), and speaks, in another inscription of the (same) paramount sovereign as having

23. Cf. Dandekar *op cit* p. 135.

29. *A S I., Ann. Rep.*, 1936-37 p. 88 and *Age of the Imperial Guptas* p. 64.

30. *Ep. Ind.* XIX, pp. 261-63.

personally attended and performed the coronation of Droṇasimha (*akṣiḥa-bhūṭana maṇḍal = aṭka śāmaṇa parama śāmaṇa śāyam = upaśāṭa rājy = abhiṣeka*) That this *Parama svamī* or paramount sovereign of Droṇasimha is no other than a Gupta potentate is indubious<sup>31</sup> and he is either Budhagupta or his immediate successor

Have not the evidence furnished by these inscriptions the cogency of casting to the winds the popular idea of the disintegration of the Gupta empire since the days of Skandagupta? A period of anarchy and misrule in the annals of the Guptas beginning with the death of Skandagupta<sup>32</sup> is almost an idle fancy although it is perfectly true that the homage rendered to the Gupta overlords by some of these feudatories who had usurped the prerogative of issuing land grants and even coins and also refrained from referring to the name of the imperial suzerain in their official charters, was merely nominal in character and perhaps in some cases the shadow of a shade. But however titular might have been the emperors the available records demonstrate that the empire of Kumaragupta I extensive as it was, did not materially suffer dismemberment before the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Probably the only extant record that goes against this conclusion is the Balaghat copper plate inscription of the Vakaṭaka Pṛthviṣeṇa II<sup>33</sup> which states that the sovereignty of his father Narendrasena was acknowledged by the lords of Kosala (i.e. Mahakosala the upper Mahanadi valley) Mekala (probably the upper Narmada valley) and Malava. And it has been inferred from it that Narendrasena, believed to be a contemporary of Skandagupta had immediately after the death of the latter extended with the help of his son his sway over these provinces taking advantage of the tragedy of Skandagupta's death<sup>34</sup>. But Narendrasena the grandson or great grandson of Rudrasena II who was the brother in law of Kumaragupta I could hardly be a true contemporary of Skandagupta the son of Kumaragupta I nor the history of Mālava shows that any part of it seceded from Gupta overlordship any time before 473 A.D. If the statement of the Balaghat inscription is not wholly a poetical exaggeration it would seem that the Gupta governor of Western Mālava perhaps of the family of Bandhuvarman, the militant attitude of which is throughout displayed by the employment of the Mālava instead of the Gupta era in their records changed allegiance to the Vakaṭakas after 473 A.D. and became a subordinate ally of Narendrasena but in that case, we are to suppose that Western Mālava was later on wrested by the Hūṇas not from the Guptas but from the Vakaṭakas.

The immediate successor of Budhagupta was either Viṣṇugupta or more probably Vainyagupta. There is no proof as I have distinctly said in my

31 Dandekar *op cit* pp 144-47

32 *Ibid.*, p 124

33 *Ep Ind* IX p 271

34 Dandekar *op cit* p 117 Dr Saleore has gone to the extent of making Narendrasena a cousin of Skandagupta *Life in the Gupta Age* p 36

paper on 'Vainyagupta',<sup>35</sup> to identify him with Hiuen Tsang's Tathagupta raja, a name unknown to sober history, but it is amusing to find myself represented as having "identified Vainyagupta with the Tathāgata Gupta of Yüang Chwāng", 'simply because an inscription of his reign bearing the date A.D. 506-7 and some Nālandā seals bearing his name have been found'.<sup>36</sup> Not to see in Vainyagupta a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty at this hour of the day is dogmatism that does not count in history. After Vainyagupta came one Bhanugupta (510 A.D.), and he met a signal defeat at the hands of Toramaṇa, the leader of the Hūṇas who dared not make any inroad into the Gupta territory for more than half a century past. Toramaṇa's son, Mihirakula, was destined to be overpowered by Yaśodharman who can no more be regarded as to have had a meteoric career. The Bihar Kotra 'in the Rājgaḍh State (Malwa)' inscription of Naravarman describing him as *aulikara* definitely points out that Yaśodharman<sup>37</sup> who had the *aulikara lāñcana*, belonged to the family of Naravarman (418 A.D.), Viśvavarman (424 A.D.) Bandhuvarman (437 A.D.) as also Prabhakara (467 A.D.) of Daśapura. Yaśodharman first recovered Malwa from Mihirakula after the 15th regnal year of Hūṇa monarch (the date of the Gwalior inscription of Mātṛceṭa) and gradually by 533 A.D. extended his empire upto the Lauhitya region. It is therefore, Yaśodharman rather than the Hūṇas who directly dealt the death blow to the empire of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

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35 *Ind. Cult.*, V p. 301

36 Saleore *Life in the Gupta Age* p. 47

37 Or Yaśovarman?—*JBORS* XXI, 1943 pp. 127-28.

# THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KINGS OF NEPAL

By

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The chronology of the early kings of Nepal is one of the various intriguing problems of ancient Indian history. As is well known, quite a large number of inscriptions, found in Nepal, supply us with the names of a long line of rulers and many of these records are also dated. The chronological problem, therefore, resolves itself mainly to an interpretation of these dates. But opinion differs widely on this point. In order to understand these differences of views it is necessary to state that the early records of Nepal can be broadly divided into two groups. The second group starts with the records of Amśuvarman dated 30, 32, 34 *etc* and ends with the inscription of Jaya deva II dated 153. There is a consensus of opinion that all these dates between 32 and 153 refer to one and the same era. The first group comprises the rest of the records, the date in none of which is less than 300. It is the reading and interpretation of these dates that has given rise to differences and difficulties. Pandit Bhagawan Lal Indraji, who first dealt with this subject, referred them to the Vikrama Era<sup>1</sup>. Dr Fleet took them all to be years of the Gupta Era<sup>2</sup>. S. Levi propounded the view that they all belong to a special era current in Nepal and he fixed its epoch to be 110 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Dr R G Basak, the latest writer on the subject, has expressed an altogether different view<sup>4</sup> after considering those of his predecessors, and we may begin by considering it in some details. He agrees with Indraji in referring the dates of Manadeva and Vasantadeva to the Vikrama era, but differs from the latter in the reading and interpretation of the dates of Śivadeva's records. He takes the hundredth figure in these dates to be 300 instead of 500 and refers them to the Gupta era. He thinks it quite probable that "the descendants of Vasantadeva began to use the Gupta *samvat* from the time when Samudra gupta forced the Nepal king to pay allegiance to his lord paramountcy and to accept the era introduced by his family from the beginning of his father Chandra gupta I's reign (in 319-20 A.C.)". This would be quite a reasonable view if it were based on facts. Unfortunately it is not so, for Dr Basak himself refers the dates 449 and 489 of the Kīśi pidi and Tsapaligaon inscriptions to Vikrama era. Thus down to about

1. *IA* XIII 411 ff. The inscriptions were edited by Indraji in *IA* IX, 163 ff.

2. *CII* III Introduction pp. 177 ff. 3. *Le Nepal* III 49 ff 73 ff.

4. *HNI* 274 ff. (HNI=History of North-eastern India.)

432 A.D. i.e. long after the death of Samudra gupta and his son, the Vikrama era, and not the Gupta era, is found to be in use in Nepal. As a matter of fact, even according to Dr. Basak's view, the earliest known record in Nepal dated in the Gupta era is the inscription of Śivadeva dated 318. This takes us near to the middle of the seventh century A.D. when the Gupta empire and along with it the Gupta political influence had long been a thing of the past. As things stand at present, we have therefore to presume, according to Dr. Basak's view, that the kings of Nepal did not use the Gupta era during the height of the Gupta power when they themselves were subject to its authority, but adopted it only after the decline of the Gupta empire and probably long after its downfall. It is obvious that such a view does not commend itself on general grounds.

Dr. Basak has definitely discarded Lévi's view of a special Nepal era starting in 110 A.D. Unfortunately he does not appear to have possessed a first hand knowledge of Lévi's book<sup>4a</sup> written in French, and has not only failed to understand his arguments but even sometimes represented them in an altogether wrong way. It is essential, therefore, that we should clear up this point before we proceed further.

According to Dr. Basak Lévi's theory is based on the astronomical data furnished by the inscription of Mānadeva, dated *samvat* 386. Lévi, we are told, "arrives at the conclusion that such a combination of astronomical phenomena was only possible on Tuesday, the 1st May, 496 A.D. Hence he starts a working hypothesis that the dates in *samvat* in the early Nepal inscriptions are to be referred to a Lichchhavi era, then in vogue, which had its starting point in the year 110 A.D."

The truth is just the opposite. As a matter of fact Lévi first pointed out<sup>5</sup> that Fleet, while referring the year 386 of Mānadeva's inscription to Gupta era, found these astronomical details applicable to the resulting date viz. 28th April 705 A.D. He then remarked that these astronomical data do not really enable us to fix any particular date, for they would be found applicable to many other years. He then observed that these astronomical details would as well fit in with his own theory, which would refer the date of the inscription to 1st May 496 A.D. Thus, far from concluding that the combination of the astronomical phenomena was only possible on this date, Lévi expressed the diametrically opposite view.

It is curious that Dr. Basak does not refer to the real argument<sup>6</sup> on which Lévi's theory is based. This may be summed up as follows. The Kīsipīdi Ins. (No. VI of Lévi) dated in *samvat* 449 refers to *pratham āṣāḍha* i.e. the first month of *Āṣāḍha*, showing that there was an intercalary month

4a. In addition to what is stated in the paragraphs immediately following of fn. 15, 19 and 31 below.

5. *Nepal*, III, pp. 7 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff.

of *Āṣḍha* in that year. Now, Śivadeva, one of whose records is dated *samtat* 520 was a contemporary of Ariṣṭuvarman and thus belonged to the first half of the seventh century A.D. *Samtat* 449, which is 71 years earlier would thus fall about the middle of the 6th cent. A.D. Now there were only three years in the whole of this century in which there was an intercalary *Āṣḍha* month viz 481 Śaka (559-60 A.D.), 501 Śaka (578-9 A.D.) and 520 Śaka (597-8 A.D.). As the last two dates would bring Śivadeva, who flourished 71 years later, much later in time than Ariṣṭuvarman the first alone is acceptable. Hence assuming that 449 *samtat* is equivalent to 482 Śaka the Nepalese era must have begun in Śaka 33 current or 110 A.D.

Evidently Dr Basak was unaware of this process of reasoning on which Lévi based his theory. For in criticising it he comments that Lévi's theory is incompatible with the date of Śivadeva which Lévi wrongly read as 520 but which is really 320. As has been stated above, the whole theory of Lévi was based on the assumption that Śivadeva's date was 520. Dr Basak is also quite wrong when he says that 'Lévi himself also doubted the reading of the symbol for hundreds, specially the element 5 of 500 which seemed to him as written in the manner of 3 (*en maniere du 3*)'. Here, again Dr Basak's presentation of Lévi's views is diametrically opposite to the truth. Lévi has discussed at length why the particular numerical symbol should be read as 500 and not 300. He maintained that in this respect Indrajī was quite right and wondered how "without a word of explanation or justification and without even pointing out the divergence from the reading of Indrajī Bendall should have read the numerical symbol in Golmadhūtol inscription of Śivadeva as 300. Thus Lévi not only read the symbol as 500 in the two inscriptions noted by Dr Basak but also in the inscription of Śivadeva which Dr Basak has accepted as dated in 318 without any reference to Lévi's view. Lévi points out that in this symbol the symbol for 5 is attached and placed to the left of the symbol for hundred. While discussing the Dharampur inscription he observes that 'here the element 5 of 500 is exactly similar to that of the Khopasī ins. but the sign for the hundred instead of being a double curve like (English figure) 3 (*en maniere du 3*) of Khopasī is somewhat like (English letter) S turned on its axis (*une sorte d's retourné sur son axe*)'. It is thus obvious that Dr Basak had a very imperfect acquaintance with and often took a very distorted view of Lévi's statements and arguments. This is most unfortunate, as Dr Basak's elaborate and learned disquisition on the chronology of Nepal in a scholarly work is likely to be regarded as a good summary of the existing views on the subject particularly by those who are unwilling or unable to consult the original writings of the previous scholars. I have therefore felt it necessary to discuss the point at some length.

Coming back to the main question of chronology, it would appear that the solution of the whole problem hinges upon the interpretation of the first numerical symbol of the dates in the inscriptions of Śivadeva (who lived in the first half of sixth century A.D.), read as 500 by Lévi, and as 300 by Dr Basak. For a few other inscriptions, which are obviously earlier, are dated between 386 and 489 A.D. If the dates of Śivadeva's inscriptions are taken to be 500 to 520, we must agree with Lévi that all the dates form a series belonging to one era, and that era must have begun some time about 100 A.D. and not impossibly in 110 A.D. On the other hand if Śivadeva's dates range between 310 and 320 they evidently belonged to the Gupta era and the dates of earlier kings, between 386 and 449 A.D., must be referred to a different era. This would most probably be a well known era like the Vikrama era, as suggested by Indrajī and endorsed by Dr Basak, or the Saka era, for there would then be no adequate grounds for assuming the existence of a special Nepal era.

Lévi, as noted above, has discussed at length why the particular symbol should be read as 500 and not 300. The symbol for 300, he says, is regularly formed by adding two strokes to the proper left of the vertical stroke of the symbol for 100. As Bühler observes, from 400 onwards the hundred figures are formed by a juxtaposition of the symbol of hundred and the particular numerical figure from 4 to 9. Lévi then points out that in the inscriptions of Śivadeva the symbol for hundred is like English figure 3 and to this is joined another symbol consisting of a vertical line with two strokes attached to its proper left, the lower of which ends in a curve. This symbol, according to Lévi, represents 5, and he supports his view by pointing out a similar symbol for 5 in Bühler's Plate IX, Col VII. In his opinion, therefore, the two symbols reproduced in Bühler's Pl. IX cols XIII and XIV against 300 have different connotations: the former meaning 300 and the latter 500. There is undoubtedly a great deal of force in Lévi's arguments, and it is a pity that Dr Basak did not discuss the point, but simply took it for granted that the symbol denotes 300 and not 500. It must be admitted however, that Lévi's arguments are not convincing. In the first place, the symbol in the ligature, which he takes for 5, no doubt resembles the symbol for 5 reproduced in Bühler's plate IX, Col VII, but that refers to the Kushan period. It has no resemblance whatsoever with the symbol for 5 used in Nepal inscriptions, e.g. in the Stele I of Hangaon which is almost a contemporary record. Secondly, the ligature representing 400 in Nepal inscriptions shows a full form of 100 with the vertical stroke on the proper left, whereas according to Lévi's theory, this element is dropped in the case of 500. This is, no doubt, a possible view, and the shortened form of 100, reduced to a figure like English 3, may be due to modifications in course of a century. On the other hand it is equally possible to hold that the figure like 3 joined with a stroke to a vertical line on the proper left is a modification of the old symbol for 100.



so that with the two strokes, on its proper left, it may be regarded as the symbol for 300. The curve noted at the end of one of the strokes may be due to changes in course of the two or three centuries that intervened between the two series of records. In support of this it may be pointed out that the symbol in the Dharampur ins. shows a closer resemblance with the old symbol for 300 and may represent an intermediate form. While therefore, we are unable to agree with Dr. Basak that the 'symbol for 300 is clear and correct', we find it equally difficult to accept it definitely as 500 in spite of the authority of Indragiri and Lévi behind it. No final solution of the problem is perhaps possible so long as we do not come across a record in which the date is not merely written with the symbol but also actually expressed in words. Until then we have to be satisfied with a tentative chronological scheme based upon general historical facts which we next proceed to discuss.

It is well known that the list of early kings of Nepal is supplied by a number of local chronicles, known as the *Vamśavalis*. But these cannot be accepted as reliable historical data unless supported by more positive evidence. Fortunately, the Paśupati temple inscription of king Jayadeva, who flourished in the eighth century A.D., together with a few other records helps us to check at least a certain section of the *Vamśavalis*, and this, for the present, must form the starting point in any discussion of the history and chronology of Nepal.

The Paśupati temple inscription<sup>9</sup> begins with an account of the mythical kings of solar origin from whom was descended Licchavi, the eponymous hero of the Licchavi race which we are told 'exists even now'. Passing over a specified number (which however, cannot be made out on account of the damaged state of the record) of unnamed kings we come to Supuṣpa born in Puṣpapura. Twenty-three kings are said to have followed Supuṣpa and then came the illustrious Jayadeva. Eleven kings not named followed, and then came Viṣadeva. Here for the first time we get a regular list of succession of six kings ending in Vasantadeva.

It is extremely unfortunate that the verse which follows immediately after the account of Vasantadeva cannot be made out in full as a number of letters in the middle have peeled off. It begins with the words '*Aṣṭāntare py Udayadeva itī kṣīṇisājjāta*', and ends with the name of 'Narendradeva', preceded by 'śca'. But the intervening six letters which undoubtedly brought out the relation between the two kings are missing. Indragiri read these letters as '*Strayodaśa tata*' and interpreted the verse so as to mean "afterwards came thirteen (rulers) sprung from king Udayadeva and then Narendradeva". But for this meaning he had to take the preceding word as *tātā* in

the plural, though his own lithograph and the original rubbing clearly show that there is no *ā kāra* sign after *t* in *jālā*. As a matter of fact Fleet, who had the advantage of consulting the original rubbing of the inscription, says that there is no justification at all for the reading '*strayodaśa*'. He shows other good grounds against the reading and concludes with the suggestion that the missing letters 'contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narendradeva, and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadeva, he was the son of Udayadeva' <sup>10</sup> Lévi, who had a fresh copy of the records prepared for him agrees with Fleet and says that the word *jāta* which is clear, is followed by two doubtful letters and a lacuna of 4 letters corresponding to Indrajis '*trayodaśa tata*'. He therefore suggests that we can only read and translate it as follows "From king Udayadeva was born Narendradeva" <sup>11</sup> Dr Basak, without any reference to these views, naively suggests, "An emendation may be proposed for the lacuna after the word '*trayodaśa*' by means of the word *nṛpa* as an epithet to Narendradeva—thus making the whole of the second line read thus *jatas = trayodaśa-(nṛpaś) = ca Narendradevach* so that taking *trayodaśa* as an ordinal and not as a cardinal number" "Udayadeva and Dhruvadeva (*sic* evidently an error for Narendradeva) were respectively the twelfth and the thirteenth kings after Vasantadeva" <sup>12</sup> Dr Basak evidently believes that '*trayodaśa*' is clear and definite in the record and the lacuna only begins after it. But Indrajis own lithograph as well as the observations of Fleet and Lévi based on independent study of other facsimiles leaves no doubt that there is no warrant at all for the reading *trayodaśa*, taken as granted by Dr Basak.

We have, therefore at least for the present, to dismiss altogether the idea that 13 (11 according to Dr Basak) kings intervened between Vasantadeva and Udayadeva. The meaning of the expression '*asy antare*' which connects these two kings cannot be precisely determined but there is little doubt as Lévi has shown <sup>13</sup> that Fleet's reconstruction of the history of the period is hardly acceptable. According to Lévi Vasantadeva's reign was followed by a critical period in the history of the Licchavi royal family of Nepal involving usurpation of the royal power by Amśuvarman and Jisṇugupta, until it was restored by Narendradeva son of Udayadeva. <sup>14</sup> Although lacking in conclusive evidence this view appears to be the most satisfactory for the present.

The genealogy of the early kings of Nepal, given in the Paśupati temple

10 *CII* III Introd p 187

11 *Nepal* II 162

12 *HNI* 281

13 Fleet placed Mānadeva after Sivadeva and Amśuvarman. This is so clearly opposed to palaeographical and historical evidence as shown by Dr Lévi and Dr Basak that it need not be seriously considered.

14 *Nepal*, II 163

inscription, may thus be represented as follows, with the omission of the mythical kings at the beginning

1	Jayadeva	
	.	} 11 kings
	.	
	.	
	.	
	.	
	.	
13	Vṛṣadeva	
14	Sankaradeva	
15	Dharmadeva	
16	Mānadeva	
17	Mahadeva	
18	Vasantadeva	
	.	
	.	
	.	
19	Udayadeva	
	(?)	
20	Narendradeva	

The kings Nos 13-16 are referred to in an inscription of Mānadeva (King No 16, dated *samvat* 386<sup>15</sup>. Two other records of Mānadeva, dated 297 and 413<sup>16</sup> and one of Vasantadeva (No 18) dated 435<sup>17</sup> are also known

During the interval between Nos. 18 and 19 ruled several other kings whose names are known from epigraphic records. First we have Śivadeva I and his great Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman. The latter gradually usurped all the royal authority and ruled like an independent king. His records are dated 30, 32, 34 and one is probably of the year 45. Whether these dates are to be referred to the Harṣa era, beginning in 606 A.D., as is generally held, or to a Tibetan era commencing in A.D. 595 as Lévi suggests, will be discussed later, but there is no doubt that Amśuvarman lived in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. as Hiuen Tsang refers to him as a recent ruler

15. Indrajī No. 1, Lévi, No. 1. Dr Basak refers to this inscription as fragmentary (*HNI* 242) ignoring the fact that the concluding lines which could not be read by Indrajī were restored by Lévi.

16. Lévi No. II, Indrajī No. 2.

17. Indrajī No. 3.

Two other kings who followed Śivadeva and Amśuvarman, namely, Jisnugupta and Sivadeva II, are known from records dated respectively in the years 48 and 119. There is no doubt that these dates are to be referred to the same era as is used in Amśuvarman's record<sup>18</sup>.

Śivadeva II is the son of Narendradeva who has been identified by all scholars with king No 20 in the genealogical list given above. Lévi also refers to Chinese accounts according to which Narendradeva was on the throne in or about 643 A.D.<sup>19</sup> He must have thus a fairly long reign covering nearly half a century. His grandson Jayadeva II issued a record dated in year 153 of the era used by Amśuvarman, and thus Narendradeva his son and grandson, together, must have ruled for a century or more.

The Chinese accounts tell us that the father of Narendradeva was removed from the throne by his younger brother, and Narendradeva was consequently forced to fly to Tibet. This, as well as the usurpation of Amśuvarman and Jisnugupta who did not belong to the Licchavi family, indicates internal troubles. One of the *Vamśavalis* also refers to an invasion of the Kiratas who ruled over the kingdom for some time.

Evidently this troublesome period is indicated by the author of the Paśupati temple inscription when after referring to a regular succession of six kings up to Vasantadeva he suddenly goes at a jump to Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva. He does not say, as he did on two previous occasions, that he is passing over or leaving out of account a number of specified kings, but simply draws a veil after the reign of Vasantadeva and lifts it again with the accession of Narendradeva.

It is a reasonable presumption therefore, that the period of interval between Vasantadeva and Narendradeva saw the disappearance of authority, at least for all practical purposes, of the Licchavi dynasty. The epigraphic records have preserved the name of the Licchavi king Sivadeva, who was either removed or whose power was reduced to a phantom early in the seventh century A.D. by his great vassal Amśuvarman. A little more light is perhaps thrown on this period by the *Vamśavalis*.

The different *Vamśavalis* agree in their account of the first 28 kings of the Licchavi dynasty. What is more important, they correctly give the names and order of succession of kings Nos 13-18 mentioned in the Paśupati temple ins. It also mentions one Jayavarman early in the list. From such alternatives as Śivavarman or Śivadevavarman given in the same list, this Jayavarman may be equated with Jayadeva (No 1) of the Paśupati

18 For the inscriptions referred to in this para cf the list in HNI 248ff.

19 *Nepal* II 164. On p 162 Lévi puts the date as 645. Dr Basak places Narendradeva about 690 A.D. (HNI 285) without any reference to the Chinese evidence cited by Lévi.

Ins. though the *Vamśātālī* put 13 kings in the intervening period instead of 11 as mentioned in the latter. This close resemblance of the *Vamśātālī* with the epigraphic records certainly gives their account of the Licchavi kings an authentic character, and it would not be unreasonable, therefore, to seek light from them regarding the period following Vasantadeva.

The three successors of Vasantadeva are named in all the *Vamśātālīs* as Udayadeva, Manadeva and Guṇakamadeva. Lévi refers to a record, with characters resembling those of Vasantadeva, which contains the first part of a name 'Yuvārājodā' and which he reasonably restores to *Yuvārājodāya deva* i.e. prince Udayadeva. The same scholar also suggests that king Gaṇadeva, mentioned in a record of the same period is the same as Guṇakamadeva who is mentioned as the second king after Udayadeva in the *Vamśātālī*.<sup>20</sup>

All the *Vamśātālīs* agree in naming the next three kings as Śivadeva, Narendradeva and Bhīmadeva. After that there is some difference. According to three of them the next two kings were Viṣṇudeva and Viśvadeva and the son-in-law of the latter, Amśuvarman, founded the Thakuri dynasty. Another *Vamśātālī* however, says, that during the reign of Bhīmadeva varman the Ahirs who ruled over Nepal before the Licchavis, reconquered the country, and after three of them had ruled Śivadevavarman restored the Licchavi authority and was followed by Amśuvarman.<sup>21</sup>

The discrepancy in the *Vamśātālīs* is perhaps due to the political troubles through which Nepal passed at this time and it is not easy to reconcile the varying accounts. Curiously enough, the name of the three Ahir kings, Viṣṇugupta, Kṣṇugupta and Bhūmugupta, all end in Gupta and we know from epigraphic records that one Kṣṇugupta certainly ruled immediately after Amśuvarman. Although, therefore, the Ahir invasion is passed over in three *Vamśātālīs*, there may be some historical truth in it. It is, however, just possible, that the Ahir rulers did not all precede, but followed, or were partly contemporary to the last Licchavi rulers named in the *Vamśātālīs*. Lévi's suggestion that Viśvadevavarman of the three *Vamśātālīs* is identical with Śivadevavarman of the other *Vamśātālī*, is eminently reasonable,<sup>22</sup> as both are said to be followed by Amśuvarman. The fact that the name of this king is definitely known to be Śivadeva from epigraphic record gives this solitary *Vamśātālī*, which names him and refers to the Ahir invasion a more authentic character than the rest. Now the three *Vamśātālīs*, which omit all references to Ahir invasion name Viṣṇudeva as the successor of Bhīmadeva whereas the other *Vamśātālī* names the first Ahir king who succeeded Bhīmadeva as Viṣṇugupta. It may be suggested therefore, that these two, Viṣṇudeva and Viṣṇugupta, were identical and his name shall be removed from the succession list of Licchavi kings. In other words he

reigned over a part of Nepal at the same time as Śivadeva, who ultimately defeated him or his successor

Thus on the strength of the *Vamśāvalis* we may make a provisional list of the successors of Vasantadeva as follows —

- 1 Udayadeva
- 2 Mānadeva (II)
- 3 Gunakāmadeva (Gaṇadeva ?)
- 4 Śivadeva
- 5 Narendradeva
- 6 Bhīmadeva
- 7 Śivadeva [Ahir invasion]
- 8 Amśuvarman (founder of the Thākuri dynasty)

It is known from the inscriptions that Śivadeva (No 7) was a senior contemporary of Amśuvarman Lévi has made a suggestion that the kings named Śivadeva, i.e. Nos 4 and 7 of the above list, were really one and the same person, and Nos 5 and 6 did not really rule, but their names were preserved as mere links for tracing the succession of future kings. He points out that three *Vamśāvalis* represent No 4 as a king of considerable importance, mention many legends about him and refer in detail to his numerous religious endowments. On the other hand, Śivadeva, who ruled immediately before Amśuvarman, is known from epigraphic records to have made a large number of religious endowments. Indeed no other king of Nepal is known to have issued so many grants of this kind. This argument,<sup>23</sup> no doubt, contains a great deal of force, but against this has to be placed the unanimous testimony of all the *Vamśāvalis* which separate the two kings bearing the name Śivadeva.

It would thus appear that we can reasonably regard the interval between Vasantadeva and Śivadeva—Amśuvarman as occupied by the reign of six (or according to Lévi three) kings. Now Śivadeva lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and a record of Vasantadeva is dated 435 *samvat*. Interpreting this date by the Vikrama and Śaka eras the interval between the two would respectively be about 250 and 115 years. There can be hardly any question that the latter is a more reasonable period of interval than the former. Accordingly, at the present state of our knowledge, it would be most reasonable to refer the dates in the records of Manadeva and Vasantadeva to the Śaka era. As regards the special Licchavi era of 110 A.D., suggested by Lévi it is only 33 years later than the Śaka era, and it would not materially affect our conclusions so far as the dates of Vasantadeva and his predecessors are concerned. Only, if we read the date of Śivadeva's record as 500 + X Lévi's suggestion becomes a more probable one, though the Śaka era would not be altogether unsuitable even in that case.

Bhagawanlal Indraji referred the dates of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva to Vikrama era and this view has been endorsed by Dr R G Basak. Both were no doubt influenced by the presumption now proved to be without a basis, that thirteen or eleven unnamed kings after Vasantadeva preceded Narendradeva. There is however one important fact in favour of the Vikrama *samvat* which was unknown to Indraji and has been overlooked by Dr Basak. Reference has already been made to the Kāśīpī inscription dated 449 which refers to an intercalary Āṣāḍha month. Lévi's theory of the Licchavi era of 110 A.D. was mainly based on this data, as there was an intercalary Āṣāḍha month in 559 A.D. It appears however from the astronomical tables supplied by L. D. S. Pillai that there was an intercalary Āṣāḍha in 449 Vikrama *samvat* current, but not in 449 Śaka current or exp. red. But considering how often such astronomical data have played tricks in chronological calculations in the past, it is difficult to regard this as a conclusive evidence, when it is in conflict with the results obtained from general historical study. When we remember that we are dealing with a period before Āryabhaṭa introduced a regular system in astronomical calculations, and the many unknown factors involved such as the error of calculations wrong or different system followed in different localities etc. it would not perhaps be wise in regarding the astronomical data as a decisive factor in chronological considerations. As an instance in point we may cite the inscription of Amṣuvarman dated 34 which refers to an intercalary *Pauṣa*. Fleet who referred this date to Harṣa era, justified his theory by pointing out that there was a mean intercalation of *Pauṣa* in A.D. 640. Lévi on the other hand held that this intercalary *Pauṣa* could only occur in 629 A.D.<sup>23</sup> But according to the Table V of S. Pillai's *Indian Chronology* the latest authoritative treatise on the subject there was no intercalary *Pauṣa* either in 629 or in 640 A.D. As a matter of fact, according to Pillai instead of there being an intercalary *Pauṣa* there was a *Pauṣa kṣaya* i.e. no *Pauṣa* month at all in 629 A.D. Nevertheless these astronomical facts should be borne in mind and considered by persons competent to form an authoritative opinion on them.

It would appear from what has been said above that the facts so far known make it very unlikely that the earlier dates should be referred to the Vikrama *samvat* and that there are no adequate grounds for referring them to a special Licchavi era.

For the present, therefore we may accept as the most reasonable assumption that the records of Manadeva and Vasantadeva are dated in the Śaka era.

The reign of Manadeva would accordingly cover the period 464 to 491 A.D. with a few years more, perhaps, both at the beginning and at the end. This is the period when the decline of the Gupta empire let loose the forces of political disintegration in N. India. This fits in with the warlike acti

vities of Manadeva referred to in his records. It is interesting to recall in this connection that a Maukharī king (either Iśvaravarman or Iśanavarman) and the Later Gupta king Jivitagupta I are said to have fought against some enemies in the Himalayā region. It is not unlikely that they fought against the Licchavi kings of Nepal early in the sixth century A.D. and we may well believe in that case that Manadeva had already established a strong political authority in Nepal which proved a menace to the safety of the neighbouring regions in the south.

We may thus offer the following tentative chronology of the Licchavi kings of Nepal up to the usurpation of Amśuvarman

1	Jayadeva	(2nd century A.D.)
2		
		11 kings (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.)
13	Vṛṣadeva	
14	Sankaradeva	c. 400-450 A.D.
15	Dharmadeva	
16	Manadeva	c. 460-495 A.D.
17	Mahadeva	c. 495-510 A.D.
18	Vasantadeva	c. 510-520 A.D.
19	Udayadeva	
20	Manadeva II	
21	Gupakamadeva (Gaṇadeva)	520-610 A.D.
22	Sivadeva (?)	
23	Narendradeva (?)	
24	Bhumadeva (?)	
25	Sivadeva acc.	c. 610 A.D.
	Daughter = Amśuvarman (Usurper)	



The date of Amśuvarman's usurpation offers another intriguing problem in Nepal chronology. His charters are dated in the years 30, 32, 34 and 39. An inscription referring to him as the reigning king contains a date of which the decimal figure is certainly 40 but the unit figure has been doubtfully read as 4 or 5. It is obvious that these dates cannot be referred to either the Vikrama or Śaka era or to the Licchavi era proposed by Lévi. The view generally accepted is that these dates are to be referred to the Harṣa era. But, as Lévi has pointed out,<sup>26</sup> there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. In the first place while there is no positive evidence that Harṣa ever conquered Nepal the Chinese accounts leave no doubt that Tibet at this time exercised suzerainty over that country and it was consequently detached from Indian politics. Secondly the theory is in conflict with the positive statement of Hsuen Tsang that Amśuvarman was dead before he visited Nepal. For according to the theory of Harṣa era Amśuvarman was alive even after 646 A.D. while Hsuen Tsang visited these parts in about 637 A.D. In order to get rid of this difficulty it has been suggested that Hsuen Tsang did not actually visit Nepal but based his account on reports which were either inaccurate or misunderstood by him.<sup>27</sup> But this explanation can hardly be regarded as satisfactory particularly as we have no definite evidence of the Harṣa era being used in Nepal. Hsuen Tsang's statement runs as follows<sup>28</sup> —

The king is a kshatriya and belongs to the family of Licchavas. His mind is well informed and he is pure and dignified in character. He has a sincere faith in the law of Buddha. Lately there was a king called Amśuvarman who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on sounds (*Śabda vidyā*) he esteemed learning and respected virtue and his reputation was spread everywhere.

I have quoted this at length just to show that Hsuen Tsang's account of the two kings of Nepal is not a mere scrappy hearsay report but gives some personal details. Even assuming that he did not visit Nepal personally—though there is nothing to justify this view—there is nothing to indicate that he had not a fairly accurate account of the country. His detailed descriptions of the physical features and climate of the country, the manners of the people and the religious establishments imply that he either visited the country or had detailed and faithful account of it from others. During his tour in the neighbouring region and long residence at Nalanda he must have come across persons resident in Nepal and competent to give him reliable information. To disregard Hsuen Tsang's testimony would therefore be a mere gratuitous assumption in order to uphold a theory which is not supported by any positive evidence. Besides as we shall see later other

26. Nepal, II 152.

27. Beal—Records II 81

28. IA XIII 422

Chinese Texts indirectly corroborate Hiuen Tsang by mentioning Narendradeva as king of Nepal c. 643 A.D.

S. Lévi, the only eminent scholar who has refused to accept the theory of Harṣa era, has offered a solution of his own. An inscription of Amśuvarman, dated 34, refers to an intercalary *Pauṣa* month, and Lévi, as stated above, shows by astronomical calculation that this year corresponds to the year 629/30 A.D. The starting point of the era used by Amśuvarman would thus fall in the year 595 A.D. and Lévi suggests that this was probably the epoch of a Tibetan era commemorating either the accession of Strong tsan or the birth of his son Srong tsan Gampo.<sup>29</sup> As both these Tibetan kings undoubtedly exercised suzerainty over Nepal, such a theory is quite a reasonable one. But its chief drawback is the fact that we have no knowledge of any such Tibetan era and until its existence is proved by independent evidence Lévi's theory cannot command general acceptance.

S. Lévi has cited authentic Chinese evidence to show that the Chinese embassy which visited Magadha in 643 A.D., passed through Nepal and was received with honour by its king Narendradeva.<sup>30</sup> This shows that Amśuvarman had ceased to reign before that date. It thus confirms the testimony of Hiuen Tsang and renders untenable the theory that Amśuvarman's dates are to be referred to the Harṣa era.<sup>31</sup> At the same time Lévi's own theory of the Tibetan era of 595 A.D. hardly fits in with it. For we have an inscription of Jisnugupta who succeeded to the powers and authority of Amśuvarman dated in the year 48. In this record Jisnugupta acknowledged Bhāṭṭāraka rāja Dhruvadeva as his lord paramount. In another record the date of which is lost he refers to Bhāṭṭāraka Manadeva as evidently occupying the same position. A third inscription of Jisnugupta without date does not mention any of these kings but refers to his augmenting victorious reign. It is a reasonable assumption that these three records indicate the gradual advance in the position and status of Jisnugupta. We may consequently hold that Jisnugupta began his reign about the year 48 acknowledging the nominal suzerainty, first of the Licchavi king Dhruvadeva, and next of Manadeva and ended by discarding altogether such an unnecessary paraphernalia and reigning absolutely in his own name. Jisnugupta may thus be presumed to have ruled for some years after the year 48. Now there can be no question that this date refers to the same era as was used by Amśuvarman. According to Lévi's theory this date corresponds to 643 A.D. We may reasonably hold that Jisnugupta's reign was extended at least a few years beyond 643 A.D. But according to the Chinese evidence cited by Lévi

29 Nepal II 154

30 *Ibid* 164

31 Dr. Basak who refers the dates of Amśuvarman to the Harṣa era is altogether silent about the theory of Lévi and of the Chinese evidence referred to by him.

himself, Narendradeva was the king of Nepal in 643 A.D. This considerably weakens the theory that the dates in the charters of Amsuvarman and Jisnu gupta are to be referred to a Tibetan era commencing in 595 A.D.

We may also consider the possibility that the date in Amsuvarman's charter are his own regnal years and that the reckoning was continued by his successors. This is a quite reasonable and probable view, but is rejected by S. Lévi<sup>32</sup> on two grounds, first that no record earlier than the 30th year is known, and secondly that as the Harigaon Stele inscription of Amsuvarman dated year 30 refers to some details of his coronation the era can hardly commemorate his own accession. The objections cannot, however, be regarded as decisive. The first is a mere negative evidence. As regards the second, the inscription merely refers to '*abhiseka hasti*' and '*abhiseka kassa*' in general terms, and although probable, it is by no means certain that the details of the donations in the record refer to the items of his own coronation. So the possibility of the dates of Amsuvarman's charters being his own regnal years cannot be altogether dismissed. It is not necessary to suppose that Amsuvarman deliberately founded a new era. As often happened, it is possible that the reckoning of his regnal years was continued by his successors and thus an era grew into being.

Another possibility must also be kept in view. The Nepal *Samvat*, an era even now in use, commenced from 879-80 A.D., and, in the absence of any authentic information or even reliable tradition explaining its origin it has been suggested by Lévi that the epoch of the new era might simply be the new year after the completion of 800 years of the Śaka era<sup>33</sup>. In other words they simply left out the hundreds at the commencement of the 9th century of the Śaka era. If this theory be accepted we may hold that something similar might have taken place after the lapse of the first five hundred years of the Śaka era. Amsuvarman's known dates might, therefore, be treated as 530 to 545 of the Śaka era corresponding to 608-623 A.D. which would agree with Hiuen Tsang's statement that the king died some time before his visit to Nepal (c. 637 A.D.). We must, however, bear in mind that the dates of Śivadeva and Jayadeva II, viz. years 119 and 145 are also evidently dated in the same era and it is therefore, necessary to suppose that though after 500 Śaka the hundreds were omitted, the reckoning was continued uninterrupted for the next three centuries until the new Nepal *Samvat* came into use in the 9th century, and the same continuous reckoning was again adopted and has continued up to now.

On the whole it must be admitted that none of these theories about the interpretation of the dates of Amsuvarman's charters can be regarded as convincing. But the theory of Harṣa era, which is now generally favoured,

appears to be the least satisfactory, as it is contradicted by known facts deduced from Hiuen Tsang's narrative and the Chinese annals. The theory of regnal years seems to be least open to objection at the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless it would be unwise to lay stress on, far less to adopt definitely, any one of the above theories. For the present we must rest content with the information supplied by Hiuen Tsang that Ariśuvarman's reign ended immediately or shortly before 637 A.D., when the pilgrim probably visited Nepal, or 642-3 A.D. when he visited E. India for the last time.

In concluding this long dissertation we must admit that it has not been possible to achieve much by way of positive results, but the main problem and the various issues arising out of it have been placed in clear perspective, and all the theories, specially those of Lévi, which are very important but evidently little known to Indian scholars, have been fully explained and properly examined. Thus, it may be confidently hoped, would facilitate the future study of the history and chronology of Nepal.

## GULERIA PAINTINGS

By

Dr HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT

Gulerias form a chief clan of the old Katoch rulers of Kangra the famous historic stronghold of the 'Trigartta' territory of the Punjab. One of the heroic rajas of this Trigartta namely, Suśarmachandra, figures in the *Mahābharata* as fighting on behalf of the inveterate Duryodhana against the Paṇḍavas. Who built this stronghold and when, we do not know. Tradition ascribes it to divine agency probably on account of its impregnability and great age. Nagarakoṭa is an antique name of it and Kangara a comparatively modern appellation designating not only the fortress but the whole district, so called after the fortress. The connotation of this term is obscure just as is that of Katoch. To etymologise these terms as *Kan gaḍha* (the head or chief fort) and *Kate uchcha* (foremost in the army) will be too pedantic for acceptance. This stronghold of Kangra played an important role in the history of the India of the Mohammadan epoch and a patriotic Hindu cannot but mourn its fall to the invader. *is nind hī mēn lūt hui Nagarakota kī is nund hī men jatā rahā Somanātha bhū*

The Gulerias left the parental stronghold viz Kangra and settled in Guler which is about a day's journey from it, in the 15th century of the Christian era. They were called after this locality in accordance with the usual custom of taking names from the place of residence as for example Paṭhāniya from *Pathāna* or *Pratishṭhāna*, Dogra from Duggar (ancient *Dvigartta*), or Balauria from Balaur.

During my official tours in the district of Kangra I visited Haripur, the capital of Guler, and made the acquaintance of Raja Raghunatha Singha the late ruler of the locality. He very kindly showed me his valuable collection of paintings chiefly consisting of the portraits of his ancestors and allowed me to have them photographed for the Archaeological Survey of India Northern Circle, Lahore. One of these portraits is believed to represent a Guleria chief who was considered a charming personality, so much so that the members of a Mughal harem so goes the story, expressed a desire to see him. He was consequently taken to their august presence but, unfortunately for him, blindfolded! These paintings are not yet published and it is highly desirable that they are brought out for the use of scholars interested in the pictorial art and history of India. The said Raja allowed me the use of the *Dilīparanjana* the only manuscript copy of which lay in his possession. This valuable piece gives an interesting account of the Guleria chiefs and I noticed its contents in the *Journal of The*



KANGRA PAINTING No 1

KANGRA PAINTING No 2



*Punjab Historical Society* many years ago. At the same time I was able to get a few pictures of *nāyikās* and *rāgmīs*, some of which I have published already.

Kangra gave birth to many beautiful pictures now lying scattered in several museums and various collections, official or private. Consequently, these paintings are known to be the product of the school termed after Kangra. Guler is a part of Kasgra and a number of paintings have been found here. Whether the Gulerī chiefs had their own *chiterās* (i.e. *chit-rakāras*) or not, is not known for certain, but principal rulers of these hill states had them as a rule and Kangra must have had them too, for I myself saw the descendants of a famous painter of Kangra, namely, Sajanu, about the time of the well known seismic catastrophe of 1905 when I was there, and collected many *khākās* from the family. In all probability the paintings of Kangra were indebted to the *Ustāds* who gave us the Mughal paintings too well known to mention here.

Kangra paintings are usually in the profile and the painters who wrought them did not come out successful in their efforts to depict the full face. These paintings are known for their technique, brilliancy, colour and line. The best ones are undoubtedly good illustrations of exquisiteness and are well featured and proportioned. The Gulerī paintings are likewise. There is no need to differentiate them from the Kangra school. The portraits of the Gulerias which I have seen display all these characteristics and reflect great credit on the *ustāds* who made them as well as the patrons who encouraged them. The said collection of the ruler mentioned above had besides portraits, paintings of *rāgmīs*, *nāyikās*, flowers, deities and other subjects. They all require special treatment in a separate volume.

Two of these paintings which have not been published before and are masterpieces of the Kangra Art, are reproduced here in token of my great appreciation of the devotion to the muse of the history and art of ancient India which the scholar to whom this volume is being presented has been evincing all along. One of them I call 'Expectancy' and the other 'Delusion'. Both these pictures of the Kangra *qulam* are remarkably well drawn and exquisite. The colouring is excellent, the pose of the figures very expressive, and the drapery fine and smart, so much so that the dress is visibly transparent. The velvety bodice with its colour is clear under the *dupattā*. The rest of the dress and also the face, are executed with equal delicacy. The background of the lady expecting her lover at the dead of night is wonderfully exhibited and with the streak of lightning that the *ustād* has cleverly put in, forms a striking contrast to the charming figure. The other picture *Vipralabdā* ('Delusion'), depicts equally successfully the state of mind of the bewitched lady and incidentally, brings to our thought the forlorn state to which this superb art of Kangra has now dwindled with hardly any hope of revival as those who wrought them did not come out successful in their efforts to depict the full face.



Two of these paintings which have not been published before and are masterpieces of the Kangra *qalam*, are reproduced below in token of my appreciation of the devotion which Dr B C. Law has all along been evincing to the cause of Indology. As I have said before, both are remarkably exquisite and well posed. In 'Expectancy' the drapery is visibly transparent. The bodice does not hide the beauty of the figure it covers and the skirt is clear under the deep blue gossamer *dupattā*. The rest of the dress and also the face and person, are executed with equal delicacy. This portrayal of the lady waiting for her lover amidst the brewing storm at the dead of night, is strikingly effective. The streak of lightning that the *ustād* has cleverly put in to lessen the dark intensity of the night, vividly brings out the contrast between the charming lady, her jewelry, her drapery, her lovely features and graceful form and the dim weird background.

The *Vipralabdā* ('Delusion') is apparently a portrayal of the idea containing in the following verse from the Gita Govinda

श्रीसति कथमसौ रसालशाखा चिरविरहेण विलोक्य पुष्पिता ग्राम् ।

Lord Krishna has suddenly disappeared leaving Radha in bewilderment. Thinking that the Lord is hidden in the flowery tree, she stands holding the blossoming branch in her hand sighing for the vanished lover. This picture is in softer tints harmoniously, but just as delicately, used and is an equally successful depiction of the state of mind of the bewitched lady.

Both paintings serve to illustrate the high degree of perfection that the superb pictorial art of Kangra had reached and we cannot but regret the forlorn state to which it has now dwindled with hardly any hope of revival.



SOMA PLANT

# VEDIC PLANTS

By

Dr GIRIJAPRASANNA MAJUMDAR, M SC PH D, F N I

## INTRODUCTION

The Vedic Indians were a civilized people. They settled down to pastoral life, and evolved working knowledge of the things that formed their immediate environment, and plants formed one such environment, in order to utilize them to the best of their advantage. They lived in villages, towns and cities in fixed dwellings and houses which were furnished with simple furniture. Their food and drink ingredients consisted mainly of cereals, pulses, fruits, *soma* and other plants and plant products which they cultivated in fields and gardens. The Vedas bring the Vedic man and woman before us perfectly well dressed, caring for dress and creating an art for dress-making washing, etc. Boats and charots were their main conveyances for water and land transport, and their trade and commerce flourished with plant products as the chief merchandise, and even *māṣa* and *kṛṣṇala* were used as some sort of currency for exchange and barter. They developed agriculture, arbori horticulture, sylviculture, etc. and enjoyed their leisure hours in playing dice or in cultivating music both vocal and instrumental. They made utensils, war weapons, agricultural implements and also practised medicine.

All these required a knowledge of plants and plant products. It is rightly said that 'utilitarian side gave the first impetus to the scientific study of Botany'. At this early stage *Descriptive Botany*, or the *External Morphology* as it is called, and some knowledge of nursing and maintenance of growth of plants (rudimentary knowledge of plant physiology), became necessary for the proper identification of plants and their successful cultivation particularly so when their number became unusually large. An account of their achievement in this line will be given elsewhere.

In the present contribution an attempt has been made to make a list, identify as far as practicable and classify the plants occurring in the Vedic literature as contemplated and enumerated by Macdonell and Keith in their classical work, the *Vedic Index*.

## 2 IDENTIFICATION

The trees, shrubs, herbs and other plants mentioned in the Vedic literature are enumerated below in an alphabetic order with their Latin synonyms, distribution and uses.

<i>Vedic name</i>	<i>Latin Synonym and Family</i>	<i>Ref in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses</i>
1 Abaya	1 <i>Brassica yuncea</i> (=napus) seeds dark 2 <i>B. alba</i> , seeds white (Cruciferae)	A. V. iv 33 <sup>7</sup> 5 (Whitney 292) used against supernatural agencies. v 16 1-2	Cultivated in India, white ones cultivated at Rozepore in the Punjab <i>Oil medicine</i>
2 Adara	<i>Zingiber officinale</i> (Zingiberaceae)	A. V. iv 35 5 (Whitney 207 Zimmer 70 Weber 18 138)	Throughout the warmer parts of India. <i>Medicine spice</i>
3 Adhyaṇḍa	1 <i>Mucana pruriens</i> (Leguminosae) 2 <i>Phyllanthus urinaria</i> 3 <i>P. niruri</i> Euphorbiaceae	Sat. Br. xiii 8 1 16 mentioned with many other plants	From the Himalayas in the plains to Ceylon, Assam Burma etc. —hotter parts of India <i>Medicinal</i>
4 Ajasṃgi	1 <i>Odina Wodiar</i> (Anacardiaceae) 2 <i>Gymnema Sylvestre</i> (Asclepiadaceae)	A. V. iv 37 prescribed as demon destroyer	Hotter parts of India from extreme N. W. along the foot of the Himalaya ascending to 4000 ft. to Assam eastwards <i>Wood medicine</i>
5 Āla	Weed of cornfield	A. Y. vi 16 3	
6 Alabu, Alāpu	<i>Lagenaria Vulgaris</i> (Cucurbitaceae)	A. V. viii 10 29 30 xx 130 1 2 <i>alapu</i> Mait Sam. iv 2 13 vessel made of it	Indigenous in India <i>Vegetable fruit and utensils</i>
7 Alasala	Grain creeper	A. V. vi 16 4	
8 Amala laka	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i> (Euphorbiaceae)	Jaim. Up. Br. i 38, 6 Chând. Up. vii 3 1 (Vāmālaka)	Throughout tropical & sub-tropical India wild or planted. <i>Medicinal fruit</i>
9 Amūlā	1 <i>Glonostis superba</i> (Liliaceae) 2 <i>Cascata</i> sp. (Convolvulaceae)	A. V. v 32 4 the plant is described as rootless. I consider it a cascata sp. which is common in the Indus Plain used for poisoning arrows.	Throughout tropical India, from N. W. Himalayas to Assam ascending up to 5000 ft. <i>Poison</i>
10 Anḍika	<i>Nymphaea alba</i> (Nymphaeaceae)	A. V. iv 34 <sup>v</sup> 5 17 16 edible plant leaf and root egg-shaped. In the Pimpalpada ed. Paundarikā is mentioned in its place	Kashmir Siberia Europe. <i>Flower personal decoration edible</i>

Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
11 Aṇu (cina)	<i>Panicum mihane</i> (Gramineae)	Vāj Sam xviii, 12, Bṛhad Up vi 3, 13	Cultivated or naturalised throughout the hotter parts of India. grains white <i>Food grains for diet</i>
12. Apāmārga	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i> (Amaranthaceae)	A V iv, 17, 6, 18 7, 19, 4, vii, 6, 2, Vaj Sam. xxxv, 11, Taitt. Br i, 7, 8, 1, Śat Br v, 2, 4, 14, xiii, 8, 4, 4, Nirukta, iv, 17, 2	Tropical Asia, Africa, Baluchistan <i>Medicinal, ritual</i>
13 Aparājitā	<i>Clitoria ternata</i> (Leguminosae)	A. V ii, 27, 3, for prosperity and long life	Tropical zone from the Himalayas to Ceylon, Burma, etc. <i>Spell amulet</i>
14 Arka	<i>Calotropis gigantea</i> (Asclepiadaceae)	A V. vi, 72, 1, Śat. Br ix, 1, 1, 4 9, arka panna, arka palāsa, i, 2, 3, 12, 13	Throughout India, ascending to 3000 ft. in the Himalayas, from the Punjab to Assam, drier places. <i>Medicinal</i>
15 Araḷu	<i>Oroxylum indicum</i> (Bignoniaceae)	A V xx, 131, 17, in R V It is said that axle of chariot was sometimes made of its wood.	From the Himalayas to Ceylon up to 3000 ft. <i>Timber, medicinal</i>
16 Arāṭaki Araṭu	1 <i>Prosopis spicigera</i> (suggested by Weber) 2 <i>Acacia Suma</i> (Leguminosae)	A. V iv, 37, 6	The Punjab, Sind, Western Peninsular. <i>Timber, Fuel.</i>
17 Arundhati = Sahadevī	<i>Sida cordifolia</i> <i>S. rhombifolia</i> (Malvaceae)	A. V iv, 12, 1, v 5, 5, 9, vi, 59, 1, 2, vii 7, 16, xix, 38, 1, healing properties, as febrifuge, increased milk of cow, protection of cattle (A. V vi, 59, 1), climber, having stem of golden colour, (A. V v. 5, 5.7), also called silāci, and lākṣā appears to have been a product of it (Whitney's notes on A. V iv, 12) vii 7 6	Tropical and subtropical India. <i>Medicinal Milk producing Source of Lākṣā</i>

Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
18. Āśmagandhā	Withania somnifera (Solana- ceae)	Sat. Br xiii 8 1 16	Throughout drier subtropical In- dia, west Hin- dustan. Medicinal
19. Āśvattha	Ficus religiosa (urticaceae)	R. V i, 164 20 vessels made of Āśvattha. R. V x, 97 5 tree, A. V iii 6 1 iv 32.4 hardwood for kindling fire, A. V vi 11 1 Sat. Br xi 5 1 13 starts life as an epi- phyte on Khadira, some- times strangles it A. V iii 6 its berries eaten by birds, R. V i 164 20.20 described as crested vones (sikhandin) A. V iv, 374	One of India's greatest trees, wild in the sub- Himalayan for- ests. Religious
20. Āśvavala Asvavara	Saccharum spon- taneum (Gramineae)	Mait. Sam. iii, 7 9 Kath Sam xxiv 8 Kapistha. Sam. xxxviii 1 Sat. Br iii 4 1 7	India Ceylon etc., warm region of old world
21. Asvāvatī	One of the four principal medi- cinal plants can not be identified	R. V x, 97 7	
22. Aukṣagandhī	Fragrant plant	A. V iv 37 3 mentioned along with Guggulī and Naladī as fragrant plants.	
23. Avakā (aquatic plant)	Blyxa oryzetorum the only species that grows in Kashmir Its later name is śavāla identi- cal with śipala Śarvala is Blyxa griffithii not found in the Punjab śipala is mentioned in Āśva. Gr Sutra ii 8 iv 4 (Hydrochander)	A. V viii 7 9 37 8-10 Taitt. Sam iv 6 1 1 v 4 2, 1 4 3 Vaj Sam. xvii, 4 xxv 1 Mait. Sam. ii 10 1 Sat. Br vii 5 1 11 viii 3 2, 5 ix, 1 2 20 22 xii 8. 3 13 Gandharvas eat it A. V iv 37 8	Kashmir Pot herb
24. Badara	Zizyphus Sp (Rhamnaceae)	Kath. Sam. xii 10 Mait. Sam. iii 11 2 Vaj Sam. xix 22. 90 xxi 30 Taitt. Br i, 8, 5 1 Sat. Br v 5 4 10 xii 7 1 3 2, 9 9 1 8 etc Jaumin. Br ii 156 5.	Throughout India, N W Frontier Sind base of the Himalaya to Ceylon.

Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
25. Baja (white & yellow variety)	Brassica Sp (Cruciferae)	A V. viii, 6, 3, 6 7. 24 (Whitney, 494)—used against demon of disease	Punjab, and cultivated in India
26. Balbaja	1 <i>Elensine indica</i> 2 <i>E. Coracana</i> (Gramineae)	A V xiv 2 22, 23, Taitt Sam ii, 2, & 2, Kāth Sam x, 10; Mait Sam ii, 2, 5, used for sacrificial litter, fuel (Kāth Sam), in R. V viii 53, 3, basket and other things made from this grass (in Dānastuti)	Cultivated in the plains of India Medicinal fuel, furniture & utensils
27. Bhanga (hemp)	<i>Cannabis sativa</i> (Urticaceae)	In R. V ix, 61, 13 it is an epithet of Soma, A V xi 6 15, Sākh Aran vii 19	Wild in N. W. Himalaya, Central Asia
28. Bilva	<i>Aegle marmelos</i> (Rutaceae)	A V xxi 136 3, Ait Br ii, 1, Sat Br xiii, 4, 4 8, etc, Mait Sam iii, 9, 3, sacrificial post in Taitt Sam ii, 1 8 1 2, cf Sat Br i 3 3 20 Ait. Br ii, 1 amulet, sākh. Aran xii 20 <i>et</i> <i>seq</i>	Wild, ascending to 4000 ft in the Western Himalayas, in dry hilly places from Jhelum to Assam
29. Bimba	<i>Cephalandia indica</i> (Cucurbitaceae)	Jaumin Up Br iii, 5 6	Throughout India Medicinal
30. Canaka (See under Khalva)	<i>Cicer anethinum</i> (Leguminosae)	Vāj Sam xviii 12	Cultivated in temperate and tropical countries. Pulse
31. Candā	<i>Andropogon aciculatus</i> (Gramineae)	A V vi 139 3	Plains and lower hills of India from Kumaon to Sukhm in the Himalayas.
32. Citraparṇi		A V ii 25, 3, with spotted leaf, protection of foetus	
33. Darbha with its 2 varieties, Kharadarbha & Mṛdudarbha	1 <i>Eragrostis Cynosuroides</i> 2 <i>E. tenella</i> = <i>E. ciliaris</i> (Gramineae)	R. V i, 191, 3, with Śara & Kuśara. A V vi, 43, 2, vii 7, 20, x, 4, 13, xi, 6, 15, xix, 29, 1 etc, used for calming of anger, A. V vi 43	Plains of India from Peshawar to Sind to Burma Ritual
34. Daśavṛkṣa	A tree according to Roth.	A. V ii, 9 1	
35. Dhava	<i>Anogeissus latifolia</i> (Combretaceae)	A. V vi, 5, 5, used for healing up of wounds.	From the Himalaya to Ceylon up to 3000 ft. Medicinal

<i>Vedic name.</i>	<i>Latin Synonym</i>	<i>Ref. in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses</i>
36 Dūrvā	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i> (Gramineæ)	R. V x, 16, 13, 134, 5, 142, 8, Taitt. Sam. iv, 2, 9, 2; v, 2, 8, 3, Vāj Sam. xii, 20, Ait. Br. viii, 5, 8, Sat. Br. iv, 5, 10, 5, vii, 9, 2, 10, 12, etc., grows on damp ground, R. V x, 16, 3, 142, 8.	India, Burma, Ceylon ascending to 5000 ft. in the Himalayas. <i>Sacrificial</i> <i>Medicinal</i>
37. Eraṇḍa	<i>Ricinus Communis</i> (Euphorbiaceæ)	Sāṅkh. Aras. xii 8	Throughout India, cultivated, tropics, generally, indigenous in Africa. <i>Medicinal, oil</i>
38 Garmut	(Leguminosæ) Wild bean	Taitt Sam. ii, 4, 4, 1, 2, Kāth Sam. xiii, Mat. Sam. ii, 2, 4	<i>Pulse</i>
39 Gavedhuka Gavedhukā Gavidhuka Gavidhukā	<i>Cox Lachryma</i> (Gramineæ)	Taitt Sam. v, 4, 3, 2, sāt. Br. v, 2, 9, 13, 3, 1, 10, xiv, 1, 2, 19, Taitt. Sam. i, 8, 7, 1, 9, 2, Taitt Br. i, 7, 3, 6, Mat. Sam. ii, 6, 5, iv, 3, 8, Vāj Sam. xv, 5	Tropical Asia, Cultivated, hotter & damper parts of India, kernel used as food, medicine, fodder grass (Dut-hie)
40 Godhūma	<i>Triticum vulgare</i> (Gramineæ)	Mat. Sam. i, 2, 8, Vāj Sam. xviii, 12, xix, 22, 89, xxi, 29, Sat. Br. xii, 7, i, 2, 2, 9, Bṛhad. Up. vi, 3, 22, distinguished from Vrihi & Yava in Taitt Br. i, 3, 7, 2, Sak. tvah made from it Sat. Br. xii, 9, 1, 5, v, 2, 1, 6	Northern India, up to 13000 ft. in the Himalayas & Tibet <i>Cereal</i>
41 Guggulū	<i>Balsamodendron Mukul</i> (Burseraceæ)	A. V. xix 38, amulet for various blessings.	Sind, Rajputana, Baluchistan rocky hills. <i>Frankincense</i>
42. Haridrā	<i>Curcuma longa</i> (Zingiberaceæ)	A. V. i 24, 2, remedy against leprous spot	Cultivated in India, throughout tropics. <i>Medicinal</i>
43 Handru	<i>Cedrus libani</i> or <i>deodara</i> (Coniferæ)	Sat. Br. xiii, 8, 1, 16	N. W. Himalaya from Kumaon westwards 3,500 to 12,000 ft.



Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
44 Isikā	<i>Polytoca barbata</i> (Gramineæ)	A V. vii, 54, 4, xii, 2, 54. Sat. Br. iv, 3, 4, 16, etc. Jaimin Br. Up. i, 9, ii, 134, Chānd v, 24, 3, Kath Up. ii, 6, 17, etc., Nirukta ix, 8, a basket of <i>Isikā</i> in Sat. Br. i, 1, 4, 19, <i>argaleṣūka</i> (bolt and pin of a door)—in Sāṅkh Aran. ii, 16	Throughout India hot and damp area from the Punjab to Assam <i>Utensils etc., furniture</i>
45 Jāmbilā Jāmbilā	1 <i>Citrus auranti-um</i> <i>var</i> <i>Bergamia</i> 2. <i>C. Medica var</i> <i>acida</i> (Rutaceæ)	Mait Sam. iii, 15, 3, Kath Sam. V, 12, 1, Vāj Sam. xxv, 3	Said to be indigenous in the Mothronwalla swamp, Dehradun, Gharwal, Kumaon <i>Citron</i>
46 Jangidā	<i>Terminalia arjuna</i> (Combretaceæ)	A V. ii, 9, xix, 34, 35 against all sorts of diseases. A V. xix 39 10, ii, 4, 1, xix, 34, 1, 5, 9, 7, amulet	Sub-Himalayan tract, N W Provinces. <i>Amulet</i>
47 Kākambīra	Useful tree of some kind	R V vi 48 17	
48 Kapitthaka	<i>Feronia elephantum</i> (Rutaceæ)	A V. iv 4 8, for virility	In dry situation from the Punjab eastward and southward
49 Karīra	<i>Capparis aphylla-c decidua</i> (Capparidaceæ)	Taitt Sam. ii, 4, 9 2, Kath Sam. xi 11, xxxvi 7 Sat. Br. ii 5 2 11	The Punjab, Gujarat, Rajputana, drier places
50 Karkandhu	1 <i>Zizyphus nummularia</i> , 2 <i>Z. quenopia</i> (black drupe) 3 <i>Z. jujuba</i> (yellow orange-red dish brown drupe) (Rhamnaceæ)	R V i, 112, 6, mentions it, may be <i>Z. cenopolia</i> but the one mentioned in Kath Sam. xii, 10 Mait. Sam. iii 11, 2, Vāj Sam. xix, 23, 91, xxi, 32, xxiv, 2, Sat. Br. v, 5 4 10, xii 7, 2, 9, 9, 1, 5, etc. Jaim. Br. ii, 152 5—had red berry ( <i>rohita</i> ) It cannot be <i>Z. jujuba</i> it is <i>Z. nummularia</i> as its drupe becomes red when ripe	Outer Himalayas up to 4500 ft, dry and region of the Punjab, Waziristan etc. up to 3000 ft. <i>Fruit</i>

<i>Vedic name.</i>	<i>Latin Synonym and Family</i>	<i>Ref. in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses</i>
51 Kārṣmārya	Gmelina arborea (Verbenaceæ)	Taitt Sam v, 2, 7, 3 4; vi, 2, 1, 5; Mait Sam. iii, 2, 6; 7, 9; Sat. Br. iii, 4, 1, 6; 8, 2, 17; iv, 3 3 6; vii 4, 1, 37.	Throughout India extending to the foot of N W. Himalayas, then eastward.
52 Kāśa	Saccharum spontaneum (Gramineæ)	R. V. x, 100, 10, used for mats, etc. according to Roth, but clean in Taitt. Aran vi, 9, 1	Throughout India, South Europe and warm region of the old world <i>Furniture</i>
53 Khadira	Acacia catechu (Leguminosæ)	R. V. iii, 53, 19, A. V. iii, 6, 1, v, 5, 5; viii, 8, 3, x, 6, 6, Mait Sam iii, 9 3; Taitt. Sam iii, 5, 7, 1, Ait. Br ii, 1, Sat. Br i, 3, 3, 20; iii, 6, 2, 12, etc.—as a tree with hard wood, A. V x, 6, 6, Arundhati climbs on it (A. V v, 5, 5), sacrificial ladle (Taitt. Sam iii, 5, 7, 1), of great strength (bahusāra), in Sat. Br xiii, 4, 9, 2, amulet sāṅkh. Aran xii 8	The Punjab, N. W. Himalayas C. India, Bihar <i>Medicinal timber</i>
54 Khalakula	Dolichos biflorus (Leguminosæ)	Bṛhad Up vi, 3 22	The Himalayas to Ceylon, and Burma, ascending to 3000 ft. in Sikkim <i>Pulse &amp; fodder</i>
55 Khalva Canaka Nispava	Phaseolus radiatus Cicer arietinum Vigna catjang	A. V ii, 1, v, 23, 8, Vāj Sam xviii 12, Mahi dhara glosses it with <i>canaka</i> (chicken pea) Bṛhad Up vi, 3, 32—Sayana glosses it with <i>Nispava</i> .	Cultivated in temperate and tropical countries. <i>Pulse</i>
56 Kharjūra	Phoenix Sylvestris (Palmæ)	Taitt. Sam. ii, 4, 9, 2, Kāth Sam. xi, 10 xxxvi 7.	Wild in the Indus basin. <i>Fruit.</i>

Vedic Name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
57. Kimsuka Patās Pampa	Butea frondosa = B monosperma (Leguminosae)	R. V x, 85, 20 (wedding), bridal car adorned with its blossoms, <i>Parna</i> in R. V. 97, 5, A V. v, 5, 5, amulets and cover of sacrificial dishes in A. V iii, 5, 4, 8, xvi, 11, 4, 53, sacrificial implements in Taitt Sam iii, 5, 7, 2, Mait. Sam iv, 1, 1, Pañca. Br xxi, 4, 13, Kāth. Sam. xv, 2, vii, 2, Taitt. Br i, 1, 3, 11, 7, 19, 87, <i>parva valka</i> (bark) in Taitt. Sam ii 535, Tait Br iii 7, 4, 2 18, etc. <i>Palāsa</i> in Kaus. Br x, 2, Sat. Br i, 5, 45, v, 2, 1, 17, etc, At. Br ii, 1, Sat. Br i, 3, 3, 19, ii, 6, 28.	The Himalayas to Ceylon & Bur- ma ascending to 4000 ft. in the N W. Kh- andesh Timber for cars and utensils flowers
58. Kyāmbu Kyambu	....	R. V x, 16 13=A V xviii 3, 6, planted in the place where dead bodies are burnt Taitt Aran. vi, 4, 1, 2 where <i>Kyāmbu</i> is the term	
59. Kṛṣṇala	Abrus precatorius (Leguminosae)	Kāth Sam xi, 4, Taitt. Br i 367, seeds used as standard weights for currency	The Himalayas to Ceylon ascend- ing to 3500 ft
60. Kulmāṣa	Phaseolus mungo var radiatus (Leguminosae)	Chānd Up i, 10 27 (Kutsita māṣa), Niruk ta, i, 4	Extensively culti- vated all over India. Food & medicine
61. Kumuda (Water lily)	Nymphaea lotus (Nymphaeaceae)	Mentioned with other plants in A V iv 34 5	Warmer parts of India Flower
62. Kuśa (See Darbha)	Eragrostis cyno- suroides (Gramineae)	Sat Br ii 5, 2, 15, iii 1, 2 16, v, 3, 2, 7, etc., <i>Kuśa</i> & <i>Kuśi</i> occur in Mait. Sam iv, 5 7, Sat. Br iii 6, 2, 9, Taitt. Br i 5 10, 1, 2, 7	Sacrificial
63. Kuśara	Saccharum offic- inarum (Gramineae)	Only once mentioned in R. V i 191 3, according to B Majumdar it refers to sugar cane, this term, he says, is still being used in Bengal for sugar cane	Cultivated in the hotter parts of India Sugar

<i>Vedic name</i>	<i>Latin Synonym and Family</i>	<i>Ref in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses</i>
64 Kuṣṭha	1 Costus speciosus 2 C. arabicus (Zingiberaceæ) 3 Saussurea auriculata (Hillebrandt I 65) = S. lappa (Compositæ)	A. V v 4 vi 102 xix, 39 1 grows on mountains along with soma (A. V 4 1 2 8 xix, 39 1) as a remedy highest place among herbs (A. V v 4 1 xix, 39 4) cures headache diseases of the eye bodily affection (A. V v 4 10) fever and consumption (Yakṣma) all healing (viśva bheṣaja)—in A. V xix, 39 9 aromatic classed with salve (anjana) and Nalada (nard)—A. V vi 10 <sup>2</sup> 3	Alpine, 4000 ft. Central & Eastern Himalayas, Kashmir 8000-12 000 ft <i>Medicine drug</i>
65 Lakṣmaṇa	A plant having upon its leaves red spots	A. V ii 25 3 against abortion	
66. Madāvati (Grape vine?)	Intoxicating plant—creeper	A. V vi 16 2 cf iv 7 4 could it be grape vine	
67 Madhuga Madhugha	Honey plant sweet herb a fruit (?)	A. V i 34 4 vi 122 3 madhu-dugha occurs in R. V vi 70 1 5	
68. Madhūka	Bassia latifolia	A. V i 34 5—a love spell with this plant—intoxicating drink is made from its flowers.	
69 Mañiṣṭha	Rubia cordifolia (Rubiacæ)	At. Br ii 2 4 sankh Br v 7	Throughout India in hilly districts. <i>Dyestuff</i>
70 Maṣaṇṇi	Teramnus labialis (Leguminosæ)	A. V ii 25 3	From the foot of the W. Himalayas to Ceylon Burma etc.
71 Masūra	Lens esculenta (Leguminosæ)	Vaj. Sam. xvi 1 12 Bṛhad Up vi 3 22	Cold weather crop throughout India <i>Pulse cereal</i>
72. Masūya	A grain of the north country	Taitt. Br ii 8 14 6	

Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
73 Naḍa	Phragmites maxima (Gramineæ)	R. V. i, 32, 8, 179, 9; ii, 34, 3; viii, 69, 2, x, 11, 2, 105, 9, Nirukta v, 2, it is identified by Pischel with Naḍa as at one passage (R. V. i, 32, 8) reed boat is mentioned, which is made of Naḍa split, and over which the waters go, at another passage (ii, 34, 3), reed whip is mentioned. Max Müller sees reed also in R. V. x, 11, 2, in R. V. x, 105 4, and x, 11, 2 the idea of a river is clearly indicated. In India, and particularly in Bengal, reed is never employed in boat building but Palmyra palm is extensively used for such purposes. Could it mean this plant? The idea of splitting lends support to it.	From the Punjab to Burma, throughout India, Himalayas up to 3000 ft Boat, furniture
74 Nalada, Naladi, (Nard)	Nardostachys jatamansi (Valerianaceæ)	A. V vi, 102 3 Ait Arāṇ iii, 2 4, s̄ankh. Arāṇ xi 4 used for garland	Alpine Himalayas 1000 to 15000 ft., Kumaon Sikkim 17,000 Bhutan
75. Narāci	A poisonous plant	A. V v, 31, 4	
76. Nilakalasāla Nilāgalasālā	Grain creeper	A. V vi, 16, 4 (Whitney, 292 293)	
77 Nispāva	(See under Khalva)		
78 Nivāra	A variety of paddy wild race (Gramineæ)	Kāth Sam xii 4, Mait Sam ii 4, 10 Vāj Sam xviii, 12, Sat. Br v, 1 4 14, 3 3 5, Taitt. Br i 3 6, 7, etc	Cereal
79 Nyagrodha	Ficus benghalensis (Urticaceæ)	A tree remarkable for sending down from its branches roots, in R. V i 24 7 (Pischel I, 113 114), A. V iv, 37, 4, v, 5, 5, Ait Br vii, 30, 31, Sat. Br v, 3 5 13, viii, 2, 7, 3 Chānd. Up vi 12 1 etc, camasa made of its wood, Taitt Sam. vii 4 12 1, Vāj Sam. xxiii 13	Wild only in the Sub-Himalayan forests. Sacrificial

Vedic Name.	Latin synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
80. Nyastikā (See under Candā)	Andropogon aciculatus (Gramineæ)	A. V. vi, 139, 1.	....
81. Pākādūrvā	1. Edible millet (Gramineæ)	R. V. x, 16, 3, mentions along with Kiyāmbu and Vyal Kāsā, among plants used for growing on spots where dead bodies are burnt. Taitt. Aran vi, 4, 1, 2; A. V. xviii, 3, 6, reads, Sāṇḍadurva (having egg shaped roots). Could it be <i>Cyperus rotandus</i> ?	India, 0—6000 ft. Cereal.
82. Palāśa	See under Kunśuka	....	...
83. Paṃṣa	See under Kimśuka	....	....
84. Pātā, Pāthā	1 <i>Stephania elegans</i> 2 <i>S. glabra</i> (= <i>S. rotunda</i> ) 3 <i>S. hermandifolia</i> (Menispermaceæ)	A. V. ii, 27, 4; Kauś Sūtra, xxxvii, 1; xxxviii, 18.	<i>S. elegans</i> and <i>S. glabra</i> , sub-tropical Kumaon and Simla to Sikkim. <i>S. hermandifolia</i> in Nepal-Sikkim. Medicinal
85. Pīlā	A fragrant plant	A. V. iv, 37, 3, fragrant plant mentioned along with <i>Guggutū</i> & <i>Nalaḍi</i>	
86. Pīlu	1. <i>Careya arborea</i> (Myrtaceæ) 2. <i>Salvadora persica</i> 3. <i>S. oleoides</i> (Salvadoraceæ)	A. V. xx, 135, 12, on the fruit of which doves feed	From the Himalayas to Travan core up to 4000 ft. <i>S. persica</i> in drier parts of India from the Punjab to Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana
87. Pippalī	1. <i>Piper peepuloides</i> 2. <i>P. longum</i> (Piperaceæ)	A. V. vi, 107, 4	Tropical Himalayas; hotter parts of India Spices, medicinal
88. Pītudāru	<i>Pinus longifolia</i> (Coniferæ)	Kāth Sam xxv, 6, śat. Br iii, 5, 2, 15, 4, 4, 5, 17, Pañca. Br xxv, 5, Mahidhara on Vāj Sam. v, 14, Sāyana on Ait. Br. i 28.	Outer Himalayas, The Indus to Bhutan, 1500 to 6000 ft. Afghanistan

Vedic Name.	Latin synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
89 Plakṣa	<i>Ficus lacor</i>	<i>Plakṣa</i> , waved leaved fig tree, small white fruit	Plains and lower hills of India
90 Prakṣa	<i>Ficus lacor</i> ( <i>Urticaceæ</i> )	A. V. v, 5, Taitt. Sam vii, 4, 12, cf iii, 4 8. 4, Mait. Sam iii, 10, 2, vi, 3, 10, 2, Ait. Br vii, 32, viii, 16, Taitt Br iii, 8, 19, 2, Sat. Br iii, 8, 3, 10, 12. etc. <i>Prakṣa</i> is mentioned in Taitt Sam vi, 3, 10 1, Sāma veda, i, 144, ii, 465, Ait. Aram i, 2, 2	
91 Pramāṇḍa	Hill debrandt (I, 14 16; II, 241-45) thinks it to be a plant having shoots turned downwards ( <i>naica-śākha</i> ), refers to Soma	R V. iii, 53, 14 — — — — — — — — — —	....
92 Pramāṇḍani	Certain sweet scented plant	Kaus Sūtra, viii, 17 xxv, II, xxxii 22	....
93 Praprotha	A substitute of Soma	Pañc. Br viii, 4 1	
94 Priyangu (Panic seed)	<i>Setaria italica</i> ( <i>Gramineæ</i> )	Tait Sam ii 2 11 4 Kath Sam x 11 Mait Sam ii, 1 8, Vāj Sam xviii 12	In most warm and tropical countries, 6000 ft in the Himalaya <i>Medicinal</i> Eastern Peninsula <i>Toilet</i>
95 Priyangu	<i>Aglais odorata</i> ( <i>Meliaceæ</i> )	In ṣaḍvumśa Br i 2 it is described as <i>phalavati</i> (Weber 315) this plant appears to be a tree See <i>Caraka Dahacikitsā Amara</i> also describes the plant in his Lexicon	
96 Prṣniparni (having speckled leaf)	1 <i>Urana lagopoides</i> ( <i>Leguminosæ</i> ) 2 <i>Lemna</i> Sp (in the lexicon) ( <i>Lemnaceæ</i> ) 3 <i>Hemionitis cordifolia</i> ( <i>Filicinæ</i> )	A V ii 25 1, etc, as protection against evil beings Sat Br xiii, 8 1, 16 Roth (cited by Whitney) later identifies it with a plant <i>Lakṣmanā</i> curing barrenness. The scholar of Katyān Sr Sūtra (xxv 7 17) identifies it with <i>Tetamnus labialis</i> (= <i>Glycine debilis</i> ) In the lexicon the plant is identified as a <i>Lemna</i> Sp (water plant)	1 Herbs in the plains from foot of W Himalayas to Ceylon etc 3 Common in the plains, on the mountains up to 3000 ft

Vedic Name.	Latin synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses.
97. Puṇḍarika (lotus)	Nelumbo nucifera (= N. Speciosum) (Nymphaeaceæ)	R. V. x, 142, 8; A. V. iv, 35, 5; (Whitney 207; Aimmer, 70, Weber, 18, 138), Taitt. Saṁh. i, 8, 2, 1; Sat. Br. v, 5, 5, 6; Bṛhad Up. ii, 3, 10; vi, 3, 14; Chānd. up. i, 6, 7; Ait. Arap. iii, 3, 4; A. V. (x, 8, 3) compares lotus bud to human heart (shape). In the Taitt. Saṁh. i, 8, 18; 1; Taitt. Br. i, 8, 2, 1; wreath of lotus petal. (puṇḍari-sraja is mentioned.	Throughout the warmer parts of India. Violet, Flowers.
98. Puskara (Blue lotus)	Nymphaea stellata (Nymphaeaceæ)	R. V. vi, 16, 13; vii, 33, 11; A. V. xi, 3, 8; xii, 1, 24; Taitt. Saṁh. v, 4, 1; 2, 6, 5; 6, 9, 2; Vāj. Sam. xi, 29; Taitt. Br. i, 2, 1, 4; Sat. Br. iv, 5, 1, 16; Mait. Saṁh. iii, 1, 5; A. V. (xii, 1, 24) mentions sweet perfume of flowers, Grew in lakes (puskarini)—R. V. v, 78, 7; x, 107, 10; A. V. iv, 39, 5; v, 16, 17; Bṛhad Up. iv, 3, 11, etc. lotus crowned—R. V. x, 189, 2; A. V. iii, 22, 4; Sat. Br. iv, 1, 5, 16, etc.	Warmer parts of India.
99. Pātika	1. Cæsalpinia Bonducella (Leguminosææ) 2. Basella rubra (Chenopodiaceæ)	Kāth Saṁh. xxxiv, 3; Sat. Br. xiv, 1, 2, 12; Pañca Br. viii, 4, 1; ix, 5, 3, etc; Hillebrandt (l. 24, n. 3) identifies it with Basella rubra.	Himalayan Kumaon up to 2,500 ft.
100. Putirajju	....	A. V. viii, 8, 2 (See Roth.) (S. V.)	....
101. Putada Putrajani Putrakandā	U. C. Dutta identifies the plants with Uraria Lagopodiodes (Leguminosææ)	A. V. ii, 25, 3, prescribed against abortion and other maladies.	Plains from foot of the Himalayas to Ceylon.
102. Putudru	Pinus Sp. (Coniferæ)	A. V. viii, 2, 28; Taitt. Saṁh. vi, 2, 8, 4; Mait. Saṁh. iii, 8, 5; Kauś. Sūtra. viii, 15; Iviu, 15.	Outer Himalayas.
103. Rohitaka	Aphanamixis polystachia (Mettracææ)	Mait. Saṁh. iii, 9, 3.	Sub-Himalayan tract from Rapti, Sikkim up to 6000 ft.



Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref. in Vedic literature.	Distribution and uses
104. Rajjudila	<i>Cordia obliqua</i> (Boraginaceæ)	Sat. Br. xii 4 4 16.	Western India from the Punjab to the whole of warmer parts of India.
105. Sida	Grass	R. V. ix, 15, 6, Vāj. Saṁh. xiv, 1	....
106. Sodarpurpa	Ever flowering plant	A. V. iv, 20, 9, against Pāṇi (supernatural agency)	....
107. Soha	According to Roth (S. v. 26), the name of a plant.	A. V. xi, 6, 15; Sāmavedh. Br. ii, 6, 10	....
108. Sahadeva	A plant	R. V. i, 100, 17, Sāmavedh. Br. ii, 6 10	...
109. Sahadevi	See under Arundhati (Malvaceæ)	A. V. vi, 59, 2	
110. Sahamāna	A plant	A. V. ii, 25, 2, iv, 7, 2 viii 2 6, 7 5	.
111. Saryā	Species of grass infested with insects	R. V. i, 151, 3	.
112. Sālmali	<i>Bombax Ceiba</i> (Bombacaceæ)	Fruit poisonous in R. V. vii, 50 3, bridal car made of its wood (R. V. x, 85 20), as the tallest of trees Taitt. Saṁh. vii, 4 12, 1 Vāj. Saṁh. xxii, 13, Sat. Br. xii, 2, 7, 4, Pāṇi Br. ix, 4, 11, etc.	Tropical Eastern Himalayas, throughout hotter forest regions of India. Timber
113. Sālānjāla	Grain Creeper	A. V. vi 16, 4, Kauś. Sūtra ii, 16	....
114. Sālū	<i>Oryza sativa</i> —a variety (Gramineæ)	A later word for paddy conjectured by Roth to be equivalent to <i>Sāri</i> in the word <i>Sārisākā</i> in the A. V.	Indigenous in the marshes of Rajputana Cereal
115. Sālūka	<i>Nymphaea lotus</i> (Nymphaeaceæ)	A. V. iv, 34 5	Warmer parts of India in pools & lakes.

Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
116 Samī	1 <i>Prosopis spici- gera</i> 2 <i>Mimosa Suma</i> ( <i>Leguminosae</i> )	A. V vi 11 1 30 2 3 Taitt. Sam v 1 9 6 4 7 4 (for the lower arasi for kindling fire) Kath. Sam xxxvi 6 Taitt. Br i 1 3 11 et seq 6 4 5 Sat. Br ii 5 2 12 ix, 2 3 37 etc. destructive of hair in A. V vi 50 2 3 as pro- ducing intoxication broad leaved these two characters are totally wanting in the two trees. <i>Prosopis spici-gera</i> and <i>Mimosa Suma</i> with which Sam is usually identified (Roth in Whitney 302) In fire kindling lower arasi in A. V vi 11 1 Sat. Br xi 5 1 15 cf 13 4 1 22 Taitt. Sam v 1 9 6 4 7 4 frut — <i>Samidhānya</i> in Sat. Br i 1 1 10	The Punjab Raj- putana, Bundel- khand Sind Gujarat Af- ghanistan. Wood
117 Śana (hemp)	<i>Crotalaria juncea</i> ( <i>Leguminosae</i> )	A. V ii, 4 5 as growing in forests remedy again- st Viṣkandha Sat. Br iii, 2 1 11 i 6 1 24 2 15	From base of the Himalayas to Ceylon. Medicinal fibre
118. Saṇḍadurva	<i>Cyperus rotundus</i> ( <i>Cyperaceae</i> )	A. V xviii 3 6	
119 Sankha puṣpika	Hemp?	A. V vi 38 5	
120 Saphaka	<i>Trapa bispinosa</i> ( <i>Onagraceae</i> )	A. V iv, 39 5 Apas. Sr Sutra ix, 14 14	Throughout India. Fruit
121 Śara	<i>Saccharum arun- danaceum</i> ( <i>Gramineae</i> )	R. V i 191 3 A. V iv 7 4 Taitt. Sam v 2, 6 2 vi 1 3 3 Kath Sam ix, 5 xxviii 4 Sat. Br ii 2 2 4 1 ii 1 3 13 Bṛhad Up vi 4 11 etc Nirukta v 4 etc arrow shafts, in A. V i 2, 1 3 1	Throughout plains and low hills of India. Grass
122. Sarṣapa	<i>Brassica Camp- pestris var sar- son</i> ( <i>Cruciferae</i> )	Chand. Up. i 14 3 Sad. Br v 2 Sātkh Sr Sutra, iv 15 8 etc.	Cold weather crop. Oil medicinal

Vedic Name	Latin synonym and Family.	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
123 Satavāra	<i>Asparagus racemosus</i> (Liliaceæ)	A. V. xix, 36	Tropical and sub-tropical India ascending the Himalayas to 4000 ft. from Kashmir eastward. <i>Eatable medicine</i>
124 Śālāci	Name of a healing plant, also called <i>Lākṣā</i>	A. V. v, 5, 1, 8.	....
125 Śālāñjālā	Grain creeper	Same as Śālāñjālā	....
126 Śamsapā	<i>Dalbergia Sisu</i> (Leguminosæ)	R. V. iii, 53, 19 (with Khadira) a stately and beautiful tree. A. V. xx, 129 7, cf. Sām śapa in vi 129 1	W. Himalayas up to 4000 ft., Central Himalayas ascending to 5000 ft. Terai of Nepal. <i>Wood</i>
126A Śipāla (water plant)	<i>Blyxa Ceylanica</i> (Hydrocharidæ)	R. V. x, 68, 5, later form <i>Saivala</i> <i>Sialya</i> overgrown with Śipāla plants Śad. Br iii, 1, only once in A. V. vi, 12, 3	<i>B. Oryzoterum</i> is the only species growing in Kashmir
127 Soma (with figs)	Cannot now be identified with certainty, variously identified 1 <i>Sarcostemma brevistigma</i> = <i>Asclepias acida</i> , 2 <i>S. intermedium</i> = <i>S. viminalis</i> 3 <i>Periploca aphylla</i> (Asclepiadaceæ) 4 <i>Ephedra Vulgaris</i> (Gnetaceæ) 5 <i>Cannabis sativa</i> (Urticaceæ)	In the Rgveda the whole of the 9th Maṇḍala and six hymns of other Maṇḍalas are devoted to this plant Soma is described as the best among plants all trees are prostrate to Soma who is their king	(1) + (2) are in the Deccan Peninsula, (3) in the Western Punjab in the plains & Sind, Afghanistan, Persia, etc. (4) in temperate and Alpine Himalayas, 7 to 12000 ft. Western Tibet in drier regions, and (5) wild in the N. W. Himalayas, Central Asia, etc. <i>Drink</i>
128. Somavati	One of the four principal medicinal plants in Rgveda	R. V. x, 97, 7	.
129 Spandana	A certain tree	R. V. iii, 53 19	....

<i>Vedic name</i>	<i>Latin Synonym and Family</i>	<i>Ref in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses</i>
130 Sphûrjaka	Diospyros perigrina (Ebenaceæ)	Sat Br xiii 8 1 16	From the Himalayas (Jumna eastward) to Ceylon Burma, etc. Timber fruit
131 Śrakyatya	Clerodendron phlomidis (Verbenaceæ)	Amulet derived from its wood according to commentators on A. V vii 5 4 7 8 (Bloomfield, Amer Jour Phil 7 477)	N W Himalayan Terai to Ceylon in the drier climates Baluchistan Medicinal
132 Srekaparṇa	Nerium odorum (Apocyanaceæ)	Taitt Br iii 6 6 3 Ait. Br ii 6 15	The Himalayas from Nepal westwards to Kashmir up to 6,500 ft. Salt Range, Waziristan etc Medicinal
133 Sugandhu tejana	Andropogon squarrosus (Gramineæ)	Taitt. Sam vi 2 8 4 Kath. Sam xxv 6 Ait Br i, 28, 28 Sat. Br iii, 5 2 17 Panca Br xxiv 13 5	Plains & hills up to 4000 ft. Grass
134 Svadha	A plant	A. V vi 96 3	
135 Svadhiti	A great tree with hard wood according to Roth (S. V)	R. V v 32 10 ix, 96 6 cf i 82 2	
136 Syâmâka (millet)	Echinochloa Colona var fumentacea (Gramineæ)	Taitt Sam i 8, 1 2 ii 3 2 6 iv 7 4 2 Mat. Sam. ii 11 4 Vaj Sam. xviii 18 Kath. Sam x, 2 Sat. Br x 6 3 2 xii 7 1 9 etc. Kaus. iv 12 lightness of seed A V xix, 50 4 food of pigeons, A. V xx 35 12 Chând. Up. iii 14 3 Max Muller renders it as canary seed S B E I 48	Cultivated over a greater part of India over the Himalayas up to 6,500 ft Cereal
137 Syandana	According to Roth a wood of a plant is meant	Kaus Sutra, vi 15	
138 Tâjadbhaṅga	Rhus communis (Euphorbaceæ)	A V vi 1 8, 3 Kaus. Sutra. xiv 14	African origin, now throughout India Oil medicinal

Vedic name	Latin Synonym and Family	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
139 Talaśa	Flacourtia cata phracta (Flacourtiaceæ)	A. V vi 15 3 Whitney suggests it same as <i>Talisa</i>	Kumaon
140 Tarṣtagha	Tree	kauś. Sutra xxv 23 its adjective <i>tarṣtagi</i> is found in A. V v 29 15 Weber (18 280) thinks it mustard plant	"
141 Tandi	"	A. V x 4 25 (See St. Petersburg Dict. S V)	
142 Tila Tīrya	Sesamum indicum (Pedalinee)	A. V ii 8 3 vi 140 2 xviii 3 69 4 32 as an epithet of <i>Kurambha</i> (A V ii 7 3 Taitt Sam vi 3 2 Vaj Sam. xviii 12 Sat. Br ix 1 1 3 etc. often mentioned with <i>maṣa</i> —in A. V vi 140 2 Bṛhad Up vi 3 22 Chand. Up v 10 6 etc Taitt Sam gives <i>hemanta</i> & <i>śiṣṭa</i> seasons for it. <i>Tila pṇi</i> <i>til pṇi</i> for fuel in A. V ii 8 3 xii 2 54 tilaudana (por ridge) in Bṛhad Up vi 4 16 Sankh. Aran xii 8 as oil ( <i>taila</i> ) in A. V i 7 2 x 136 16 Sankh Aran xi 4 Sat. Br xii 8 1 16 Maitt. Sam iii 1 9 Sad Br iii 8 <i>Yupa</i> made of its wood	Cultivated all over India Baluchi stan probably a native of Trop ical Africa <i>Food medicinal</i> <i>ritual</i>
143 Tilvaka	Symplocos racemosus (Symplocaceæ)	A. V vii 2 6 also men tioned by Amara in h s lexicon R V x 97 7	Himalayan Terai of Kumaon 2,500 ft. thro ughout N E India <i>Wood</i>
144 Trāyamaṇā			
145 Udojasā	One of the four principal medi cinal plants.		
146 Udumbara	Ficus glomerata (Urticaceæ)	Not in R V A. V xix, 31 1 Taitt. Sam i 1 1 6 Sat. Br iii 2 1 3 vii 4 1 38, etc. wood for ritual purposes <i>yupa</i> and ladle made of its wood in Taitt Sam v 47 3 amulets in A. V xix 31 1 Taitt Sam i 4 8 4, fruit sweet as madhu in Ait. Br vii 13 ripen three times a year in Ait. Br v 24 forests of Udumbara is ment on ed in Panca. Br xvi 6 4	Outer Himalayas, plains & low hills of India from Rajputana and Salt Range to Khasia hills. <i>Medicinal eatable</i> & <i>ritual</i>

<i>Vedic name</i>	<i>Latin Synonym and Family</i>	<i>Ref in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses</i>
147. Ulapa	<i>Imperata arundinacea</i> (Gramineæ)	R V x, 142, A. V. vii, 66, 1, Vaj Sam. xvi, 45, <i>upolapa</i> in Mait Sam i, 7, 2	From the Punjab southwards and eastwards, hotter parts of India <i>Grass</i>
148 Upavāka (Latu Indra-yava)	<i>Wrightia tinctoria</i> (allied to <i>Holarrhena antidysenterica</i> ) (Apocyanaceæ)	Vaj Sam xix 22, 90, xxi, 30 (as healing), Sat Br xii, 7, 1, 3, 2, 9, etc.	Rajputana, C. P. etc. Arabia. <i>Medicinal</i>
149 Upolapa	See under <i>Ulapa</i>	....	...
150 Ūjayanti	One of the 4 principal medicinal plants in the Rgveda	R V x, 97, 7	....
151 Urvârû Urvârûka	1 <i>Cucumis melo</i> 2 <i>C. Sativas</i> (Cucurbitaceæ)	A V vi, 14, 2, R. V. vii, 59 12=A. V. xiv, 1, 17 =Mait Sam i, 10, 4 =Taitt Sam i, 8, 62=Vaj Sam iii 60, Panca Br ix, 2, 19	Said to be wild in dry places of India. <i>Fruit</i>
152 Uṣaṇâ	1 <i>Piper longum</i> 2 <i>P. piperoides</i>	Sat Br iii, 4 3, 13, iv, 2 5, 15 According to Amara it is synonymous with Pippai A plant from which soma was prepared	Tropical Himalayas. <i>Medicinal, spice</i>
153 Vanaparṇi	Water plant	A V. iii, 18, 1	
154 Varāṇa	<i>Cratogeomys nurvala</i> (= c. Roxburghii) (Capparidaceæ)	A V vi, 85, 1, x 3 1, xix, 32, 9, Pañca. Br v, 3, 9 10 Sat Br xii 8 4 1	All over India, often found along streams, but also in dry deep boulder formations in the sub-Himalayan tract <i>Medicinal</i>
155 Vibhitaka	<i>Terminalia belerica</i> (Combretaceæ)	R. V. iii 86 6, x, 34 1, A. V. (Paup) xx, 4, 6 —its fruit used in making dice	Throughout India common in the plains & lower hills <i>Myrobalan</i>
156. Vihālha	A plant	A. V vi 16 2	.

Vedic name.	Latin Synonym and Family.	Ref in Vedic literature	Distribution and uses
157. Vikankata Vikantika	Flacourtia vamon tchi (Flacourtiaceæ)	Taitt. Sam. iii, 5, 7, 3, vi, 4 10 5, Kāth Sam xix 10, Mait Sam iii, 1, 9, cf A V xi 10, 3, Sat Br i, 2, 4, 10, v, 2, 4, 18, etc.	Sub-Himalayan tract, outer Hi- malayas ascend- ing to 4000 ft from the Indus eastwards and in the adjacent plains
158. Virapa Virupa	Andropogon mur- catus (Gramineæ)	Sat Br xiii 8, 1, 15	Plains of India & low hills Grass
159. Viśānakā	Gymnema sylves- tre (Asclepiadaceæ)	A V vi, 44, 3, cf Viśānskā in Wise Hindu System of Medicine 146, remedy against disease in A V. ix, 8 20, also in R. V vi, 16 20, xi, 96, 8	Tropical Africa, W Ghats Medicinal
160. Vrihi	Oryza sativa (Gramineæ)	A V vi, 140 2 vii 7, 20 ix, 6 14, etc., Taitt. Sam vii, 2, 10, 3, where it is said to ripen in autumn Kāth Sam x 6 xi, 5 Mait Sam iii 10 2 iv 3 2, Vāj Sam. xviii, 12 Aut Br ii, 8, 7, 11, 12, viii 16 3 4 Sat. Br v 5 59 Brhad Up vi, 3 22 Chând. Up. iii, 14, 3, black and white rice is contrasted in Taitt Sam i, 8 10 i also distinction of a dark swift growing (āsu), and mahavrihi are found in A V xi, 4 13, Jaimin Br i 43 Chând. Up v, 1 5 etc., Macdonell & Keith think the swift growing variety is later known as śaṣṭika	Indigenous in marshes of Raj putana, Sikkim etc Cereal
161. Vyalkasā	Water plant	R. V x, 16, 3 grown in spots where dead bodies are burnt	....
162. Yaṣṭumadhu (Madhūka)	Glycyrrhiza glabra (Leguminosæ)	A. V i, 34 5, for virility and erotic success.	Imported through the Punjab from Afghanistan in the N W. Pro- vinces Medicinal, dye, wood

<i>Vedic name.</i>	<i>Latin Synonym and Family.</i>	<i>Ref. in Vedic literature</i>	<i>Distribution and uses.</i>
163. Yava	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> (Gramineæ)	R. V. i, 23, 15; 66, 3; 117, 21; 135, 8; 176, 2; ii, 5, 6; 14, 11, v, 85, 3; vii, 3, 4; viii, 2, 3; 22, 6; 63, 9; 78, 10, etc., A. V. ii, 8, 3, vi, 30, 1; 50, 1, 2; 91, 1; 141, 2; viii, 7, 20; ix, 1, 22; 6, 14; xii, 1, 22; Taitt. Sam. vi, 2, 10, 3; 4, 10, 5; vii, 2, 10, 2; Kâth. Sam. xv, 10; Mait. Sam. iv, 3, 2; Vâj. Sam. v, 26, xviii, 12; xxiii, 30; Taitt. Br. i, 8, 4, 1; Sat. Br. i, 1, 4, 20, ii, 5, 2, 1, iii, 6, 1, 9, 10; iv, 2, 1, 11, xii, 7, 2, 9; Chând. Up. iii, 14, 3, et. seq., Kauṣ. Br. iv, 12, the harvest came after spring (Kauṣ. Br. iv, 12; in the summer) Taitt. Sam. vii, 2, 10, 2, sowing ( <i>vapa</i> , R. V. i, 117, 21), ripening, i, 135, 8; ploughing, i, 176, 2; grain rejoicing in rain, ii, 5, 6; <i>śaktu</i> (barley meal) in x, 71, 2, and in later Samhitās	Cultivated chiefly in N. India, widely cultivated in temperate regions in N. India up to 13,000 ft.; native of temperate regions <i>Cereal.</i>

## 3 CLASSIFICATION

Plants listed in the preceding section are now classified according to their Families :

<i>Plants</i>	<i>Families</i>
I. Filicinæ	Prânaparṇī
II. Coniferæ	Haridru, Pîtudâru, Pâtudru.
III. Gnetaceæ	Soma
IV. Hydrocharideæ	Avakâ, Sîpâla, Śaivala.
V. Zingiberaceæ	Adâra, Haridrâ, Kuṣṭha.
VI. Liliaceæ	Amulâ, Satavâna
VII. Parnæ	Kharjûra, Naḍa (?).
VIII. Gramineæ	
(i) Cereals .	Aṇu, Gavedhukâ, Gavīdhukâ, Godhûma, Nîvâra, Pâkadûrvâ, Priyaṅgu, Ślî, Syâmâka, Vrhî, Yava.



<i>Plants</i>	<i>Families</i>
(ii) Grasses, reeds, etc.	Āla, Āśvavâla, Āśvavâra, Balbaja, Candâ, Darbha, Kharadarbha, Mṛdudarbha, Dûrvâ Iṣikâ, Kâśa, Kuśa, Kuśâra, Naḍa, Nyastikâ, śâda, śara, Sairya, Sugandhiteja na, Ulapa, Upalopa, Virana, Virṇa
IX. Cyperaceæ	Pâkadûrvâ, Sâṇḍadûrvâ
X. Menispermaceæ	Pâthâ, Pâtâ
XI. Nymphaeaceæ	Āṇḍika, Kumuda, Puṇḍarîka, Puṣ- kara, śâlûka
XII. Cruciferae	Ābayu, Baja, Sarṣapa, Târṣṭâgha
XIII. Capparidaceæ	Karîra, Varapa
XIV. Flacourtiaceæ	Talâśa, Vikankata, Vikantika
XV. Malvaceæ	Arundhatî, Sahadevî
XVI. Bombacaceæ	śâlmali
XVII. Rutaceæ	Bilva, Jambîla, Kapitthaka
XVIII. Burceraceæ	Guggulû
XIX. Meliaceæ	Priyangu, Rohitaka
XX. Rhamnaceæ	Badra, Karkandhu
XXI. Anacardiaceæ	Ajaśrngî
XXII. Leguminosaeæ	
(i) Pulses	Canaka, Garmut, Khalakula, Khalva, Kulmâśa, Masûra, Niśpâva
(ii) Other spp	Adhyaṇḍa, Aparâjitâ, Arâṭaki, Aratu, Khadîra, Kumûka, Kṛṣṇala, Palâ sa, Parṇa, Prâśniparnî, Pûtîka, Putrada, Putrajani, Putrakandâ, śarnî, śana, śimsapâ
XXIII. Combretaceæ	Dhava, Jangîda, Vibhîtaka
XXIV. Myrtaceæ	Pîlu
XXV. Onagraceæ	śaphala
XXVI. Cucurbitaceæ	Alâbu Alâpu, Bimba, Karkandhu, Urvârû, Udvârûka
XXVII. Rubiaceæ	Mañjirṣṭhâ
XXVIII. Valeriacaeæ	Nalada, Naladî
XXIX. Compositae	Kuṣṭha
XXX. Ebenaceæ	Sphûrjaka.
XXXI. Salvadoraceæ	Pîlu
XXXIII. Symplocaceæ	Tilvaka
XXXII. Apocyanaceæ	Sreikaparṇa, Upavâka

<i>Plants</i>	<i>Families</i>
XXXIV Asclepiadaceæ	Ajaśrngī, Arka, Soma, Viśānakā
XXXV. Boraginæ	Rajjudāla.
XXXVI Convolvulaceæ	Amûlā
XXXVII Solanaceæ	Aśvagandhā
XXXVIII Bignoniaceæ	Araļu
XXXIX Pedalineæ	Tila, Tīrya.
XL. Verbenaceæ	Kârṣmārya, Śraktīya
XLI Amarantaceæ	Apāmārga
XLII Chenopodiaceæ	Pûtika
XLIII Piporaceæ	Pippalī, Uṣṣaṇa
XLIV. Euphorbiaceæ	Adhyaṇḍa, Amalā, Amalaka, Eraṇḍa,
XLV Urticaceæ	Tājadbhanga Aśvattha, Bhanga
	Nyagrodha, Plakṣa, Prakṣa, Udum-
	bara, Soma
XLVI Unidentified	Alasālā, Aśvavatī, Aukṣagandha
	Citraparṇī, Dasavṛkṣa, Kâkam
	bīra, Kṛyāmbu, Kiyāmbu, Lakṣ-
	maṇa, Madâvatī (grape vine?),
	Madhugha Mâsaparṇī Masûsya,
	Narâci, Nulâgalasâla, Nulâkalasâla,
	Pilâ, Pramardya, Pramandâni,
	Praprotha, Putirajju, Shahadeva,
	Sahamâna, Śalâñjalâ, Śankha-
	puṣpika, Śilâci, Śilâñjalâ, Soma,
	Somavatī, Spandana, Svadhâ,
	Svadhutī, Syandana, Târṣṭagha,
	Taudi, Arāyamâṇâ (Syn Balabha-
	ṇikâ Amarakoṣa), Udojasâ, Urja-
	yantī, Vânaparṇī, Vihalha, Vyal-
	kasâ

## IS THE CULT OF DHARMA A LIVING RELIC OF BUDDHISM IN BENGAL?

By

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The cult of Dharma or Dharma worship is the most primitive and native form of religious practice in Bengal. In recent times it is current only in West Bengal, in Burdwan Division to be exact. The Hooghly once formed the northern and eastern boundary of the land where the cult was extensively current. Owing to the shifting of the course of the river, places which once were situate in this side of the river have now gone over to the other. Dharma worship therefore is not unknown in these areas. So Dharma is not unknown in the western area of the 24 Parganas.

But there is evidence to show that Dharma worship, in its cruder form probably, was once known throughout Bengal and also in the contiguous province of Behar. The worship of *Del* (< *deul* 'temple') and of *Pāt* (< *paṭṭa* 'spiked board') which have survived as special items in the *Āḍak* or *Gajan* ceremony of Śiva (in the closing days of the Bengali year) in some localities in North and East Bengal are really rituals of the elaborate *Gājan* ceremony of Dharma. There is even a temple of Dharma in Baguḍā (Bogra) district at a village some distance from the chief town of the district. The popular *Chai parab* (*Ṣaṣṭhi parva*) of Behar is a parallel ceremony. The parallelism is remarkable not only in the agreements but in the differences as well. For instance, in the ritual current in Behar eating of a bottle-gourd (*lāṁ*) by the worshipper (a mother desiring welfare of her son) forms an important item of the ritual whereas in the *Gājan* ceremony in Bengal the worshipper (a lady desiring a son) must never eat that vegetable nor should she ever plant it.

The cosmogonic idea as outlined in the *Nāsadiya* hymn in the *Rgveda*<sup>1</sup> is faintly yet unmistakably echoed in the cosmogony of the cult of Dharma. The former shows remarkable similarity with the cosmogonic conceptions of the Polynesian (Austic) peoples. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that the cult in its most primitive form was brought in by the Austic immigrants. The cult was later superimposed by Vedic and later Hindu religious ideas and practices. The extreme austerities as practised on the concluding day of the *Gajan* celebration may indicate Jaina or allied influence. The only trace of later Buddhism which I have found, beside the doubtful phrase '*śūnyamūrti*', is a verse used in the final ritual in *Gajan* which echoes the

imagery or allegory underlying the first couplet of a mystic *carya* song of the Buddhist Sahajīya Kanhapada. The latter says

*nagara bahire dombi tohori kuḍia*  
*choi choi jaisi bambhana naḍia*

Beyond the outskirts of the township O Dom woman stands your hut and you dare touch the shaven headed Brahmin on your comings (and goings) <sup>1</sup>

The Gajan verse echoes

*Pakhur parele Sada-domer kuṛia*  
*ghana ghana aise jay brahmana barua*

The hut of Sada the Dom fellow stands on the embankment of the tank but the Brahmin priest incessantly comes and goes (by it) <sup>1</sup>

*Saiva* Natha cult was not entirely unconnected with Dharma worship. The four early Natha *siddhas* are mentioned in the cosmogony of the Dharma cult as directly created from the ashes of the body of Dharma. Durlabha Mallika's version<sup>2</sup> is the earliest available form of the Mayanamati Govinda candra legend. Therein we find the cosmogony peculiar to the cult of Dharma fully implied. Another point of contact between the two cults is the wearing of the symbolic footprint or foot gear (*paduka*) of Dharma by the Natha *siddhas* as well as by the Dharma priests (*paṇḍita*).

Although the cult of Dharma has been always a living one at least in West Bengal the educated and English knowing people felt no curiosity for it obviously because its adherents were recruited from the lower strata of the society. It was Haraprasad Shastri who first brought Dharma and his semi-mystic cult before the educated public. His assistant (travelling *paṇḍit*) had secured some fragmentary Mss.<sup>3</sup> describing the ritual of the cult and also the copy of a Ms. of the *Dharmamangala* poem written by Manikram Ganguli in the second half of the eighteenth century. Buddhist studies just then had captured the fancy of the Indian orientalists who were too ready to read Buddhism between lines in all matters old unknown and mysterious. Shastri too could not overcome this weakness. The two epithets of Dharma—*nara-jana* and *sunyamurti*—occurring in the Sanskrit verse which given as the *dhyaṇa mantra* of Dharma in the ritualistic Mss. at once led him to believe that the Dharma cult was a survival of Mahayana Buddhism in Bengal. Accordingly he published three short papers one in the Proceedings and two in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in December January 1894-95. Since then it is universally accepted without further enquiry that the cult of Dharma is but a living relic of Buddhism. The Dhar

2. Edited and published by Sivacandra Śil (1901)

3. Edited and published in (1) *Sunyapurana* by Nāgendra-nath Vasu (1907) and (2) *Dharmapūjāśūdhāna* by Nāgopāl Bandyopādhyāya (1916)

ma cult has been keenly described in an interesting article<sup>4</sup> by Prof K. P. Chattopadhyaya, in which the ritual as witnessed by him has been narrated. But is it really so?

Our researches have led us to think otherwise. We<sup>5</sup> have collected a number of Mss describing the elaborate rituals of the cult, which has enabled us to correct, some faulty readings in which Shastri and his followers had put their faith. Thus the reading "*sīṃhale dharma devatā*" in the line

*sīṃhale dharma devatā bahula sanamān*<sup>6</sup>

does not occur in any of our Mss and probably not also in the Mss collected by Shastri. The entire line appears to be reconstructed or interpolated.

In the verse named *Nīrañjaner Uṣmā* ('Anger of Nīrañjana or Dharma') the Brahmins are said to have been not only antagonistic to the Dharma cult but hostile to good men as well. The published version reads

*saddharmire karaye vinās*

The Hinayāna Buddhists called their religion *Saddharma* or Good Religion. *Saddharmī* naturally would mean a Buddhist. The followers of Dharma thus appear to identify themselves as Buddhists in contra distinction to the Brahmins. This seems to be a very strong ground for Shastri's theory. Unfortunately the reading *Saddharmī* does not occur in the Mss collected by us and by Shastri. The reading obviously emanated from the editor of *Sūnyapurāṇa*. Our Mss read *sādhujaṇe*. Shastri's Mss read *sadharmīre*, *sadharmī* meaning 'virtuous, pious' as against *adharmī* 'vicious, impious'.

Let us now examine the implication of the epithets, *nīrañjana* and *śūnyamūrti*, on which Shastri relied so much. The former is indeed a regular name or epithet of Dharma. Now Dharma is all white, in form and garments. "White disease," i.e., leucoderma resulted from his curse. So Dharma is described as spotless (*niṣkalanka* and *nīrañjana*). *Śūnya* here means 'devoid of spot' (*nirlepa*) and *śūnyamūrti* means 'whose form is spotless'. Indeed the epithets *nīrañjana* and *śūnyamūrti* have been used in the apabhraṃśa writing of Bengali Buddhists following the Tantrik cult (*Sahaja yāna*) to indicate the highest Deity,<sup>7</sup> but these very well may indicate the influence of the Dharma cult on Tantric Buddhism. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, *śūnya* does not mean merely 'void' but indicates the Ultimate Reality which is

4 K. P. Chattopadhyaya, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Calcutta, 1942.

5 Mr Panchanan Mandal M.A. doing research work with me has been very helpful in his collaboration.

6 *Sūnyapurāṇa* p. 57, cf p. 132.

7 Cf *śūnya nīrañjana parama prabhu no tai puṇya na pāu*. *Śūnya Nīrañjana* is the Supreme Master, Merit and sin He has not' [*Hevajratāntṛa* quoted by Shastri in *Sahitya parīkṣat Patrikā* XXXIV, p. 46].

neither positive nor negative but both. From the viewpoint of orthodox Mahāyāna Buddhism *śūnyamūrṭi* is quite meaningless.

Śastrya's last argument was his identification of the symbol or icon of Dharma with Buddhist *stūpa*. But herein he was entirely mistaken. The emblem of Dharma—rather his *pādapiṭha* or footstool on which was placed or engraved the *pāduka* (boots or sandals) of Dharma—is a tortoise. In most cases it is a natural bit of stone shaped like a tortoise, in other cases it is a chiselled stone image of the same. In very rare cases the image is made of brass. A miniature temple or chariot is also known to be worshipped as emblem of Dharma. The shape of the tortoise roughly resembles the *stūpa* and Śastrya mistook the protruding feet and head of the tortoise to be the tiny images of the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas that usually decorate the Buddhist *stūpa*.

Thus we see that the cult of Dharma has little to do with Buddhism. Now the question arises what is this mysterious deity. Those who have studied this cult in letter and in practice will find out readily that Dharma is the sun god. The tortoise (*kūrma*, *kasyapa*) as the symbol or emblem of the (rising?) sun is probably a non-Aryan concept. But the identification of the tortoise with the sun appears early in Indo-Aryan religion, at least as early as the *Satapatha Brahmana*\*. As an Aryan god the sun moves in a chariot. So does Dharma. As a matter of fact the ceremony of *Rathayātrā* was originally connected with Dharma. Like the sun god Dharma cures incurable diseases like leucoderma. The sun god has a bird as his *vahana* and the god of death (*Yama*) is his son. Dharma's direct creation *Ulūka* ('owl') combines the two personalities. The monkey cult was originally associated with the sun worship. In the cult of Dharma Hanumān is his factotum.

Dharma is also the Iranian sun god. He wears boots, dresses like a warrior and rides a horse. Being the white God his raiments and his horse are all white. In this form he sometimes appears before his devotee. Thus says Ramadās Adak in his *Dharmamangala*:

*sveta asve capi dharma rāṭera veśe  
kṛpa karī dekhā dīla dīna rāmadase*

'In the garb of a warrior riding a white horse Dharma graciously appeared before the poor Rāmadās.'

Dharma, the warrior god, was easily identified with ruling power of the country. So says the ritualistic verse:

*hūṣā ghoṛā khāṣā joṛā pāye diyā moṣā,  
arāṣe bolāile gauṛera rājā*

'(Riding) a swan white horse and putting on fine garments and boots you at last have called (i.e., manifested) yourself as the king of Gauṛ.'

It is, therefore, no wonder that the attendants and officiating priests of Dharma bear the titles of the officials and dignitaries of the ancient Indian court, e.g. *paṭihāra* (< *pratiṣhāra*), *uṣhāsini* (< *auṭṭhāsaniṅka*), *dhāmāṅkanī* (< *dharmādhikaraṇika*), etc.

With this conception of Dharma is connected the story of the *Kalki avatāra* in the Puranic tradition

Dharma is partly the Water God and is allied to the Vedic Varuṇa. Dharma when worshipped with austerities by barren women bestowed the gift of progeny. As a matter of fact the *Ghara-bharā* (literally 'filling the void of home') *Gājan*, the most elaborate ceremony of the cult is even now held as *putreṣṭi yajña*. Varuṇa also was a giver of sons. The close similarity between the Śunahśepha story in the *Attareya Brāhmaṇa* and the Luṇandra episode in *Dharmamaṅgala* and in the *Dharmapūjāvīdhāna* treatises is more than accidental. Curious readers are referred to the originals.

Dharma was predominantly the War God of fighting tribes like the *Dom* and others. According to the tradition recorded in the ritualistic treatises *Sadā* the *Dom* was the first to worship Dharma. Next man was *Asoyā* the *Gāral* (< *Caṇḍāla*). The latter is said to have offered to Dharma "tanks of wine" and "hillocks of rice cakes" *madya puṣkarnī dila piṣṭer jaṅgal*. Sacrifice of animals such as goat, duck or pig is made even now in the annual *Gājan* ceremony of Dharma. Wine and rice cakes are also offered. At some places the image is bathed in wine just before the commencement of the ceremony. The genuine priests of Dharma generally belong to the *Dom* or the *Gāral* caste and comparatively rarely from other castes such as *Barui*, *Dhopa*, *Śūnī*, etc. Brahmans officiate as priests only in the daily worship and in that *Gājan* ceremony where no pig wine or rice cake offerings are made.

This form of worship seems to have been widely known in the late fifteenth century Bengal. So testifies Vṛndavanadaśa in his *Caitanyabhāgavata*

*madya māṃsa dīpā keha yakṣa puṣā kare*

'Some people worship the demon with wine and meat offerings.'

Dharma was the god that was pleased only with the most cruel austerities. One had to burn incense over head to walk over live coals, to pierce most delicate parts of the body with iron spikes even through the chest before the deity relented and offered the desired gift of son. The hardest penance was self immolation (*hākaṇḍa*), when the devotee cuts off his own head. This was done only by Lausena the hero of *Dharmamaṅgala*. By this extreme form of penance Lausena compelled the sun to rise in the West. This phenomenon indicated the fulfilment of Dharma worship in the earth.

As an ascetic god Dharma sometimes appeared before his devotees or

before the persons to be favoured by him in the guise of a *Brahmacārī* or of a *fakīr*. The day of such manifestation was a Saturday and the time noon. So says Rūparāma in the autobiographical episode in his *Dharma māṅgala*

*eke śambhār tāy jhuk dupur belā,  
sammukhe dāṇḍāla dharma gale candramālā  
galāy cāṇḍār mālā āsā bāṇ hāthe,  
brāhmaṇer beṣe dharma dāṇḍāla pathe*

'It was a Saturday, then again just noontime, Dharma appeared before me, wearing a "moon" garland (*candra mala*) A *champak* wreath dangling round his neck and a *fakīr's* staff in his hand Dharma stood on the way in a guise of a Brahmin'

This deity, known as "Sannyāsī Thākur", believed to be residing in a particular tree is even now worshipped in North west and South West Bengal. The day is always Saturday and time noon. In those localities where there is both Dharma Thākur and Sannyāsī Thākur, the ceremonial worship of the former is initiated by the worship of the latter.

The conception of this Mendicant (*Sannyāsī-Fakīr*) deity later developed into Satyanārāyaṇa or Satyapīr.

The cult of Dharma is the quintessence of the native culture, both spiritual (religious) and material. All minor native deities such as Bāsālī Jan gulī (i.e., Manasa), various Kṣetrapālas, Dakinīs and Śākinīs gathered round Dharma as his courtiers (*avatara devatā*) and thus obtained general recognition and worship. The legend about the origin of the cultivation of rice has insinuated itself into the grand ceremony (i.e., *Gajan*). Other native industries also such as production of molasses, smelting of copper and iron etc. have not been overlooked. Thus in the elaborate *Gajan* ceremony we witness the slow emergence of early Bengali culture in its main aspects.



# THE EVOLUTION OF VAISNAVISM

By

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Vaiṣṇavism in the sense of Viṣṇu worship is as old as the *Rg Veda*. There are many *mantras* which glorify Viṣṇu and enjoin his worship as a means to the attainment of vision beatific. The two most important features of the religion are mentioned in some of these passages, viz., the constant utterance of His name and divine vision of God Himself. That God becomes manifest to His devotees is a cardinal belief of the Vaiṣṇava sect.

From the time of the *Upaniṣads*, the Unity of Godhead has been unequivocally maintained. The Vedānta conception of God perhaps goes further in this direction than any other philosophical religion. It is well known that the Vedānta is not satisfied by positing the Unity of Brahman but is anxious to prove the unreality of anything other than Brahman. According to the Vedāntin, God is strictly speaking unspeakable and inaccessible to human mind. This is practically the same as the mystifying position of the Agnostics in the West minus the theory of *Māyā* which is wrongly translated as illusion.

Any way, the theory of *Nirviśeṣa* (qualityless) Brahman does not carry us very far. It is Truth "too far removed from the sphere of our sorrow" and is thus useless for any human purposes. The cry is for truth which can give relief to the troubled mind and bring consolation in the midst of thousand and one sorrows to which mankind is subject. The philosopher has bowed to the man in the street and proclaimed that to one who has a vision of the Supreme Reality all doubts have been dispelled, all the knots of his heart loosened and all his *Karma* has been dissipated. Man's lot in this earth is never very enviable and his unending heartaches seek relief in some divine miracle. And any truth which is unrelated to this context is not likely to command respect for any length of time. The Vaiṣṇavas, therefore, speak of Brahman as an aspect of God and not God Himself.

Since the Absolute cannot evoke any human feeling the turn over is to a personal God who possesses all the qualities we regard as the highest and best such as power, knowledge, virtue, justice, benevolence, mercy, etc. But although we frequently speak of a Personal God, we are not quite clear as to what that expression exactly means. The expression is capable of a variety of interpretation and probably every man has his own pattern of a Personal

God Has personal God any form? Individuality perhaps He has but certainly no form according to one view For to assign to God any form human or otherwise would amount to taking a leap into crude paganism. The most progressive religions of mankind have set their face against idolatry of any kind and so we are once again marooned on the lonely cliff of philosophical isolationism. God—yes a personal God—cannot be represented by any means because after all man is human<sup>1</sup> That is to say man is by nature incapable of comprehending God In other words, in order to glorify God man must be crucified He has a name all right but no form For name and form are what belong to mundane things which are finite and perishable. From this dilemma Vaiṣṇavism supplies a refreshing exit by its mysticism Why Vaiṣṇavism? All religions must contain some element of mysticism I have been to the world famous Church of St. Peter in Rome which is a strong hold of the Roman Catholics and also to St. Pauls in London where the Protestants flock and the formalities in worship which are observed there are full of mysticism. It is hardly necessary to dilate on this point as every man who has had any religious experience must feel that without a mystic fringe religion is robbed of much of its inner charm and value

- \* The Vaiṣṇavas say that God in his limitless capacity can take any form He chooses and does take the human form out of compassion for His devotees He does indulge in all kinds of sports which are likely to prove a stimulus for them to be attracted towards Him<sup>1</sup> Man ordinarily is forgetful of God his vanity prevents him from thinking of God as the source of his life and origin and supporter of his life But the Ekantins insist on the ceaseless contemplation of God—like an uninterrupted flow of oil

This is also the fundamental injunction of the song of the Lord (*Bhagavad Gita*) The Lord is satisfied with the humblest of offerings viz. petals of flowers a handful of water etc provided your mind is with it. In other words God expects the highest offering from man viz his heart and soul Whatever is done by man should be offered to Him—Sacrifices *Tapas* Charity—and even your smallest things—such as eating etc

It is a very exacting demand no doubt, but there is no compromise between Self and God you cannot serve God and Mammon of self interest at the same time No gift is acceptable to God if you have one eye to self interest and the other to Him But it does not mean that you have to renounce everything for the sake of God The *Bhagavad Gita* does not preach an ideal impossible to the ordinary householder but rather lays stress on the performance of duty belonging to one's station in life. Its moral code is undoubtedly one of the most enlightened in the world. No more ennobling conception of righteous action is found in any ethical system Do your work without caring for its fruits Desires have been regarded as the root

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1 *Kṛiyate tadāpi kṛidāh yah śrutiā tatpara bhavet—Bhagavata*

of all evil. But the *Gītā* realises that no one can avoid doing work and work is not possible without the necessary springs of action. The *Gītā* therefore inculcates a rule of action which does not consist in the killing of desires which an ultra ascetic view of life demands but in a sublimation of desires. Since desires create attachment or *āśakti* a rule of life is laid down which, if followed, will make attachment impossible but will at the same time enable one to perform all the duties of one's daily life. This is the real *Sannyāsa* or renunciation. If one flees from the world, throws off all obligations and retires to a fastness or cave, it is only apparent *Sannyāsa*, for no one can flee from his passions and impulses. The only escape from these is provided by an intense devotion to the Lord. You anchor the ship of your life in God and the storm and stress of *samsāra* will cease to trouble you. The essence of the teaching of *Bhagavad Gītā* is that if one wants to attain salvation, one must practise *Yoga* which enables a man to be detached from the fruits of his actions, and in order to be so detached one must be wholeheartedly attached to God. This is *Bhakti* or devotion.

*Bhakti* has been variously defined, but even without entering into a philosophical disquisition about its nature, it may be said to be an emotion of the mind resulting from the contemplation of God. The exhortation to love God may be traced to the earliest texts<sup>2</sup> but the *Gītā* by placing emphasis on the emotional aspect of worship introduced a change in the ideology of God-consciousness which may almost be regarded as revolutionary. For so long that consciousness consisted in the knowledge (*jñāna*) of God. Now almost for the first time Emotion (*Bhakti*) is joined to Knowledge (*jñāna*), Æsthetics yoked to the service of Philosophy. Knowledge (*vidyā*) was so long regarded as the only means to salvation<sup>3</sup>. Salvation (*mokṣa*) is the *summum bonum* of human existence and whether it is conceived as the total absence of pains, or union with the Lord, it is attainable only by true knowledge (*Tattvajñāna*). But here we hear for the first time that knowledge or no knowledge, any one who throws himself on Divine mercy without any reservation is saved.

Here therefore two conflicts arise. It has been asserted emphatically in the *Upaniṣads* that there is no other way but the way of knowledge (*vidyā*). But the *Gītā* introduces a personal element inasmuch as God can save one who exclusively depends on Him. The other case of conflict arises when the inexorable law of *Karma* is viewed *vis-a-vis* this new theory. Ordinarily there is no escape from one's *Karma*,<sup>4</sup> but the *Gītā* tells us that the Lord can save irrespective of that law. This is the message of hope which the

2 *Tadetat preyaḥ putrāt preyoṣṭhāt preyoḥnyasmāt antarataram yadayamātma—Chāndogya.*

3 *Tameva viditāhimsatyumeti nanya panthā vidyatehyanāya—Śruti*

4 *Atasyameva bhoktavyaṁ kṛtāṁ karma subhāsubhaṁ*

sacred Song of the Lord holds for man. No matter what the magnitude of your sins is, you will be turned into a saint the moment you worship the Lord singlemindedly.<sup>5</sup>

I have spoken of this theory as revolutionary in character but if the extent of the change is not ordinarily perceived it is because the ancient philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* has been adopted in its entirety. The fundamental tenet of *Upaniṣadic* pantheism is somehow artistically woven into the mystical personality of God in the *Bhagavad Gita*. It is nowhere so forcibly illustrated as in the 10th chapter of the *Gita* which sees God's excellence and exuberance manifested in every form of cosmic existence.<sup>6</sup> God is both immanent and transcendent. He is transcendent not only in the sense of exceeding Nature which is permeated through and through by Him but also in the sense of setting Himself above all laws of nature. It is possible to know this transcendence neither by the help of the *Vedas* (knowledge) nor by penances nor by benevolence nor by sacrifices but it can be known in its true nature (transcendence) only by singleminded devotion. This shows unmistakably how the centre of gravity in Vaiṣṇav philosophy is shifted for the first time explicitly at least from knowledge (*jñāna*) to emotion (*bhakti*). Herein lies the mysticism of the creed. So far as God's transcendental nature is concerned it is not only revealed to the emotive self but it can be seen (*draṣṭum*) by that self. Not only can it be perceived in clear vision but its *raison d'être* also can be grasped by the emotional side of our nature. Thus Emotion and Sentiment come to play a prominent part in solving problems which have so long been thought to be the proper subject matter of the intellect. This truth was conceded at least partly by Immanuel Kant in his *Critique of Judgment* when he realised that truths which baffle Pure Reason both Speculative and Practical reveal themselves to the other Faculty of Man viz. Taste which is curiously enough the same word as *Rasa* in Hindu philosophy and rhetoric.<sup>7</sup> So far as I am aware this very essential aspect of Kant's philosophy has not received the treatment which it deserves in western philosophy.

The philosophy of *Rasa* has however been very elaborately dealt with in the east and the rightful place which belongs to it is assigned to it in the *Bhagavad Gita*. Knowledge as a function of the intellect is not neglected but one is inclined to think that intellect is more or less an auxiliary of the emotion. Doubts may reasonably be entertained as to whether the com-

5 *Api cet suduracaro bhajate māmānanyabhaḥ |  
sadhureva sa mantavyaḥ samyagvyavasītoḥ sah* | —Gītā

6 The only other example is to be found in the *Markaṇḍeya Caṇḍī* 4th Māhātmyam

7 *Bhaktiā tīrṇanyaya śakya dharmevam iḍhohiṣṭam |  
jñānam draṣṭuṃ ca tālīṇa praveśṭuṃ ca paratāpa ||* —Gītā xi 54

8 *Rasyate astadyate asau iti rasah.*

partmental theory of mind which is implied by this sharp distinction between emotion and intellect can be maintained. But that is no reason to ignore this new approach to the problem of the conception of God. When, for instance, Kant proved beyond doubt the incompetence of intellect or Pure Speculative Reason as he called it to reach the ultimate truth or Bergson was obliged to fall back upon Intuition as the particular function of the mind to which Truth is revealed in its purity, there is no reason to quarrel with this new philosophic development, so far as the conception of Reality is concerned.

That emotion or sentiment plays a large part in spiritual life is a fact admitted by Psychology. Difficulty arises when it steps out of its own sphere and invades the domain of Reality. But since the Faculty of knowing or intellect gropes in the dark to find a clue to Ultimate Truth, recourse is had to the faculty of Feeling which, at any rate, has the advantage or directness. Because whereas intellect works through judgment and inference, feeling places us into immediate contact with anything that inspires feeling. That feeling is the most essential fact in our experience is also proved by the fact that intellect itself is baffled without a colouring from feeling in the form of interest. Again our activities are also paralysed without a strong dose of feeling. We act most, when we feel most. Our intellect also is most active when it is sharpened by feeling. Without interest, i.e., feeling, intellect is dull and without motive, will is inert. In these circumstances we may legitimately turn our gaze towards feeling, when philosophy in the sense of intellectual search after truth proves a veritable zigsaw puzzle. Our ordinary experience also supports this appeal to feeling. For we believe where we cannot know, and love conquers when knowledge falters.

This of course does not mean that feeling should be divorced from intellect. In the higher processes of consciousness, it is only natural that all the higher functions of the mind should be called into play. On the physiological side, the most intense forms of mental exercise involve the highest brain centres. Just like this process of conscious cerebration all the functional activities are called forth in grappling with the important problems of Truth and Duty. This is admitted in the *Bhagavad Gītā* when an attempt is made to unify *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* into one indivisible process.<sup>9</sup> But this has led to not a little misunderstanding. Some have taken it to mean that *Bhakti* or Sentiment of devotion is the handmaid of knowledge or *Tattva Jñāna*. Others have gone so far as to identify *Bhakti* with *Tattva Jñāna*.<sup>10</sup> I know of some philosophers of the Sāṃkhya School who have not hesitated to speak of *Parā Bhakti* or highest manifestation of *Bhakti* as highest knowledge. In fact the *Gītā*, which is the greatest repository of the *Bhakti* cult,

9. *Teṣaṃ māniḥ nityayukta ekabhaktiḥ viśiṣṭyate*—*Gītā* ch. vii.

10. *Tattvaśmanameva bhaktiḥ*—*Sāṃkhya* (Gītā ch. xviii).

itself lends countenance to such confusion. The Lord now speaks of *Jñāna* and now of *Bhakti* as the sole means of attaining Him. Texts may be quoted to show that if there is any misconception on this very important point it may be traced to the *Gītā*.

But in the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism there came a stage when all such misconceptions were destined to end. Enquiry was directed to the nature of *Bhakti* and it was found to be nothing else but the highest sentiment of which human nature was capable, viz., Love. For instance, when Sāṅdilya defines *Bhakti* as the highest feeling of attachment for God or Narada defines it as the most intense feeling of forlornness in His absence,<sup>11</sup> it became quite clear that the course of *Bhakti* was gradually being more and more widely diverted from pure intellect. The two streams may run parallel but the tendency to identify the two as one and the same became more and more unjustifiable.

There is no doubt that in the earlier texts the word "*Prema*" but seldom occurs. In the *Gītā* one does not find the word or any of its synonyms. In the *Bhāgavata* itself, the sentiment is no doubt traceable to the story of the attachment of the Gopis towards Kṛṣṇa but the word '*Prema*' does not appear to have been used too frequently. Perhaps the theory had not then taken definite shape. There is no doubt that in the later history of the evolution of *Bhakti* the influence of the *Bhāgavata* is unmistakable, still it required subsequent speculation in southern and northern India to unravel the mystery of that phenomenon which is supposed to hold the key not only to salvation, not only to the realisation of the Divine but also to the highest problems of thought and reality. Henceforth Love lights the path of Truth.<sup>12</sup>

Now when the conception of *Bhakti* became stabilised by its identification with the highest sentiment of love, the progress was rather rapid towards a separation of the two spheres viz. intellect and emotion. The mystic phenomenon of love tended to throw off the yoke of knowledge. This new approach finds expression in the theory of *Rāganuga Bhakti* which may be translated as 'passionate love'. This was a natural development because love is no love if it is not passionate even in the human sphere. So far as God is concerned this love emerges as an all consuming passion which is Beyond Good and Evil Beyond Right and Wrong and Beyond True and False.<sup>13</sup>

This new development which may be regarded as almost consequential was inaugurated by Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī in his *Rasamṛtasindhu* and *Ujjala Nīlmani* and a few other Vaiṣṇava poets who have given to Bengali literature some of its best lyrics. The recognition of *Bhakti* as passionate love for God gave a new impetus to the growth of sentimental literature, which

11 *Narada Bhakti Sutra*

12 *Contanya Caritamṛta*—Madhya xiv

may be said to have started from Jayadeva. Jayadeva imported into his conception of love a good deal of erotic fervour which the subsequent poetry was only too eager to imitate. In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavat* the love of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa, although passionate in the extreme, was undoubtedly based upon a consciousness that their lover was none other than God Himself.<sup>13</sup> This consciousness sublimated the sentiment and easily converted love into worship. The poets of the Bengal school were sometimes apt to forget this and allowed themselves to be carried away by erotic sentiment in which the subtle element of worship was almost lost sight of. The life of Śrī Caitanya, however, steadied the balance and completely eradicated this erotic aspect. Influenced by the creed of the Alvars in the south, Caitanya removed from the theory of love all that was dross and sensual. He was a Sannyāsī and his passionate love for Śrīkṛṣṇa could not be mistaken for the vicarious indulgence in the gross passion of conjugal love. In the first place, it went through the whole gamut of the tender affection, viz., *Dāsya*, *Sakhya*, *Vātsalya* and *Madhur*. The passionate devotion of the servant for the Master, and the self-forgetful affection between friends cannot even remotely be called erotic. In the second place, Caitanya's life was the most effective commentary on the theory of *Rāgānugā* as it invariably led to *Ecstasy* which is a fitting sequel to the ardent love which the devotee feels for his object of worship. The Vaiṣṇavas regard this *Ecstasy* as the highest stage in the evolution of the sentiment.<sup>14</sup> Whether merely by the utterance of the name of the Lord or by the contemplation of his various qualities or *Līlā*, the *Bhakta* falls into a state of *Ecstasy* when the world with all its manifold solicitations ceases to exist and the soul is immersed in a sea of Bliss. These states of *Ecstasy* are not merely recorded events, but are actually realisable by numerous *Bhaktas* even to this day. In the West also the devotees sought to induce this state of *Ecstasy* as in the case of the Neo-Platonists. The Carmelite Nuns, an order which curiously enough, was founded about the same time as the demise of Śrī Caitanya are so devoted to Christ as lover, that they take a vow never to look at the face of any male person.

Then again the exponents of *Rāgānuga* form of worship lay stress on the necessity of following the tenets of the sacred Texts without which no worship of God is possible. Viṣvanath Chakravartī in his *Rāga Varṇma Candrikā* or the moonlight on the path of the religion of love insists on conformity to the laws of worship enjoined by the Śāstras.<sup>15</sup> Without such conformity mere passionate feeling does not do any good. But on the other hand mere conformity cannot produce that strong feeling of attachment which

13 *Narada Bhakti Sūtra*

14 *Śrīmad Bhagavat* 11. 2. 40 & 11. 14. 24

15 *Vastutastu lobha pravartitam vidhi margena sevanameva ragamarga ucyaite, vidhi pravartitam vidhi margena sevananca vidhi-mārgah—Rāgavartma Candrika Tīkā* 12

*Rāgānuga* worship (*Bhajana*) requires. It must be prompted by an ardent hankering (*lobha*) after the object of worship. This is no ordinary erotic longing for union with the object of love such as an ordinary man or woman feels. It can only arise through the mercy of Kṛṣṇa or his *Bhaktas*.

*Kṛṣṇa tadbhakta kārūṇyamātra lobhakahetukā |*  
*puṣṭimārgatayā kaiscidīyaṃ rāgānugocyate ||*

That is, the hankering or thirst (*lālasā*) has for its cause only the mercy of God or of His devotees. This is called *Puṣṭi mārga* by some and *Rāgānuga* by others.



# THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KACHWĀHAS OF AMBER

By

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The Kachwāhas, according to certain traditions, laid the foundation of their rule in the modern State of Jaipur in Rājputāna in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. They came to the lime light of history only in the sixteenth century. The intervening period is one of almost unredeemed darkness, and the reason is not far to seek. Tod makes the apposite remark that 'they have to date their greatness as the other families (especially the Ranas of Mewar) of Rajasthan their decline, from the ascent of the house of Timur to the throne of Delhi.' A little information relating to the early period can however be gleaned by making use of historical traditions of a late date. But even these are often found hopelessly discordant. An attempt has been made here to examine and discuss the substratum of truth underlying the traditional accounts.

The Kachwāhas of Amber claim descent from Kuśa, son of Rāma chandra the hero of the *Rāmāyana*. Rājā Nala a scion of the race is alleged to have migrated westward and founded the city and kingdom of Naravara or Narwār in Central India in S. 321 or A.D. 295. According to NēnaSī Dholā or Dholò the son of Nala, founded Gwalior and constructed the tank Golorāva in it. Tod's sources however record that the towns of Lahar in the heart of a tract called Kachwāhagar situated between the rivers Sindh and Pahuj and Gwalior were "intermediate places of domicile prior to the erection" of Narwar by Nala. It was from Narwar or according to another view Gwalior that the Kachwahas are said to have migrated to Dhūndhāra or the Dhunḍa country as the present State of Jaipur was called in comparative early times<sup>1</sup>.

The story given above is usually regarded as legendary. Cunningham

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1 For the traditional accounts cf. *Muhanota NēnaSī ki Khyāta* translated into Hindi by Ramanarāyaṇa Dugaḍa vol. II, pp. 1-4, Tessitori *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts* Section I Part I p. 23, Tod *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* edited by W. Crooke Vol. III pp. 1327 ff., 1328n3 1329n1.

For the name Dhundhara or Dhunḍa for Jaipur, cf. Tod, *ibid* p. 1327, *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum Ajmer* 1933-34 p. 4 Cunningham *ASI* Vol. II p. 2n1.

Tod identifies Nala with the famous Nala Nāṣadha. This is however extremely doubtful. Nor can we accept the surmise that Narwār represents the classical Nāṣadha country. The geographical cantos of the Puranas locate the Nāṣadhas in the Vindhyan region far to the south of Narwar.

thinks that the tradition regarding the descent of the Kachwahas from Kusa was a later invention of the bards suggested by a fancied similarity of his name with the tribal designation. He puts forward the theory that the modern form of *Kachwaha* would appear to be derived from the synonymous *Kachchhapa han* as the Hindu *Kachhwa* is undoubtedly the Sanskrit *Kachchhapa* and the termination *ha* is most probably only the Sanskrit *han* which has exactly the same meaning as *ghata*. He therefore connects the Kachwahas with the Kacchapaghata family mentioned in the Gwalior Sasbahu inscription of v s 1050 or A D 1093<sup>2</sup>. Whatever might be the merit of the above derivation of the popular term *Kachwaha* from Sanskrit *Kacchapa han* almost all the modern writers are in general agreement with Cunningham regarding the descent of the Kachwahas from the Kacchapaghatas of Gwalior.

The following traditional evidence may be cited in support of the above theory

(1) Rajapana the bard of the Kachwaha prince Prthviraja father of Bharamala or Bihari Mall of Amber who gave his daughter in marriage to the great Mughal Akbar and a chronicler of Bikaner include the entire list of princes of the Gwalior branch of the Kacchapaghatas mentioned in the Gwalior Sasbahu inscription of v s 1150 viz Lakshmana Vajradaman Mangalaraya (Mangalaraja) Kritaraya or Ksetraraya (Kirtiraja) Muladeva (also known as Bhuvanapala Trailokyamalla) Devapala Padmapala Surapala or Surajapala (obviously Suryapala) and Mahipala among the ancestors of the Kachwahas of Amber. But in the dynastic table of Rajapana no less than twenty princes are inserted between Mahipala the last Kacchapaghata ruler mentioned above and Sodhadeva father of Dulahadeva both of whom are represented in tradition as the founder of the Kachwaha principality in Dhundhara or Jaipur<sup>3</sup>. This raises a serious chronological difficulty which can be obviated only if we surmise that like some Puranic texts the bardic chroniclers of Rajputana represent as lineal descendants princes who were really collaterals.

(2) The Gwalior annalists Kharag Rai who wrote during the reign of Shah Jahan and his contemporary Fazl Ali who derived his informations from a previous writer named Ghanasyama<sup>4</sup> connect Tej Karan (taken to be a proper name of *Dulha* which means a bridegroom) alleged to have been the founder of the Kachwaha kingdom of Amber with Gwalior<sup>5</sup>. The fol-

2. Cunningham *Archæological Survey of India* Vol II p 319

3. *ibid* p. 374 *Muhannad NanaSi ki Khyata* II p 3

4. Cunningham *op cit* p 370f

5. *ibid* p 376f Pandit G H Ojha thinks that Dularaja or Dulaharaya stands for Durlabharaja. (Tod's *Rajasthan* translated into Hindi by Pandit Ramgaribha Chaube and edited by Pandit G H Ojha Vol. I p 250). Tod writes Dhola for Dulaha. The Gwalior annalists seem to corrupt the name into *Dulha* a bridegroom and takes it to be an epithet of Tej Karan.

lowing tables however show that the lists of ancestors of Tej Karan as given by Kharag Rāi and Fazl Ali differ widely from those of the predecessors of Dulahadeva as known to the bards of Rājputāna

<i>Rajapāna</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>NenaSī</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>Kharag Rāi</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>Fazl Ali</i> <sup>9</sup>
Nala Dholā Lakṣamaṇa Vajradāmā Maṅgalarāja Kṛtarāja Muladeva  Devapāla  Padmapala  Sūrapāla Mahapala 20 other names Isasimha Soḍhasimha Dulahadeva	Nala Dholā Lakṣamaṇa Vajradīpa Maṅgala Sumitra Sudhibrahma or Mudhibrahma Kuhana or Kahina Devāni or Devānika  Usai or Isa Soḍha Dularaja or Dulaharāja	          Ratnapāla Dharmapala Budhigāla Surapala Gambhurapāla Tej Karan	          Ratnapāla Dharmapala Budhupala (? Sodhapāla)  Tej Karan

(3) It will be seen from NēnaSī's list quoted above that he also includes three Kacchapaghāta princes of Gwalior, viz., Lakṣamaṇa, Vajradīpa (Vajradāman) and Maṅgala(rāja) among the ancestors of the Kachwāha princes of Amber. Ojha thinks that Sumitra was a younger son of Maṅgalarāja.<sup>9a</sup>

The combined testimony of the bardic chroniclers undoubtedly implies some sort of lineal connection between the Kachwahās of Jaipur and the Kacchapaghataś of Gwalior. It is however interesting to note that in some family records of the Kachwāha princes they claim to belong not to the *Kacchapaghata* or *Kacchapāni* (literally, slayers of the *Kacchapas*, i.e., tortoises) *vaṃśa* (clan), but to the *Kūrma* (i.e., Tortoise) family itself. Thus for instance in the Sanganer (Jaipur State) inscription of vs 1658 (A.D. 1601) Mahārāja Śrī Manasīmghajī is referred to as belonging to the Kūrma dynasty.<sup>10</sup> In the Adinātha Temple inscription at Revāsā (Jaipur State), dated vs 1661 (A.D. 1604) Mahārājādhirāja Rāyasālajī is described as a scion of the Kūrma clan.<sup>11</sup> In the Lālī (Alwar State) inscription of vs 1803

6 *Muhawwata NenaSī ki Khṛjāta*, p. 3

7 *ibid* p. 4. Tod's *Rajasthan* in Hindi, Vol. I, p. 250

8 Cunningham *op cit* p. 313

9 *ibid*

9a Tod's *Rajasthan* (Hindi), Vol. I p. 250

10 *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*,

p. 49

11 *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1934-35*, p. 5

and 1814 (A.D. 1746 and 1757) Raja Bhagavantasimhaji of the Naruka family (a branch of the Kachwahas of Jaipur) is also stated to have descended from the Kur(a)ma clan.<sup>12</sup> Reference to Kurma kings can be traced back to still earlier times. A Chaṭsu (Jaipur State) inscription of v.s. 1556 (A.D. 1499) speaks of Raja Bhammara of the Kurma family.<sup>13</sup> A Kurma prince finds mention in the Balvan (Kota State) inscription of v.s. 1245 (A.D. 1288).<sup>14</sup> The famous bard Chand Bardai who is usually regarded as the court poet of Prithviraja Chauhan, the last Hindu emperor of Ajmer and Delhi describes the Kachwaha prince Pajjuna as a Kurma.<sup>15</sup> The following variants of the term Kacchavaha viz. Kachava and Kuchaha also seem to be derived from the word *Kacchapa* a synonym of *Kurma*.<sup>16</sup>

The evidence cited above suggests two alternative theories. One is that the Kacchapaghata or Kacchaparis are in reality not identical with the Kurmas or the Kachwahas but they are enemies and destroyers of the Kurmas as the designations (Slayers of *Kacchapas* Enemies of *Kacchapas*) clearly imply. If this view be accepted then we cannot equate the Kacchapaghata with the Kurmas or Kachwahas just as we cannot do so in the case of Śakari and the Śakas. Can it then be that the Kacchapaghata actually rose to power by ousting the ancestors of the Kachwahas from Central India with which they are associated in tradition? But we have no positive evidence to prove this.

The second view which is in consonance with the tradition recorded by Rajapāna and NēnaSi would regard *Kacchapa* (synonym *Kurma*) as a shortened form of the designation Kacchapaghata just as the name Dinaj (Danuja a demon) used by Muslim historians in reference to a king of Sonargaon in Bengal really stands for Danujamardana (Chastiser of a Demon). In this and similar cases the designation is perhaps not to be taken too literally.

The bardic chroniclers have preserved several different versions of the story of Kachwaha migration to Dhundhara. Rajapāna says that *Dulaha deva* made a gift of the kingdom of *Gwalior* to a *Tomara* prince.<sup>17</sup> Pandit Ojha refers to a tradition that Raja Isa Simha gave away the famous fort to his daughter's son also a *Tomara* prince. Thereupon his son *Soḍhadeva* forcibly seized Daosa from the Badgujars in v.s. 1023 (A.D. 966-67) and laid the foundation of the Kachwaha state in Jaipur.<sup>18</sup> Kharag Rai and Fazl Ali on the other hand tell us that Tej Karan or Dulha Rai of *Gwalior*

12. *ibid.* 1919-20 p. 5 Bhandarkar *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India* No. 1038.

13. *ibid.*, No. 870

15. *Tod op cit.*, p. 1335

16. Bhandarkar *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India* Nos. 938-1031

17. *Muhamad NēnaSi ki Akhyata* p. 3.

18. *Tod's Rajasthan* (in Hindi) p. 250.

14. *Epigraphia Indica* XIX pp. 461-49

left his ancestral kingdom in charge of his sister's son Parmal Deo a *Peri Pāda* and went away to marry the daughter of Ranmal chief of Dosa. The Parhaḍa prince revolted against his maternal uncle and himself usurped the throne. Tej Karan succeeded to his father in law's principality and thus became the founder of the Kachwaha dynasty of Dhūndhara<sup>19</sup>. Tod records that on the death of Sora Singh (Soḍhasimha) prince of *Narwar* his infant son *Dhola Rāi* (Dulahadeva) was supplanted by his uncle in v.s. 1023 (A.D. 967). The child and his mother found shelter with the Mīnā chief of Khoganw (within five miles of modern Jaipur). Dhola finally usurped the authority of his benefactor. Soon after this he went to Daosa and married the daughter of the Bāḍgūjar chieftain of that place and the latter resigned his power to his son in law<sup>20</sup>.

A perusal of the foregoing accounts presents the following problems —

Firstly who established the Kachwaha principality in Eastern Rajputana? Ojha's authority gives the credit to Soḍhadeva son of Īśa Sīrṃha. NēnaSī also states that Soḍhadeva was the first Kachwaha prince to move from *Narwar* to Dhundhara<sup>21</sup>. Rajapana Kharag Rāi Fazl Ali and Tod however favour the claim of Dulahadeva. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to reconcile this discordant testimony of late writers.

Secondly whence did the earliest Kachwaha prince of Dhundhara come? Rajapāna Kharag Rāi Fazl Ali and Ojha's authority make him a scion of a ruling house of Gwalior. According to NēnaSī (see the previous paragraph) and Tod he came from Narwar. The connection of the Kacchapaghatas with Gwalior is well known<sup>22</sup>. A grant issued from Nalapura (Narwar) reveals that a Kacchapaghatā prince Virasimha son of Śaradasimha successor of Gaganasimha, was in possession of that city in v.s. 1177 (A.D. 1120)<sup>23</sup>. It is thus possible to connect the founder of the Kachwaha state in Dhundhara both with the Gwalior and Narwar ruling houses. It will however be seen that neither Virasimha of Narwar nor any of his known ancestors are mentioned in the dynastic lists quoted above. On the other

19. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India* Vol. II p. 377.

20. Crooke's edition of Tod's *Annals* Vol. III p. 1329 ff.

21. *Muhammāda NēnaSī ki Khṛāṭa* (Hindi) Vol. II p. 4. Tessitori, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts* Section I Part I p. 26.

22. Cunningham, *op cit* Vol. II p. 374. *Ind. Ant.* XV p. 201 ff. Ojha and Bhandarkar connect the following Kacchapaghatā princes, viz. Pṛthvipaladeva alias Bhatpāṭṭa his son Tribhuvanapala his son Vijayapala and his son Surapala known from the Inḡpoda (Dewas State) inscription of v.s. 1190 (A.D. 1133) and the Ṭhakardā (Dungarpur State) inscription of v.s. 1212 (A.D. 1155) with the Gwalior ruling house (Tod's *Rajasthan* in Hindi p. 249. Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions* p. 391 and fn. 7). They seem to identify Pṛthvipala with Mahupala of Gwalior because the two names are synonymous. We cannot however subscribe to this theory in the absence of further evidence to support it.

23. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 206. Cunningham *op cit* p. 313.

land, the inclusion of all the known Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior among the forbears of the present ruling family of Amber suggests that its founder came from Gwalior rather than Narwār. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the popular derivation of the name of the latter city from the Kachwāha prince Nala is a conjecture that lacks convincing proof. We have no early evidence to prove that the Kachwāhas were actually in possession of that place before Gaganasimha, grandfather of Vīrasimha (A.D. 1120).

Thirdly, what is the exact reason for the removal of his residence by Soḍhadeva or his son Dulahadeva to Dhūndhāra? Rājapāna and Ojha's authority agree that the event followed the gift of the kingdom of Gwalior made to a Tomara prince. Kharag Rai and Fazl Ali tell us that the Kachwāha prince was supplanted by his Pratihāra nephew. According to Tod the usurper was the brother of Soradeva (Soḍhadeva) and therefore was a Kachwāha. The tradition regarding Pratihāra and Tomara occupation of Gwalior may be accepted as genuine. But the circumstances leading to their rise in that territory are differently stated in contemporary documents. We learn from the Kurethā Plate of Pratihāra Malayavarman dated A.D. 1220 that his father Vighraha fought with a Mleccha king and seized Gopadri<sup>24</sup>. Vighraha seems to have flourished during the early years of the thirteenth century. According to Bhandarkar the defeated Mleccha king was Qutb-ud-din Aibak who "humiliated the pride of Gwalior" in A.D. 1196<sup>25</sup>. Cunningham has suggested that Gwalior was lost by the Muslims during the reign of Arām Shah<sup>26</sup>. The fort was recaptured by Iltutmish in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1232-33), and seems to have remained in possession of the Muhammadans till the close of the fourteenth century. Then, as we learn from the *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, it was 'treacherously wrested from the hands of the Musalmans during the invasion of the Mughals (led by Tīmūr) by the accused Bar Singh who was followed after his death by his son Bīram Deo'<sup>27</sup>. It is not difficult to recognise the names of the Tomara princes Vīrasimha and Vīrama in the preceding sentence.<sup>28</sup> The foundation of Tomara rule in Gwalior, therefore, must be dated later than the invasion of Tīmūr, about two centuries after the rise of the Pratihāras in that region. From what has been stated above it will not be perhaps unreasonable to conclude that the expulsion of the Kachwāha prince from Gwalior had nothing to do with the rise of either the Pratihāras or the Tomaras. Whether it was due to the usurpa-

24 Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of North India* No. 475. For a traditional list of the Pratihāra princes of Gwalior, see Cunningham *Archæological Survey of India* Vol. II p. 378. The genealogies of the Pratihāra princes given in inscriptions cannot be brought even into approximate agreement with those of the bardic chroniclers.

25 Bhandarkar *op cit.*, p. 68n.

26. Cunningham *op cit.*, p. 379.

27 English translation by K. K. Basu (*G.O.S.* Vol. LXIII), p. 177.

28 For a list of Tomara Princes of Gwalior, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India* Vol. II p. 382.

tion of the throne by a member of a collateral branch or any other factor cannot be satisfactorily determined at present

The date of Kachwāha migration to Dhūndhāra is another intriguing problem. According to the authorities of Tod and Ojha it took place in A.D. 967<sup>29</sup>. In a manuscript consulted by Cunningham the date is given as V.S. 1063 or A.D. 1006<sup>30</sup>. The famous archaeologist rejects both the traditional dates. He points out that according to the Gwalior analysts the Kachwāhas were succeeded by seven Pratihāra princes who ruled in Gwalior for 103 years until its capture by Iltutmish in A.D. 1232. According to him the expulsion of Tej Karan alias Dulha Rai which led to the foundation of Kachwāha rule in Eastern Rājputāna therefore must have happened in A.D. 1128 or 1129<sup>31</sup>. The date proposed by Cunningham has found acceptance with several distinguished historians. We have however seen above that the Pratihāras seized Gwalior not from the Kacchapaghātas but from the Muhammadans about three quarter of a century later in the beginning of the thirteenth century. This invalidates Cunningham's ground of calculation for arriving at the date of Kachwāha migration from Gwalior. But it may be pointed out in this connection that a fragmentary Gwalior inscription reveals that the immediate successor of the Kacchapaghāta prince Mahupāla of Gwalior was ruling in A.D. 1104<sup>32</sup> and then the dynasty seems to have come to an abrupt end for reasons now unknown. Hence it is not altogether impossible to assign the first Kachwāha ruler of Amber, who is usually regarded as the last Kacchapaghāta ruler of Gwalior in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. or a little later. But even this does not solve our difficulties. All the later chroniclers agree in making Pajjuna fifth or sixth in descent from Dulahadeva (see below) a contemporary and a vassal of the Chauhan emperor Prithvirāja III of Delhi and Ajmer (C.A.D. 1179-92). This implies that Dulahadeva flourished about 100 or 125 years before Prithvirāja III i.e. between A.D. 1054 and 1079 and Soḍhadeva father of Dulaha naturally came a generation earlier. NenaSī as we have seen above traces the descent of Dularāja or Dulahadeva from Sumitra who is believed by Ojha to have been a younger son of the Kacchapaghāta Mangala (raja) son of Vajradaman of Gwalior. The last named prince was ruling in A.D. 977 (V.S. 1034)<sup>33</sup>. Mangalarāja therefore may be assigned towards the close of the tenth or the earlier years of the eleventh century A.D. As six generations intervened between him and Dularāja Dulahadeva (see NenaSī's list quoted above) we are to place the latter about 150 years after Mangalarāja i.e. about the middle of the twelfth

29 Tod *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (edited by Crooke) Vol. III p. 1329. Tod's *Rajasthan* (in Hindi) p. 250.

30 Cunningham, *op cit* p. 376. 31 *ibid* pp. 370-377.

32 Bhandarkar *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India* No. 169.

33 *Ibid* No. 86.

century In view of these discrepancies it is impossible to assign any definite date for the foundation of the Kachwaha principality in Amber

Most of our chroniclers agree that the earliest possession of the Kachwahas in Dhundhara was Daosa which was either forcibly taken or inherited from a Badgujar chieftain<sup>34</sup> We are informed by Tod that the Badgujars held a considerable portion of Dhundhara and their capital was the hill fortress of Rajor<sup>35</sup> This is also borne out by epigraphic evidence An inscription of V S 1016 (A D 960) states that Rajorgarh was the royal seat of a prince named Mathanadeva of the *Gurjara-Pratihara-vaya* (usually taken to mean of Gurjara Pratihara lineage ) and reference in the same record to *Gurjara vahitasamasta ksetra* ( fields cultivated by the Gurjaras )<sup>36</sup> undoubtedly implies the presence in Western Alwar region not very far from Daosa in the latter half of the tenth century A D of the Gurjara tribe of which the Badgujars were apparently an offshoot Badgujar chiefs of Western Alwar are also referred to in several inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>37</sup> In view of this there is no possible difficulty in accepting as genuine the above tradition that Daosa which formed the nucleus of the Kachwaha principality in Rajputana was obtained from the Badgujars either by expelling them or by right of inheritance through marriage

Tod tells us that Dhola (Dulahadeva) after getting possession of Daosa marched against the Sira tribe of the Minas and seized from them Machh and renaming it as Ramgarh transferred his seat of government there He subsequently married Maroni a princess of Ajmer The end of Dhola was tragic, and he fell fighting with a force of the Minas

The following tables will show that there is no agreement among later writers regarding the order of succession as well as the number and names of the immediate successors of Dulaha

<i>Rajapana</i> <sup>38</sup>	<i>NanaSi</i> <sup>39</sup>	<i>Tod</i> <sup>40</sup>
Dulahadeva	Dularaja	Dhola
Hanumana	Kakila	Kankhal
Kakaladeva	Hanu	Maidal Rao
Naradeva	Jojaḍa	Hundeo
Jahnaḍadeva	Pajjuna	Kuntala
Pajjuna		Pajun

34 Tod says that Dhola first usurped the authority of the Mina chief of Khoganw and then got Daosa through marriage.

35 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Crooke) vol I p 141

36 *Epigraphia Indica* vol III p. 263 ff

37 Bhandarkar *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* Nos. 723 821

38 *Mūhanota NānaSi ki Ahyaṭa* II p. 3

39 *Ibid* p 4

40 Tod *Annals and Antiquity of Rajasthan* (Crooke) Vol III p. 1331 f



Hanumana Haṇu and Hūndeo of the above lists obviously refer to one and the same individual and this seems to be true about Kakaladeva Kakila and Kankhal as well Japhaḍadeva and Jojaḍa also should in all probability be regarded as identical

Tod attributes to Kankhal the conquest of the country of Dhundhara and to his son Maidal Rao the seizure of Amber the future capital of the Kachwahās, from the Susawat Minas But according to Rajapāna Kakala was the founder of Amber<sup>41</sup> NēnāṢi also states that Kakila and his son Haṇunta (apparently Haṇumana or Haṇumanta) were the first to come to Amber<sup>42</sup> The Amber Inscription of V S 1011 (A D 954 55) perhaps imply the existence of the city of Amber before the coming of the Kachwahās in Rajaputana<sup>43</sup> It has been identified with Amarapura referred to as the seat of power of the Kachwahās in the *Hamiramahakavya* of Nayachandra Suri and with Amradadri of the Kumbhagarh *prastāva* of the time of Rana Kumbha<sup>44</sup> In the time of Swai Jaisingh the city was known as Ambavati<sup>45</sup> Tod derives the name of the city from Ambikesvara a title of Śiva.<sup>46</sup>

Tod's Hūndeo followed the aggressive policy of his predecessors and continued the war against the aboriginal Minas His son and successor Kuntal extended his sway over the hill tribes round the capital and inflicted a crushing defeat upon his Mīna subjects which secured his rule throughout Dhundhara<sup>46a</sup>

It will be noticed that during the early period of their history the most formidable enemy of the Kachwahās were the Minas Tod tells us that their original home was in the mountain range called Kalikoh which extended from Ajmer nearly to the river Jumna<sup>47</sup> The name Mīna suggests a totemic origin of the tribe derived from Sanskrit Mīna a fish It will be interesting to know if the tribe had anything to do with the name Matsyadesa (which may mean the land of fishes) referred to in early literature which included parts of Alwar Jaipur and Bharatpur

Pajjuna as has been already pointed out was in all probability a contemporary and vassal of Prithviraja III the antagonist of Mu'izz ud din Muhammad bin Sam of Ghūr Tod informs us that he had the honour of marrying the sister of his suzerain The famous bard Chand assigns to him a conspicuous place in the council of the Chauhan emperor If that poet is to be believed he put to flight a host of the Yadavas and was engaged in war with one Rao Chamand a certain Babhan and with the Badgujars.<sup>48</sup>

41 *Muzota Negasi ki Khyata* II p 3 42 *Ibid* p 4

43 Bhandarkar *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India* No 70

44 *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 63 *Ep Ind* Vol XXI p 281

45 Bhandarkar *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* No 1031

46 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Crooke) pp 1332 and n 1439

46a *Ibid* p 1332

47 *Ibid* p 1332

48. *Ind Ant* Vol III p 18

Twice did he distinguish himself in the service of his liege lord—once by defeating Mu'izz ud din Muhammad of Ghur and a second time by helping Prithviraja to conquer Mahoba—the country of the Chandels. He was appointed to the governorship of the conquered territory.<sup>49</sup> According to Chand Pajjuna lost his life fighting against the forces of Kanauj when Prithviraja is said to have carried off the daughter of the Gaharwar king Jayachandra or Jaichand.<sup>50</sup> If this last event is correctly recorded Pajjuna could not have measured his sword with the valiant son of Sam, for tradition affirms that the invasion of the Ghori king took place after the abduction of the princess of Kanauj. We learn from the Madanpur Inscription of Prithviraja III dated A.D. 1182 that he devastated and plundered Jejakabhukti then ruled over by the Chandella Paramardi.<sup>51</sup> Pajjuna may have distinguished himself on this occasion, but it is impossible to say whether the Chauhan king actually captured Mahoba and appointed his own governor there.

The history of the Kachwahas after the death of Pajjuna till the accession of Bihari Mall—father in law of Akbar—is extremely obscure. Rajapana NēnaSi and Tod simply pass over the intervening period of more than three centuries and give us a bare list of names.<sup>52</sup> The immediate successor of Pajjuna was MalayaSi (Tod's Malasi) who married Melhanadevi—a daughter of the Kichu prince Anala.<sup>53</sup> He is credited with having won a victory over a prince of Mandu. Then came Bijala Rajadeva and Kalyana. After the last mentioned prince Rajapana places Rajakula—but NēnaSi and Tod both agree that the successor of Kalyana was Kuntala. He was followed by JunaSi or JavaṇaSi and then came his son Udayakarna. Narasimha son of Udayakarna succeeded to the *gadi* of Amber. Bar Singh—the eldest son of Udayakarna—is said to have quarrelled with his father and surrendered his birth right. His grandson Naru became the progenitor of the Naruka family now ruling in Alwar.<sup>54</sup> Balaji—a third son of Udayakarna—obtained as his appendage the district of Amritsar which became the nucleus of the extensive confederation now known as Shekhawati after the name of Shekhi—the son of Balaji.<sup>55</sup>

Narasimha was succeeded by Banabira and then came Uddharana and Chandrasena. The latter was succeeded by his son Prithviraja—father of Bihari Mall.

49 Tod *op cit* p. 1332

50 *Ibid* p. 1333

51 H. C. Ray *Dynastic History of Northern India* Vol. II pp. 1084 f

52 For a list of Kachwaha princes after Pajjuna, see *Muhanota Nēnasi ki Khyata* II p. 3 (Rajapana's list) pp. 4 ff (Nēnasi's list). Tod *op cit* p. 1336

53 *Muhanota Nēnasi ki Khyata* II p. 45. Tod, *op cit* p. 1336.

54 *Muhanota Nēnasi ki Khyata* II p. 27. *Rajputana Gazetteer* (Provincial Series) p. 425 f. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* No. 1038.

55. *Muhanota Nēnasi ki Khyata* II p. 32. Tod *op cit* Vol. III pp. 1336, 1378 ff.

The death of the last Chauhān emperor on the battle field of Tarain led to the complete collapse of his empire, and his descendants maintained a precarious existence in the strong fortress of Ranthambhor. But this momentous event did not perhaps immediately affect the cordial relationship that subsisted between the Chauhāns and the Kachwahas. If Nayachandra the author of the *Hammiramahākāya*, is to be believed, a marriage was arranged between Viranārayana of Ranthambhor and a Kacchavāha princess of Amarapura (Amber). The nuptial could not take place because the bridegroom, when he set out for Amarapura, was opposed by the Śaka ruler Jalālu'dīn. He was then entrapped by the Muhammadans and was poisoned to death<sup>56</sup>. The captor has been tentatively identified with Shams ud din Iltutmish who conquered the fortress of Ranthambhor in A.D. 1226<sup>57</sup>. In the latter half of the thirteenth century there seems to have occurred a breach between the Kachwahas and the Chauhāns. We learn from the Balavan inscription of A.D. 1288 that Jaitrasimha, uncle's son of Viranārayana, killed a Kūrma king<sup>58</sup>. This event must have happened before A.D. 1283 the year of accession of Hammīra, who was the son and successor of Jaitrasimha according to Nayachandra<sup>59</sup>. In the fifteenth century the Kachwahas came into hostile contact with the rising power of Mewar and the Kumbhalgarh *prasasti* credits Rāna Kumbhā with having devastated Āmradadri, (Amber)<sup>60</sup>. The phenomenal rise of Rānā Sāngā, grandson of Rāna Kumbhā, to a position of pre-eminence in the political horizon of western India is too well known. Bābur bears eloquent testimony to this when he writes that 'the authority of the execrated pagan (Sāngā) was such that not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm such as the Sultān of Delhī, the Sultān of Guzrat and the Sultān of Mandū could cope with this evil dispositioned one, without the help of other pagans, one and all they cajoled him and temporized with him'<sup>61</sup>. Tod recounts among his tributaries the name of Prithviraja of Amber<sup>62</sup>. 'Rajas and rais of high degree' obeyed Sāngā at the battle of Khānuā, and it is not altogether impossible that the Kachwāha chief also shared in the general defeat inflicted upon the Hindus by Bābur. He fell by the hand of an assassin and the murderer was his own son Bhīma<sup>63</sup>.

During the centuries following the invasion of Mu'izz ud din Muhammad bin Sam till the rise of Rānā Sāngā the history of eastern Rajputāna was mainly dominated by the ambitious rulers of the Sultanate of Delhī and their successors who often held possession of the strong fortresses of Ajmer

56 *Ind Ant* VIII 63

57 H. C. Ray *Dynastic History of Northern India* II p 1095

58 *Ep Ind* XIX pp 46 ff 49

59 *Ind Ant* VIII p 59

60 *Ep Ind* XXI pp 279 288

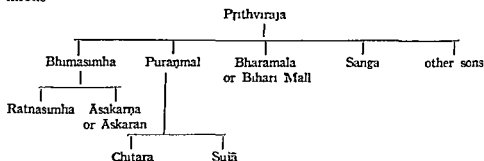
61 *Babur Nama* in English by A. S. Beveridge Vol. II (Section 3), p 561 f

62 Tod, *Annals* Vol I p 348 and n. 5

63 Tod *Annals*, Vol III, p 1337

and Ranthambhor dominated over the Sapādalakṣa country once the home of the proud Chauhans and exercised control over the neighbouring provinces of Bayana and Alwar. It is not unlikely that the princes of Amber had now and then to bear the onslaught of the arms of Islamic forces.

The foul assassination of Prithviraja was the signal for an internal turmoil in which his descendants entered into a contest for securing the throne.



Bhumasimha seems to have been the heir apparent to the throne. But his claims were superseded by his father in favour of another son named Puraṇmal. Prithviraja paid the penalty by his death at the hand of his own son. Puraṇmal ruled for six years and was then killed by Bhuma who now regained his birth right. Suja son of Puraṇmal sought to avenge the death of his father with the help of Safr ud dīn the *Subedar* of Ajmer and made an attack upon Amber. According to Tod Bhumasimha was murdered by his son Askaran at the instigation of his brothers. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ratnasimha who ruled for eleven years. But troubles now came from another quarter. Sanga son of Prithviraja and born of a Bikaner princess got the help of Jait Si son of Lunkaraṇ of Bikaner and seized the capital. But he fell by the hands of a bard named Kanha. Thereupon Askaran the second son of Bhuma ascended the throne. Even he was not destined to rule in peace. Being ousted by Bharamala or Bihari Mall in V S 1604 (A D 1547-48) he went to Delhi to seek the help of Hājī Khan Pāthan (most probably the famous lieutenant of Sher Shah). The latter reconciled the rivals and conferred upon Askaran the government of Naravara (Narwar).<sup>64</sup> The consolidation of Bharamala's rule in Amber and his alliance with the Mughal emperor opened up a new chapter in the history of the Kachwahās. The scene of activities of the Kachwahā kings was no longer confined within the narrow limits of Amber but loomed large in the imperial pavilions at Delhi and Agra and beyond in the provinces of the far flung Mughal empire. The new phase of their history requires separate and detailed treatment, and we may conclude our present article here.

64 The above account is based on a note which appears in the *Muhamota Nīnāsī ki Khyālā* Vol II p 9n. also compare Tessitori *Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts* Section I part II p 46. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Cooke) Vol III p 1337.

# THE CRITICISM OF HISTORICAL REPORTS AMONG THE MUSLIMS

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Ibn Khaldun among the Muslims, has been accepted to be the most critical and original historian. He laid down the dictum that the rule for distinguishing what is true from what is false in history is based on its possibility or impossibility. He propounded sound principles for Historiography and showed the way to that scientific view and treatment of the subject which is advocated by the most modern writers on it.

No one who has made even a superficial study of Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena* to his voluminous history can deny him the credit which he deserves so well. But it will be certainly a mistake to think that he was the first Muslim author who tried to make use of the critical method in order to examine the truth of historical reports. For, long before him, the Muslim devines who lived between the 7th and the 11th centuries of the Christian era had made a keen and sincere study of the criticism of historical reports in connection with those of the words which fell from the lips of the Prophet of Islam from time to time, and those of his deeds.

These reports are known as *Ahadith* which is the plural form of the word *Hadith*. The term is generally translated into English as 'tradition.' They are of extreme religious and legal importance to the Muslims and they have taken great care to maintain their purity and genuineness.

Each of these reports howsoever short is accompanied by the chain of the names of the transmitters through whom it was received by those who compiled them in books. This chain of the transmitters was considered by all the writers on the subject as an indispensable part of the text of the reports themselves. The part containing the names of the transmitters is technically called *Isnād* (support) or authority and the report itself is called *Main* or the text. By and by this system became so popular among the Muslim authors that they applied it to history to geography, to belles lettres etc., for many centuries during the middle ages. As a matter of fact it was carried to such an extreme that it was ridiculed by authors like al Jābir. There are books e.g. the *Maṣānuṭ Ushshāq* of al Sarrāj (containing the stories of persons who are said to have died of love) the subject matter of which is extremely frivolous, but in spite of it the author took the trouble of recording the

The system of giving the names of the transmitters

name of each transmitter of the narratives contained in them and the date and place at which he heard the stories.

### *The Origin of this System*

The origin of this system, which according to Professor Hitti is unique in the case of the Arabs and meets the most essential requirements of modern historiography<sup>1</sup> is difficult to determine. But Caetani and Horowitz have attempted to solve this interesting problem and A. H. Harley has summarised their conclusions in his introduction to the *Musnad* of Umar b. Abd al Aziz.

Caetani is of opinion that the system could not have originated with the Arabs. The wild desolation of the Arabian desert and the restive nature and the character of the primitive ignorant uncivilised and intolerant Arabs did not suit its origin and growth.<sup>2</sup> But his contention as one may see is based more on presumption than on facts and if accepted will only prove that the system did not originate with the Arabs. With whom did it originate then? The great Italian Orientalist has failed to give any instance of its use by any other people. The Greeks and the Romans did not use it as a system. Professor Margoliouth has pointed out that the Greek and the Roman historians do not keep quite clear of the dates and that they very rarely tell us the source of their information.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Horowitz however carried his researches further and giving several instances from Jewish literature proved that the system of *Isnad* was used by the Jews before the Arabs. He also tried to show that its use in their literature was found as early as the Mosaic period and by the Talmudic times its chain assumed enormous length the subject matter being of the most varied nature.<sup>4</sup>

But the main facts discovered by the minute researches of the distinguished modern German Orientalist had been already dealt with, by a medieval scholar of Andalusia. Abu Muhammad Ali b. Ahmad commonly known as Ibn Hazm in his *al Fīṣal fī l-Mīlāl*<sup>5</sup> about nine centuries before him. Of this Horowitz as well as Caetani appear to have been unaware. Ibn Hazm has classified the chains of transmitters according to their reliability into six different groups has described their merits as well as demerits, has pointed out such of them as had been used in the Jewish and Christian literature, has referred to the subject matter of the texts to

1 *The origin of the Islamic State* Int. p. 3

2 *J. A. S. B.* 1974 pp. 404-406

4 *Arabic Historians* pp. 18-20

6. Vol. II pp. 67-70

3. *Annali dell' Islam* I p. 32.

5 *Der Islam* Vol. VIII pp. 39-5

which they relate and has discussed in his own way the demerits of their *Isnads*

The Indians also like the Jews, however made use of this system long before the Arabs But as far as I am aware no notice of its use by Indians. *It has been so far taken It was pointed to me for the first time by my friends and colleagues Dr P Bagchi and Prof H C Raychaudhuri of the department of Ancient Indian History in the University of Calcutta According to the former occasional use of the system of giving the names of the transmitters is found in the ancient Indian literature Hindu Buddhist as well as Jaina The text of the reports contained in them are of as varied a character as in the case of Jewish literature and the length of the chain of the transmitters is pretty long containing in certain cases, about twenty seven names*

The use of this system by the Jews and the Indians before the Arabs, cannot be denied The Arabs may have either borrowed it from them or may have used it independently The Arabs gave it a scientific form. Having taken up its use however the Arabs developed it a great deal and gave it a scientific basis. They created an extremely rich literature dealing with the careers and the characters of the transmitters of the reports during different periods This literature is known among the Muslims as *Asma'ur Riyal* or the names of the Men (the transmitters) They laid down the necessary qualifications of the reliable transmitters classified the reports according to the reliability of their reporters introduced the chronological method in order to test their trustworthiness and produced immense varied literature which supply the necessary critical apparatus for testing the truth of the reports

All this is entirely wanting in the Jewish as well as Indian literature The ancient literature of neither the Indians nor of the Jews show any signs of the scientific use of the chronological method nor does it possess any collection of the biographical notices of the transmitters of the reports. In the Talmudic literature says Horovitz there is no idea of chronological method and the oldest extant work attempting such an arrangement was composed after 885 A.D more than a century later than the earliest earliest work on *Isnad* critique From this and from the fact that the important Jewish works (of this period) had been composed in the Islamic dominions continues Prof Horovitz it may be inferred that this

7 *Mahabharata* translated by P C Ray Book I Canto I Winternitz *History of Indian literature* Vol I pp 323-24 Vol. II p 34 N 3 Keith's translation of *Sankhayana Aranyaka* pp 71 72 S B E Vol XV pp 224 227 P Cordier's *Catalogue Du Fond Tibetan* Part III pp 163 168-69 201—etc.

For all these references I am indebted to Dr P Bagchi of Calcutta University

historical interest of the Jews was due to the Islamic influence. The want of these and other important materials for the criticism of the reliability of the transmitters makes the use of the system of giving the names of authorities by the Indians and the Jews altogether valueless

### *Two fold Nature of Criticism*

The criticism of the historical reports (especially the traditions) among the Muslims however is of two-fold nature (1) that relating to the chain of the transmitters, (2) that relating to the text of the reports. The former is generally known as *Uṣūlur Riwayat* and also as *Uṣūlul Ḥadīth* i.e. the principles relating to the narration of the reports. And the latter is commonly called the *Uṣūlul Dirāyat* i.e. scientific or juristic principles

(1) The works on the *Uṣūlur Riwayat* lay down the necessary qualifications of the reliable and proper reporters classify the chains of the transmitters into various groups according to the degree of their reliability and deal with the methods of learning narrating and writing down the reports (especially traditions) and various connected matters which must be mastered by every qualified reporter

The necessary qualification of transmitter of reports.

The qualifications of the transmitter of a tradition have been described by al shafi'i (767-820 A.D.) in his *al Riṣala* one of the earliest works on the subject received by us, as follows —

He must be of firm faith well known for his truthfulness in what he reported understanding its contents, knowing well how the change in expressions affects the contents reporting verbatim what he learnt from his own authority and not narrating in his own words only the sense of what he had learnt possessing retentive memory if he reported from memory and remembering his book well if he reported from it. He should be free from making a report on the authority of those whom he met of what he did not learn from them. And his reports must be in agreement with what has been reported by those who are recognised to have good memory if they also have transmitted these reports \*

All the writers on the subject however are unanimously of opinion that the transmitter of a report in order to be acceptable, must be of firm faith mature age and proved integrity and possessing good memory. He must be well versed in the methods of learning transmitting and preserving the reports. He must be thoroughly conversant with the names, careers and the characters of the earlier reporters as well as with the various classes of the reports (traditions) and their defects and other special features



*The classification of the traditions*

The traditions have been classified, according to the degree of their reliability, into three categories, (i) *Ṣaḥīḥ* i.e. the Genuine, (ii) the *Ḥaṣan* i.e. the Fair and the *Da'if* i.e. the weak.

(i) *The Ṣaḥīḥ or the Genuine* The genuine is the report which has been handed down by a continuous chain of the transmitters possessing the qualifications mentioned above. Some important writers are of opinion that it must also be proved that each transmitter actually met his own reporter.

(ii) *The Ḥaṣan or Fair* is the report the *isnad* of which does not include narrators who are suspected of falsehood, and the text of which is not rare and is identically or equivalently reported by more than one set of the transmitters. Ibn Ṣalāḥ a distinguished writer on the subject, has further explained it. He says that 'Fair' is the report among the transmitters of which there are men of unknown character, whose veracity and reliability have not been proved but are not known to have been careless and committing mistakes or forgery in their reports.

(iii) *The Da'if or weak* is the report which does not satisfy the conditions of either of the two classes of the reports mentioned above. They are again classified into various categories.

(a) *The Mursal or the loose* is the report about the Prophet of Islam by one who did not enjoy his company but met any one of his companions, without his authority.

(b) *The Munqaṣa or the severed* are the reports in the chain of the transmitters of which any link at any stage is wanting.

(c) *The Muḍal or the straitened* is the report from the *Isnad* of which two or more links are missing.

(d) *The Mudallas or the disguised* is the report in the *Isnad* of which any narrator reports on the authority of one whom he met what he never learnt from him, or on the authority of any of his contemporaries whom he never met, so equivocally as may create the impression that he had actually met and received the report from him, or mentions a name or title of his authority, which is generally not known so that he may not be identified. This class of the reports is always rejected and the reporter is severely condemned.

(e) *The Shadh or the rare* is the report made by one single reliable transmitter at any stage, at variance with that of other transmitters possessing better memory.

These and various other classes of reports (traditions) have been described and explained and their degree of reliability has been thoroughly discussed in all the works on the principles of narration.

2 *'Uşulu d Dirāyat* or the scientific or juristic principles relate to the

The scientific principles *Main* or the text of the reports irrespective of their transmitters. These principles are generally discussed in a particular part of the works on jurisprudence. For it is mainly the duty of those who utilise the reports to go carefully into the text and accept or reject it on account of its probability or improbability. But the works dealing with the *Uşulu l Ḥadīth* also contain a good deal of materials relating to it. A well known book *Fethul Mughith* for example contains the following principles —

(a) Every report against reason or accepted principles (of faith) or against what is generally experienced or against well founded and recognised historical facts should be rejected

(b) All reports that do not suit the position or office of the persons about whom they are reported should be taken as unreliable.

(c) The events which should have been noticed by a large crowd of persons and reported by them if transmitted by a single individual should not be accepted

The works on Jurisprudence lay down the following principles —

(a) The degree of the reliability of a report must be in keeping with the importance of its subject matters

(b) If a report deals with a technical matter and its transmitter does not possess technical knowledge or judicious mind the report may be accepted with certain reserve

A sufficiently large number of cases of the rejection of historical reports by the Muslim divines on account of one or the other principles mentioned above, may be cited to prove the application of the above principle long before Ibn Khaldūn. As a matter of fact he himself follows these very principles when he rejects the common explanation of the sudden fall of the Bar mēcides and the various reports of the extremely large number of the soldiers fighting in the wars waged by the Assyrians and others

Even in the modern times the criticism accepted by all the Orientalists against the story forged by Abdu l Latif Ibnu l Qifṭī and Barhebraeus about the burning of the library of Alexandria at the Command of the 2nd Caliph Umar is based on the principles laid down by the Muslim divines centuries before Ibn Khaldun

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